









# OUTLINES.



OUTLINES  
OF THE  
LIFE OF SHAKESPEARE.

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*THE SECOND EDITION.*

When to the sessions of sweet silent thought  
I summon up remembrance of things past,  
I sigh the lack of many a thing I sought.  
—*The Thirtieth Sonnet.*

LONDON :  
LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.

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M.DCCC.LXXXII.



## PREFACE.

The remains of New Place, a sketch of which is engraved on the opposite page, are typical of the fragments of the personal history of Shakespeare which have hitherto been discovered. In this respect the great dramatist participates in the fate of most of his literary contemporaries, for if a collection of the known facts relating to all of them were tabularly arranged, it would be found that the number of the ascertained particulars of his life reached at least the average. At the present day, with biography carried to a wasteful and ridiculous excess, and Shakespeare the idol not merely of a nation but of the educated world, it is difficult to realize a period when no interest was taken in the events of the lives of authors, and when the great poet himself, notwithstanding the immense popularity of some of his works, was held in no general reverence. It must be borne

in mind that actors then occupied an inferior position in society, and that even the vocation of a dramatic writer was considered scarcely respectable. The intelligent appreciation of genius by individuals was not sufficient to neutralize in these matters the effect of public opinion and the animosity of the religious world ; all circumstances thus uniting to banish general interest in the history of persons connected in any way with the stage. This biographical indifference continued for many years, and long before the season arrived for a real curiosity to be taken in the subject, the records from which alone a satisfactory memoir could have been constructed had disappeared. At the time of Shakespeare's decease, non-political correspondence was rarely preserved, elaborate diaries were not the fashion, and no one, excepting in semi-apocryphal collections of jests, thought it worth while to record many of the sayings and doings, or to delineate at any length the characters of actors and dramatists, so that it is generally by the merest accident that particulars of interest respecting them have been recovered.

In the absence of some very important discovery, the general and intense desire to penetrate the mystery which surrounds the personal

history of Shakespeare cannot be wholly gratified. Something, however, may be accomplished in that direction by a diligent and critical study of the materials now accessible, especially if care be taken to avoid the temptation of endeavouring to decipher his inner life and character through the media of his works. The genius which so rapidly converted the dull pages of a novel or history into an imperishable drama was transmuted into other forces in actual life, as may be gathered even from the scanty records of his biography which still remain. Let these latter be studied in that truest spirit of criticism which deals with facts in preference to conjecture and sentiment, regard being ever watchfully paid to the circumstances by which he was surrounded. A minute examination of those circumstances is essential to the effective study not merely of the personal but of the literary history of the great poet. It will dissipate many an illusion, amongst others the propriety of criticism being grounded upon a reverential belief in the unvarying perfection of Shakespeare's dramatic art. He, indeed, unquestionably obtained a complete mastery over that art at an early period of his literary career, but his control over it was continually liable to be governed by the customs and exigencies of the



ancient stage, so much so that, in not a few instances, the action of a scene was diverted for the express purpose of complying with those necessities. It should be remembered that his dramas were not written for posterity, but as a matter of business, never for his own speculation but always for that of the managers of his own day, the choice of subject being occasionally dictated by them or by patrons of the stage. Those works in which the perfection of art was attained may have been the fruits of express or cherished literary design, but all his writings were the products of an intellect which was applied to authorship as the readiest path to material advancement ; his task having been to construct out of certain given or selected materials successful dramas for the audiences of the day, some for the polished few, others for the multitude. It is not pretended that he did not invariably take an earnest interest in his work, his intense sympathy with each character forbidding such an assumption ; but simply that his tastes were subordinated when necessary to his duty to his employers. If a play were required at a short notice, it was hurriedly written. If the managers considered that the popular feeling was likely to encourage, or if an influential

patron or the Court desired, the production of a drama on some special theme, it was composed to order on that subject, no matter how repulsive the character of the plot or how intrinsically it was unfitted for dramatic purposes ; and, again, it is not improbable that some of Shakespeare's works, perfect in their art when represented before a select audience, might have been deteriorated by their adaptation to the public stage, and that in some instances the later copies only have been preserved. From some of these causes may have arisen inequalities in taste and art which otherwise appear to be inexplicable, and which would doubtlessly have been removed had Shakespeare lived to have given the public an edition of his works during his retirement at Stratford-on-Avon. The Burbages had no conception of his intellectual supremacy, and, if they had, it is certain that they would not have deviated on that account from the course they were in the habit of pursuing. In their estimation, however, he was merely, to use their own words, a "deserving man," an effective actor and a popular writer, one who would not have been considered so valuable a member of their staff had he not also worked as a practical man of business, knowing that the success of the theatre was identified with his own, and that within

certain limits it was necessary that his art should be regulated by expediency. Neither does it appear at all probable that he could have had time, under the conditions in which he worked, for the studied application of those subtle devices underlying his art which are attributed to his sagacity by the philosophical critics, and some of which, it is amusing to notice, may be equally observed, if they exist at all, in the original plot-sources of his dramas. Entertaining these views, no space in the present work will be devoted to the examination of conjectural generic ethical designs, imaginary moral unities and such like. It is one thing to admit that Shakespeare's art was frequently influenced by the emergencies of the stage,—another that he would have gratuitously permitted it to have been controlled by the necessity of blending a variety of actions in subjection to one leading moral idea or by other similar limitations. The phenomenon of a moral unity is not to be found either in nature or in the works of nature's poet, whose truthful and impartial genius could never have voluntarily endured a submission to a preconception which involved violent deviations from the course prescribed by his sovereign knowledge of human nature and the human mind.

The literary history of Shakespeare cannot of course be perfected until the order in which he composed his works has been ascertained, but, unless the books of the theatrical managers or licensers of the time are discovered, it is not likely that the exact chronological arrangement will be determined. The dates of some of his productions rest on positive testimony or distinct allusions, and these are stand-points of great value. In respect, however, to the majority of them, the period of composition has unfortunately been merely the subject of refined and useless conjecture. Internal evidences of construction and style, obscure contemporary references, and metrical or grammatical tests can very rarely in themselves be relied upon to establish the year of authorship. Specific phases of style or metre necessarily had periods of commencement in Shakespeare's work, but, so long as most of those epochs are merely conjectural, little real progress is made in the enquiry. Nor as a rule are the results obtained from æsthetic criticism, which depend to some extent upon the individual sentiment of the critic, of much greater certainty. No sufficient allowances appear to be made for the high probability of the intermittent use of various styles during the long interval which elapsed

after the era of comparative immaturity had passed away, and in which, so far as constructive and delineative power was concerned, there was neither progress nor retrogression. Shakespeare's genius arrived at maturity with such celerity that it is perilous to assert, from any kind of internal evidence alone, what he could not have written at any particular subsequent period, and style frequently varies not only with the subject but with the purpose of authorship. It may be presumed, for instance, that the diction and construction of a drama written for performance at the Court might be essentially dissimilar from those of a play of the same date composed for the ordinary stage, where the audiences were of a more promiscuous character and the usages and appliances of the actors in many respects of a different nature. The subject of the chronological order is one, however, solely of a biographical curiosity that can only be legitimately gratified by the discovery of contemporary evidence. Even with such assistance, the mere facts of that order would be nearly all that could be elicited, for critics of later days might as wisely think of stretching their hands to the firmament as dream of the advent of an intellectual power adequate to grasp the definite history of Shakespeare's mind.

In the present attempt upon the life of Shakespeare,—were the poet now living, he would surely, in his love of quibbles, forgive the equivoque,—it is proposed to construct, in plain and unobtrusive language, a sketch of his personal history strictly out of evidences and deductions from those evidences. Subtle and gratuitous assumptions of unsupported possibilities will be rigidly excluded, and no conjectures admitted that are not practically removed out of that category by being in themselves reasonable inferences from concurrent facts. Guided by this system, it follows, as a matter of course, that precedence will be always given to early testimonies over the discretionary views of later theorists, no matter how plausible or how ably sustained those views may be. It is believed that a nearer approximation to truth will be reached by these methods than by any other, and that the endeavour will be favourably entertained, whatever opinion may be formed of the result.

The design of the present work being exclusively biographical, it is scarcely necessary to observe that no kind of evidence bearing date subsequently to the twenty-third day of April, 1616, will be admitted, unless there is either a certainty or a reasonable probability that it refers to, or is illustrative of, some event that

happened, or of some position that existed, on or before that day, in connexion with the literary or personal history of the great dramatist.

The collection of materials used, or to be used, in the progress of my embarrassing task, is the product of anxious researches now extending over a period of more than a quarter of a century. Much time has necessarily been occupied in the fatiguing examination, often week after week, of records that have yielded no useful information, but, on the whole, considering the fatal obscurity that appears to surround nearly every incident of Shakespeare's life, I have been more successful than could generally have been anticipated. Let me add, with every sentiment of gratitude, how greatly my labours have throughout been facilitated and cheered by the kind and ready liberality with which private and other libraries, family archives, municipal records, and official collections have been made accessible.

There was not a single company of actors, in Shakespeare's time, which did not make professional visits through nearly all the English counties, and in the hope of discovering traces of his footsteps during his provincial tours I have personally examined the records of the following cities and towns,—Warwick, Bewdley, Dover, Banbury, Shrewsbury, Oxford, Worces-

ter, Hereford, Gloucester, Tewkesbury, Rochester, Guildford, Hastings, Gravesend, Evesham, Droitwich, Kidderminster, Campden, Maidstone, Faversham, Southampton, Newport, Bridport, Weymouth, Lewes, Coventry, Bristol, Kingston-on-Thames, Lyme Regis, Dorchester, Canterbury, Sandwich, Queenborough, Ludlow, Stratford-on-Avon, Leominster, Folkestone, Winchelsea, New Romney, Barnstaple, Rye, York, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Leicester, Hythe, and Cambridge, the last being preserved in the library of Downing College. In no single instance have I at present found in any municipal record a notice of the poet himself, but curious material of an unsuspected nature respecting his company and theatrical surroundings has been discovered.

It only remains to add that, in a work of this description, based so largely on obscure records and indeterminate evidences, oversights cannot possibly at first be avoided ; and that, when any of the latter are discovered, their communication to the address below given will be gratefully received.

Hollingbury Copse,  
Brighton.

April, 1882.



## PREMONITORY NOTE.

The significance of much that is adduced in the following pages will not be appreciated without a continual reference to the probable worth of money in the time of the poet. The estimate of the difference between its value at that period and at our own cannot be accurately calculated, the purchasing ability in former days varying considerably both with locality and object ; but, when compared with our present rate, the former may be roughly computed at one twelfth of the latter in money itself in articles of trade, and at one twentieth in landed or house property. Even these scales may be deceptively in favour of the older values, there having been, in Shakespeare's days, a relative and often a fictitious importance attached to cash, arising from its comparative scarcity.

It will be useful also to be constantly bearing in mind the difference between the Old and New Styles. According to the former, the one which of course prevailed during the whole of the Shakespearean period, each month commenced eleven days later than the corresponding one does at the present day. It is especially important that this variation should be recollected in the consideration of all that relates to the country and to rural life.

## OUTLINES.

In the reign of King Edward the Sixth there lived in Warwickshire a farmer named Richard Shakespeare, who rented a cottage and a small quantity of land at Snitterfield, an obscure village in that county. He had two sons, one of whom, called Henry, continued throughout his life to reside in the same parish. John, the other son, left his father's home about the year 1550, and, two years afterwards, 1552, is found residing in the neighbouring and comparatively large borough of Stratford-on-Avon, in the locality which has been known from the middle ages to the present day as Henley Street, so called from its being the terminus of the road from Henley-in-Arden, a market-town about eight miles distant.

At this period, and for many generations afterwards, the sanitary condition of the thoroughfares of Stratford-on-Avon was, to our

present notions, simply terrible. Under-surface drainage of every kind was then an unknown art in the district. There was a far greater extent of moisture in the land than would now be thought possible, and streamlets of a water-power sufficient for the operations of corn-mills meandered through the town. This general humidity intensified the evils arising from the want of scavengers, or other effective appliances for the preservation of cleanliness. House-slops were recklessly thrown into ill-kept channels that lined the sides of unmetalled roads ; pigs and geese too often revelled in the puddles and ruts ; while here and there, small middens were ever in the course of accumulation, the receptacles of offal and of every species of nastiness. A regulation for the removal of these collections to certain specified localities interspersed through the borough, and known as common dung-hills, appears to have been the extent of the interference that the authorities ventured or cared to exercise in such matters. Sometimes, when the nuisance was thought to be sufficiently flagrant, they made a raid on those inhabitants who had suffered their refuse to accumulate largely in the highways. On one of these occasions, in April, 1552, John Shakespeare was fined the sum of twelve-pence for having

amassed what was no doubt a conspicuous *sterquinarium* before his house in Henley Street, and under these unsavoury circumstances does the history of the poet's father commence in the records of England. It is sad to be compelled to admit that there was little excuse for his negligence, one of the public stores of filth being within a stone's throw of his residence.

For some years subsequently to this period, John Shakespeare was a humble tradesman at Stratford-on-Avon, holding no conspicuous position in the town; yet still he must have been tolerably successful in business, for in October, 1556, he purchased two small freehold estates, one being the premises now shown as the Birth-Place, and the other situated in Greenhill Street, a road afterwards called More Towns End. In the year 1557, however, his fortunes underwent an important change through an alliance with Mary, the youngest daughter of Robert Arden, a substantial yeoman farmer in the neighbourhood, who had died a few months previously. The maiden name of her mother has not been discovered; but it is ascertained that her father had contracted a second marriage with Agnes Hill, a widow, and that, in a settlement made on that occasion, he had reserved to Mary the

reversion to estates at Wilmecote and Snitterfield, her step-mother taking only a life-interest in them. Some part of the land thus settled was in the occupation of Richard Shakespeare, the poet's grandfather, whence may have arisen the acquaintanceship between the two families. In addition to these estates in expectancy, Mary Arden received, under the provisions of her father's will, not only a handsome pecuniary legacy, but the fee-simple of another valuable property at Wilmecote, the latter, which was known as Ashbies, consisting of a house with nearly sixty acres of land. Considering his social position, John Shakespeare had practically married an heiress, his now comparative affluence investing him with no small degree of local importance. His official career at once commenced by his election as one of the ale-tasters, an officer appointed for the supervision of malt liquors and bread. About the same time he was received into the Corporation as one of the burgesses, and in the September of the following year, 1558, he was chosen one of the four constables under the rules of the Court Leet. He was again elected constable for another year on October the sixth, 1559, and on the same day he was chosen one of the four affeerors appointed to determine the

finer for those offences which were punishable arbitrarily, and for which no express penalties were prescribed by statute. This latter office he again filled in 1561, when he was elected one of the Chamberlains of the borough, an office that he held for two years, delivering his second account to the Corporation in January, 1564.

The ostensible business followed by John Shakespeare was that of a glover, but after his marriage he speculated largely in wool purchased from the neighbouring farmers, and occasionally also dealt in corn and other articles. In those days, especially in small provincial towns, the concentration of several trades into the hands of one person was very usual, and, in many cases, no matter how numerous and complicated were the intermediate processes, the producer of the raw material was frequently its manufacturer. Thus a glover might, and sometimes did, rear the sheep that furnished him with meat, skins, wool, and leather. Whether John Shakespeare so conducted his business is unknown, but it is certain that, in addition to his trade in gloves, which also, as was usual, included the sale of divers articles made of leather, he entered into a variety of other speculations.

In Henley Street, in what was for those

days an unusually large and commodious residence for a provincial tradesman, and upon or almost immediately before the twenty-second day of April, 1564, but most probably on that Saturday, the eldest son of John and Mary Shakespeare, he who was afterwards to be the national poet of England, was born. An apartment on the first floor of that house is shown to this day, through unvarying tradition, as the birth-room of the great dramatist, who was baptized on the following Wednesday, April the twenty-sixth, receiving the Christian name of William. He was then, and continued to be for more than two years, an only child, two girls, daughters of the same parents, who were born previously, having died in their infancy.

In the July of this year of the poet's birth, 1564, a violent plague, intensified no doubt by sanitary neglect, broke out in the town, but the family in Henley Street providentially escaped its ravages. John Shakespeare contributed on this occasion, fairly, at least, if not liberally, both towards the relief of the poor and of those who were attacked by the epidemic.

In March, 1565, John Shakespeare, with the assistance of his former colleague in the same office, made up the accounts of the Chamberlains of the borough for the year

ending at the previous Michaelmas. Neither of these worthies could even write their own names, but nearly all tradesmen then reckoned with counters, the results on important occasions being entered by professional scriveners. The poet's father seems to have been an adept in the former kind of work, for in February, 1566, he individually superintended the making up of the accounts of the Chamberlains for the preceding official year, at which time he was paid over three pounds, equivalent to at least thirty of present money, that had been owing to him for some time by the Corporation. In the month of October another son, who was christened Gilbert on the thirteenth, was born, the poet being then nearly two and a half years old. This Gilbert in after life entered into business in London as a haberdasher.

In September, 1567, Robert Perrot, a brewer, John Shakespeare, and Ralph Cawdrey, a butcher, were nominated for the office of the High Bailiff, or, as that dignitary was subsequently called, the Mayor. The last-named candidate was the one who was elected. It is upon this occasion that the poet's father is alluded to for the first time in the local records as "Mr. Shakspeyr." He had been previously therein mentioned either as John Shakespeare,



or briefly as Shakespeare, and the addition of the title was in those days no small indication of an advance in social position. There is, indeed, no doubt that, during the early years of Shakespeare's boyhood, his father was one of the leading men in Stratford-on-Avon. On the fourth of September, 1568, John Shakespeare,—“Mr. John Shakysper,” as he is called in that day's record,—was chosen High Bailiff, attaining thus the most distinguished official position in the town, after an active connexion with its affairs during the preceding eleven years. The poet had entered his fifth year in the previous month of April, the family in Henley Street now consisting of his parents, his brother Gilbert, who was very nearly two years old, and himself.

It must have been somewhere about this period that Shakespeare entered into the mysteries of the horn-book and the A. B. C. Although both his parents were absolutely illiterate, they had the sagacity to appreciate the importance of an education for their son, and the poet, somehow or other, was taught to read and write, the necessary preliminaries to admission into the Free School. There were few persons at that time at Stratford-on-Avon capable of initiating him even into these preparatory accomplishments, but John Shake-

speare, in his official position, could hardly have encountered much difficulty in finding a suitable instructor. There was, for instance, Higford, the Steward of the Court of Record, and the person who transcribed some of his accounts when he was the borough Chamberlain ; but it is as likely as not that the poet received the first rudiments of education from older boys who were some way advanced in their school career.

A passion for the drama is with some natures an instinct, and it would appear that the poet's father had an express taste in that direction. At all events, dramatic entertainments are first heard of at Stratford-on-Avon during the year of his bailiffship, and were, it may fairly be presumed, introduced in unison with his wishes as they certainly must have been with his sanction. At some period between Michaelmas, 1568, and the same day in 1569, the Queen's and the Earl of Worcester's players visited the town and gave representations before the Council, the former company receiving nine shillings and the latter twelve pence for their first performances, to which the public were admitted without payment. They gave in all probability other theatricāl entertainments with stated charges for admission, but there would,

of course, be no entries of the latter performances in the municipal accounts.

Were it not for the record of a correlative incident, it would have been idle to have hazarded a conjecture on the interesting question,—was the poet, who was then in his fifth or sixth year, a spectator at either of these performances? If, however, it can be shown that, in a neighbouring county about the same time, there was an inhabitant of a city who took his little boy, one born in the same year with Shakespeare, 1564, to a free dramatic entertainment exhibited as were those at Stratford-on-Avon, before the Corporation under precisely similar conditions, there then arises a reasonable probability that we should be justified in giving an affirmative reply to the enquiry. There is such an evidence in the account left by a person of the name of Willis, of “a stage-play which I saw when I was a child,” and included by him in a confidential narrative of his moral and religious life, a sort of autobiography, which, in his old age, he addressed to his wife and children.

The curious narrative given by Willis is in the following terms,—“ In the city of Gloucester the manner is, as I think it is in other like corporations, that, when players of enterludes come

to towne, they first attend the Mayor to enforme him what noble-mans servants they are, and so to get licence for their publike playing ; and if the Mayor like the actors, or would shew respect to their lord and master, he appoints them to play their first play before himselfe and the Aldermen and Common Counsell of the city ; and that is called the Mayors play, where every one that will comes in without money, the Mayor giving the players a reward as hee thinks fit to shew respect unto them. At such a play my father tooke me with him, and made mee stand betweene his leggs as he sate upon one of the benches, where wee saw and heard very well. The play was called the Cradle of Security, wherein was personated a king or some great prince, with his courtiers of severall kinds, amongst which three ladies were in speciall grace with him ; and they, keeping him in delights and pleasures, drew him from his graver counsellors, hearing of sermons and listning to good counsell and admonitions, that, in the end, they got him to lye downe in a cradle upon the stage, where these three ladies, joyning in a sweet song, rocked him asleepe that he snorted againe ; and in the meane time closely conveyed under the cloaths wherewithall he was covered a

vizard, like a swine's snout, upon his face, with three wire chaines fastned therevnto, the other end whereof being holden severally by those three ladies, who fall to singing againe, and then discovered his face that the spectators might see how they had transformed him, going on with their singing. Whilst all this was acting, there came forth of another doore at the farthest end of the stage two old men, the one in blew with a serjeant at armes his mace on his shoulder, the other in red with a drawn sword in his hand and leaning with the other hand upon the others shoulder ; and so they two went along in a soft pace round about by the skirt of the stage, till at last they came to the cradle, when all the court was in greatest jollity ; and then the foremost old man with his mace stroke a fearfull blow upon the cradle, whereat all the courtiers, with the three ladies and the vizard, all vanished ; and the desolate prince starting up bare-faced, and finding himselfe thus sent for to judgement, made a lamentable complaint of his miserable case, and so was carried away by wicked spirits. This prince did personate in the Morrall the Wicked of the World ; the three ladies, Pride, Covetousnesse and Luxury ; the two old men, the End of the World and the last Judgment. This sight tooke such im-

pression in me that, when I came towards mans estate, it was as fresh in my memory as if I had seen it newly acted," Willis's Mount Tabor or Private Exercises of a Penitent Sinner, published in the yeare of his age 75, Anno Dom. 1639, pp. 110-113. Who can be so pitiless to the imagination as not to erase the name of Gloucester in the preceding anecdote, and replace it by that of Stratford-on-Avon?

Homely and rude as such an allegorical drama as the Cradle of Security would now be considered, it was yet an advance in dramatic construction upon the mediæval religious plays generally known as mysteries, which were still in favour with the public and were of an exceedingly primitive description. The latter were, however, put on the stage with far more elaborate appliances, there being no reason for believing that the itinerant platform of the later drama was provided with much beyond a few properties. The theatre of the mysteries consisted of a moveable wooden rectangular structure of two rooms one over the other, the lower closed, the upper one, that in which the performances took place, being open at least on one side to the audience. The vehicle itself, every portion of which that was visible to the audience was grotesquely painted, was fur-

nished in the upper room with tapestries that answered the purposes of scenery, and with mechanical appliances for the disposition of the various objects introduced, such as hell-mouth, a favourite property on the ancient English stage. This consisted of a huge face constructed of painted canvas exhibiting glaring eyes and a red nose of enormous dimensions ; the whole so contrived with moveable jaws of large projecting teeth, that, when the mouth opened, flames could be seen within the hideous aperture ; the fire being probably represented by the skilful management of links or torches held behind the painted canvas. There was frequently at the back of the stage a raised platform to which there was an ascent by steps from the floor of the pageant, and sometimes an important part of the action of the mystery was enacted upon it. Some of the properties, however rude, must have been of large dimensions. They were generally made of wood which was invariably painted, but some appear to have been constructed of basket-work covered over with painted cloths. The larger ones were cities with pinnacles and towers, kings' palaces, temples, castles and such like, some probably not very unlike decorated sentry-boxes. Amongst the miscellaneous properties

may be named "a rybbe colleryd red," which was no doubt used in the mystery of the Creation. Clouds were represented by painted cloths so contrived that they could open and show angels in the heavens. Artificial trees were introduced, and so were beds, tombs, pulpits, ships, ladders, and numerous other articles. One of the quaintest contrivances was that which was intended to convey the idea of an earthquake, which seems to have been attempted by means of some mechanism within a barrel. In the lower room, connected with pulleys in the upper part of the pageant, was a windlass used for the purpose of lowering or raising the larger properties, and for various objects for which moveable ropes could be employed. Some of the other machinery was evidently of an ingenious character, but its exact nature has not been ascertained.

The costumes of many of the personages in the mysteries were of a grotesque and fanciful description, but in some instances, as in those of Adam and Eve, there was an attempt to make the dresses harmonize with the circumstances of the history. Some writers, interpreting the stage-directions too literally, have asserted that those characters were introduced upon the pageant in a state of nudity. This was cer-



tainly not the case. When they were presumed to be naked, they appeared in dresses made either of white leather or of flesh-coloured clothes, over which at the proper time were thrown the garments of skins. There were no doubt some incidents represented in the old English mysteries which would now be considered indecorous, but it should be borne in mind that every age has, within certain limits, its own conventional and frequently irrational sentiments of toleration and propriety. Adam and Eve attired in white leather and personified by men, for actresses were then unknown, scarcely could have realized to the spectator even a generic idea of the nude, but at all events there was nothing in any of the theatrical costumes of the early drama which can be fairly considered to be of an immodest character, although many of them were extravagantly whimsical. Thus Herod was always introduced wearing red gloves, while his clothes and head-gear seem to have been painted or dyed in a variety of colours, so that, as far as costume could assist the deception, he probably appeared, when brandishing his flaming sword, as fierce and hideous a tyrant as could well have been represented. Pontius Pilate was usually wrapped in a large green cloak, which opened

in front to enable him to wield an immense club. The latter was humanely adapted to his strength by the weight being chiefly restricted to that of the outer case, the inside being lightly stuffed with wool. The Devil was another important character, who was also grotesquely arrayed and had a mask or false head which frequently required either mending or painting. Masks were worn by several other personages, though it would appear that in some instances the operation of painting the faces of the actors was substituted. Wigs of false hair, either gilded or of red, yellow and other colours, were also much in request.

That Shakespeare, in his early youth, witnessed representations of some of these mysteries, cannot admit of a reasonable doubt; for although the ordinary church-plays were by no means extinct, they survived only in particular localities, and do not appear to have been retained in Stratford or its neighbourhood. The performances which then took place nearly every year at Coventry attracted hosts of spectators from all parts of the country, while, at occasional intervals, the mystery players of that city made theatrical progresses to various other places. It is not known whether they favoured Stratford-on-Avon with a professional visit, but it is not at all improbable that they did, for they

must have passed through the town in their way to Bristol, where it is recorded that they gave a performance in the year 1570. Amongst the mysteries probably recollected by Shakespeare was one in which the King was introduced as Herod of Jewry, and in which the children of Bethlehem were barbarously speared, the soldiers disregarding the frantic shrieks of the bereaved mothers. In the collection known as the Coventry Mysteries, a soldier appears before Herod with a child on the end of his spear in evidence of the accomplishment of the King's commands, a scene to be remembered, however rude may have been the property which represented the infant; while the extravagance of rage, which formed one of the then main dramatic characteristics of that sovereign, must have made a deep impression on a youthful spectator. The idea of such a subject being susceptible of exaggeration into burlesque never entered a spectator's mind in those days, and the impression made upon him was probably not slightly increased by the style of Herod's costume.

Besides the allusions made by the great dramatist to the Herod of the Coventry players, there are indications that other grotesque performers in the pageants of that city were occa-

sionally in his recollection, those who with blackened faces acted the parts of the Black Souls. There are several references in Shakespeare to condemned souls being of this colour, and in one place there is an allusion to them in the language of the mysteries. Falstaff is reported to have said of a flea on Bardolph's red nose that "it was a black soul burning in hell;" and, in the Coventry plays, the Black or Damned Souls appeared with sooty faces and attired in a motley costume of yellow and black. It is certainly just possible that the notions of Herod and the Black Souls may have been derived from other sources, but the more natural probability is that they are absolute recollections of the Coventry plays.

The period of Shakespeare's boyhood was also that of what was practically the last era of the real ancient English mystery. There were, it is true, occasional performances of them up to the reign of James the First, but they became obsolete throughout nearly all the country about the year 1580. Previously to the latter date they had for many generations served as media for religious instruction. In days when education of any kind was a rarity, and spiritual religion an impossibility or at least restricted to very few, appeals to the senses

in illustration of theological subjects were wisely encouraged by the Church. The impression made on the rude and uninstructed mind by the representations of incidents in sacred history and religious tradition by living characters must have been far more profound than any which could have been conveyed by the skill of the sculptor or painter, or by the eloquence of the priest. Notwithstanding therefore the opposition that these performances encountered at the hands of a small section of churchmen, who apprehended that the introduction of the comic element into them would ultimately tend to feelings of irreverence, it is found that, in spite of some abuses, they long continued to be one of the most effectual means of spreading a knowledge of Scriptural history and of inculcating belief in the doctrines of the Church. In the *Hundred Mery Talys*, a collection which was very popular in England throughout the sixteenth century, there is a story of a village priest in Warwickshire who preached a sermon on the Articles of the Creed, telling the congregation at the end of his discourse,—“these artycles ye be bounde to beleve, for they be trew and of auctoryté; and yf you beleve not me, then for a mōre suerté and suffycyent auc-

toryté go your way to Coventré, and there ye shall se them all playd in Corpus Cristi playe.” Although this is related as a mere anecdote, it well illustrates the value which was then attached to the teachings of the ancient stage. Even as lately as the middle of the seventeenth century there could have been found in England an example of a person whose knowledge of the Scriptures was limited to his recollections of the performance of a mystery. The Rev. John Shaw, who was the temporary chaplain in a village in Lancashire in 1644, narrates the following curious anecdote respecting one of its inhabitants,—“one day an old man about sixty, sensible enough in other things, and living in the parish of Cartmel, coming to me about some business, I told him that he belonged to my care and charge, and I desired to be informed in his knowledge of religion. I asked him how many Gods there were ; he said, he knew not. I, informing him, asked him again how he thought to be saved ; he answered he could not tell, yet thought that was a harder question than the other. I told him that the way to salvation was by Jesus Christ, God-man, who, as he was man, shed his blood for us on the crosse, &c. Oh, sir, said he, I think I heard of that man you speake of once in a play at Kendall

called Corpus Christi Play, where there was a man on a tree and blood ran downe, &c., and after he professed he could not remember that ever he heard of salvation by Jesus but in that play." It is impossible to say to what extent even the Scriptural allusions in the works of Shakespeare himself may not be attributed to recollections of such performances, for in one instance at least the reference by the great dramatist is to the history as represented in those plays not to that recorded in the New Testament. The English mysteries indeed never lost their position as religious instructors, a fact which, viewed in connexion with that of a widely-spread affection for the old religion, appears to account for their long continuance in a practically unaltered state while other species of dramas were being developed by their side. From the fourteenth century until the termination of Shakespeare's youthful days they remained the simple poetic versions in dialogue of religious incidents of various kinds, enlivened by the occasional admission of humorous scenes. In some few instances the theological narrative was made subservient to the comic action, but as a rule the mysteries were designed to bring before the audience merely the personages and events of religious history. Allegorical charac-

ters had been occasionally introduced, and about the middle of the fifteenth century there appeared a new kind of English dramatic composition, apparently borrowed from France, in which the personages were either wholly or almost exclusively of that description. When the chief object of a performance of this nature, like that of the Cradle of Security previously described, was to inculcate a moral lesson, it was sometimes called either a Moral or a Moral-play, terms which continued in use till the seventeenth century, and were licentiously applied by some early writers to any dramas which were of an ethical or educational character. Morals were not only performed in Shakespeare's day, but continued to be a then recognized form of dramatic composition. Some of them were nearly as simple and inartificial as the mysteries, but others were not destitute of originality, or even of the delineation of character and manners. There was, however, no consecutive or systematic development of either the mystery into the moral or the moral into the historical and romantic drama, although there are examples in which the specialities of each are curiously intermingled. Each species of the early English drama appears for the most part to



have pursued its own separate and independent career.

In April, 1569, the poet's sister, Joan, was born. She was baptized on the 15th of that month, and, by a prevalent fashion which has created so much perplexity in discussions on longevities, was named after an elder child of the same parents who had died in infancy about ten years previously. John Shakespeare's term of office as High Bailiff expired in the September of the same year, 1569, his successor being one Robert Salisbury, a substantial yeoman then residing in a large house on the eastern side of Church Street.

Although there is no certain information on the subject, it may perhaps be assumed that, at this time, boys usually entered the Free School at the age of seven, according to the custom followed at a later period. If so, the poet commenced his studies there in the spring of the year 1571, and, unless its system of instruction differed essentially from that pursued in other establishments of a similar character, his earliest knowledge of Latin was derived from two well-known books of the time, the *Accidence* and the *Sententiæ Pueriles*. From the first of these works the improvised examination of Master Page in the *Merry Wives of Windsor*

is so almost verbally remembered, that one might imagine that the William of the scene was a resuscitation of the poet at school. Recollections of the same book are to be traced in other of his plays. The *Sententiæ Pueriles* was, in all probability, the little manual by the aid of which he first learned to construe Latin, for in one place, at least, he all but literally translates a brief passage and there are in his plays several adaptations of its sentiments. It was then sold for a penny, equivalent to about our present shilling, and contains a large collection of brief sentences collected from a variety of authors, with a distinct selection of moral and religious paragraphs, the latter intended for the use of boys on Saints' Days.

The best authorities unite in telling us that the poet imbibed a certain amount of Latin at school, but that his acquaintance with that language was, throughout his life, of a very limited character. It is not probable that scholastic learning was ever congenial to his tastes, and it should be recollected that books in most parts of the country were then of very rare occurrence. Lilly's Grammar and a few classical works, chained to the desks of the Free School, were probably the only volumes of the kind to be found at Stratford-on-Avon. Exclu-

sive of Bibles, Church Services, Psalters, and education manuals, there were certainly not more than two or three dozen books, if so many, in the whole town. The copy of the black-letter English history, so often depicted as well thumbed by Shakespeare in his father's parlour, never existed out of the imagination. Fortunately for us, the youthful dramatist had, excepting in the school-room, little opportunity of studying any but a grander volume, the infinite book of nature, the pages of which were ready to be unfolded to him in the lane and field, amongst the copses of Snitterfield, by the side of the river or that of his uncle's hedgerows.

Henry Shakespeare, the poet's uncle, resided on a large farm near Snitterfield church. The house has long disappeared, but two of the old enclosures that he rented, Burmans and Red Hill, are still to be observed on the right of the highway to Luscombe, with the ancient boundaries, and under the same names, by which they were distinguished in the days of Shakespeare's early youth. Nearly every one of the boy's connexions, as well as his uncle Henry, was a farmer. There was the brother of Agnes Arden, Alexander Webbe of Snitterfield, who died in 1573, appointing "to be my overseers to see this my last will and testament

performed, satisfied and fulfilled, according to my will, John Shackespere of Stretford-upon-Aven, John Hill of Bearley, and for theyre paynes taken I geve them xij.*s* a pece." Henry Shakespeare was present at the execution of this will, and there is other evidence that the poet's family were on friendly terms with the Hills of Bearley, who were connexions by marriage with the Ardens. Then there were the Lamberts of Barton-on-the-Heath, the Stringers of Bearley, the Etkyns of Wilmecote, all of whom were engaged in agricultural business, and Agnes Arden, who was still alive and farming at Wilmecote.

The defective classical education of the poet is not to be attributed to the conductors of the local seminary, for enough of Latin was taught to enable the more advanced pupils to display familiar correspondence in that language. It was really owing to his being removed from school long before the usual age, his father requiring his assistance in carrying on the Henley Street business. Some time afterwards, most likely in 1579, when he was in his sixteenth year, he was apprenticed by his father to a butcher. With respect to this unpoetical selection, it is of course necessary for the biographer to draw attention to the fact that the

great dramatist was no ordinary executioner, but, to use the words of Aubrey, "when he killed a calf, he would do it in a high style and make a speech." It may be doubted if even this palliative will suffice to reconcile the employment with our present ideal of the gentle Shakespeare, but he was not one of the few destined, at all events in early life, to be exempt from the laws which so frequently ordain mortals to be the reluctant victims of circumstances.

Whilst yet in his apprenticeship, and in his nineteenth year, "in order," observes Rowe "to settle in the world after a family manner, he thought fit to marry while he was yet very young," *Life of Shakespear*, ed. 1709, p. iv. At that period, before a licence for a marriage could be obtained, it was necessary to lodge at the Consistory Court a bond entered into by two responsible sureties, who, by that document, certified, under a heavy penalty in case of misrepresentation, that there was no impediment of precontract or consanguinity, the former of course alluding to a precontract of either of the affianced parties with a third person.

The bond given in anticipation of the marriage of William Shakespeare with Anne Hathaway is dated the twenty-eighth of November, 1582. Their first child, Susanna, was

baptized on Sunday, May the 26th, 1583. With those numerous moralists who do not consider it necessary for rigid enquiry to precede condemnation, these facts taint the husband with dishonour, although, even according to modern notions, that very marriage may have been induced on his part by a sentiment in itself the very essence of honour. If we assume, however, as we reasonably may, that cohabitation had previously taken place, no question of morals would in those days have arisen, or could have been entertained. The precontract, which was usually celebrated two or three months before marriage, *was not only legally recognised, but it invalidated a subsequent union of either of the parties with any one else.* There was a statute, indeed, of 32 Henry VIII., 1540, c. 38, s. 2, by which certain marriages were legalized notwithstanding precontracts, but the clause was repealed by the Act of 2 & 3 Edward VI., 1548, c. 23, s. 2, and the whole statute by 1 & 2 Phil. and Mar., 1554, c. 8, s. 19, while the Act of 1 Elizabeth, 1558, c. 1, s. 11, expressly confirms the revocation made by Edward the Sixth. The ascertained facts respecting Shakespeare's marriage clearly indicate the high probability of there having been a precontract, a ceremony which substantially

had the validity of the more formal one, and the improbability of that marriage having been celebrated under mysterious or unusual circumstances. Whether the early alliance was a prudent one in a worldly point of view may admit of doubt, but that the married pair continued on affectionate terms, until they were separated by the poet's death, may be gathered from the early local tradition that his wife "did earnestly desire to be laid in the same grave with him." The legacy to her of the second-best bed is an evidence which does not by itself negative the later testimony.

Early marriages are not, however, at least with men, invariably preceded by a dispersion of the wild oats; and it appears that Shakespeare had neglected to complete that desirable operation. Three or four years after his union with Anne Hathaway, he had, observes Rowe, ed. 1709, p. 5, "by a misfortune common enough to young fellows, fallen into ill company, and, amongst them, some, that made a frequent practice of deer-stealing, engag'd him with them more than once in robbing a park that belong'd to Sir Thomas Lucy of Cherlecot, near Stratford;—for this he was prosecuted by that gentleman, as he thought, somewhat too severely, and, in order to revenge that ill-usage, he made

a ballad upon him ; and tho' this, probably the first essay of his poetry, be lost, yet it is said to have been so very bitter that it redoubled the prosecution against him to that degree, that he was oblig'd to leave his business and family in Warwickshire for some time, and shelter himself in London." If we accept this narrative, which is the most reliable account of the incident that has been preserved, the date of the poet's departure from his native town may be assigned to some period after the births of his youngest children, the twin Hamnet and Judith, who were baptized at Stratford-on-Avon on February the 2nd, 1585.

At the period of Shakespeare's arrival in London, any reputable kind of employment was obtained with considerable difficulty. There is an evidence of this in the history of the early life of John Sadler, a native of Stratford-on-Avon and one of the poet's contemporaries, who tried his fortunes in the metropolis under similar though less discouraging circumstances. This youth, upon quitting Stratford, "join'd himself to the carrier, and came to London, where he had never been before, and sold his horse in Smithfield ; and, having no acquaintance in London to recommend him or assist him, he went from street to street, and house to house,



asking if they wanted an apprentice, and though he met with many discouraging scorns and a thousand denials, he went on till he light on Mr. Brokesbank, a grocer in Bucklersbury, who, though he long denied him for want of sureties for his fidelity, and because the money he had (but ten pounds) was so disproportionate to what he used to receive with apprentices, yet, upon his discreet account he gave of himself and the motives which put him upon that course, and promise to compensate with diligent and faithfull service whatever else was short of his expectation, he ventured to receive him upon trial, in which he so well approved himself that he accepted him into his service, to which he bound him for eight years." It is to be gathered, from the account given by Rowe, that Shakespeare, a fugitive, leaving his native town unexpectedly, must have reached London more unfavourably circumstanced than Sadler, although the latter experienced so much trouble in finding occupation. At all events, there would have been greater difficulty in the poet's case in accounting satisfactorily to employers for his sudden departure from home. That he was also nearly, if not quite, moneyless, is to be inferred from tradition, the latter supported by the ascertained fact of the adverse

circumstances of his father at the time rendering it impossible for him to have received effectual assistance from his parents; nor is there any reason for believing that he was likely to have obtained substantial aid from the relatives of his wife. Johnson no doubt accurately reported the tradition of his day, when, in 1765, he stated that Shakespeare "came to London a needy adventurer, and lived for a time by very mean employments." To the same effect is the earlier testimony given by the author of *Ratseis Ghost*, 1605, where the strolling player, in a passage reasonably believed to refer to the great dramatist, observes in reference to actors, "I have heard, indeede, of some that have gone to London *very meanly*, and have come in time to be exceeding wealthy." The author of the last named tract was evidently well acquainted with the theatrical gossip of his day, so that his nearly contemporary evidence on the subject may be fairly accepted as a truthful record of the current belief.

The stage was in those days one of the few professions which required no capital and little preparation; but it does not follow that an inexperienced youth, fresh from the provinces, would easily have gained employment at once on the metropolitan boards even as a super-

numerary. The quotations above given seem to indicate that his earlier occupation was something of a lower character. A traditional anecdote was current about the middle of the last century, according to which it would appear that Shakespeare, if connected in any sort of manner with the theatre immediately upon his arrival in London, could only have been engaged in a servile capacity, and that there was, in the career of the great poet, an interval which some may consider one of degradation, to be regarded with either incredulity or sorrow. Others may, with more discernment and without reluctance, receive the story as a testimony to Shakespeare's practical wisdom in accepting any kind of honest occupation in preference to starvation or mendicancy, and cheerfully making the best of the circumstances by which he was surrounded. The tale is related by several writers, but perhaps the best version is the one recorded by Dr. Johnson, in 1765, in the following terms,—“In the time of Elizabeth, coaches being yet uncommon and hired coaches not at all in use, those who were too proud, too tender or too idle to walk, went on horseback to any distant business or diversion. Many came on horseback to the play, and when Shakespear fled to London from the terrour of a criminal

prosecution, his first expedient was to wait at the door of the play-house, and hold the horses of those that had no servants that they might be ready again after the performance. In this office he became so conspicuous for his care and readiness, that in a short time every man as he alighted called for Will Shakespear, and scarcely any other waiter was trusted with a horse while Will Shakespear could be had. This was the first dawn of better fortune. Shakespear, finding more horses put into his hand than he could hold, hired boys to wait under his inspection, who, when Will Shakespear was summoned, were immediately to present themselves, 'I am Shakespear's boy, sir.' In time Shakespear found higher employment, but as long as the practice of riding to the play-house continued the waiters that held the horses retained the appellation of Shakespear's Boys." Dr. Johnson received this anecdote from Pope, to whom it had been communicated by Rowe; and it appears from a statement in Cibber's *Lives of the Poets*, 1753, that it reached the latter through Betterton and Davenant.

It has been and is the fashion with most biographers to discredit the horse tradition entirely, but that it was originally related by Sir William Davenant, and belongs in some

form to the earlier half of the seventeenth century, cannot reasonably be doubted. The circumstance of the anecdote being founded upon the daily practice of numerous gentlemen riding to the theatres, a custom obsolete after the Restoration, is sufficient to establish the antiquity of the story. In a little volume of epigrams by Sir John Davis, printed at Middleborough in or about the year 1599, a man of inferior position is ridiculed for being constantly on horseback, imitating in that respect persons of higher rank,—“*He rides into the fieldes playes to behold.*” Ben Jonson, in the Induction to *Cynthia's Revels*, first acted in the year 1600, also alludes to the ordinary use of horses by visitors to theatres (Workes, ed. 1616, p. 184); so does Decker in his *Guls Horne-book*, 1609; and a later reference to the practice occurs in Brome's *Court Beggar*, a comedy acted at Drury-Lane Theatre in the year 1632. Many writers have rejected the tradition mainly on the ground that, although it was known to Rowe, he does not allude to it in his *Life of Shakespeare*, 1709; but there is no improbability in the supposition that the story was not related to him until after the publication of that work, the second edition of which in 1714 is a mere reprint of the first. Other reasons for the omission

may be suggested, but even if it be conceded that the anecdote was rejected as suspicious and improbable, that circumstance alone cannot be decisive against the opinion that there may be a particle of truth in it. This is, indeed, all that is contended for. Few would be disposed to accept the story literally as related by Johnson, but when it is considered that the tradition must be a very early one, that its genealogy is respectable, and that it harmonizes with the general old belief of the great poet having, when first in London, subsisted by "very mean employments," little doubt can fairly be entertained that it has at least in some way or other a foundation in real occurrences. It should also be remembered that horse-stealing was one of the very commonest offences of the period, and one which was probably stimulated by the facility with which delinquents of that class obtained pardons. The safe custody of a horse was a matter of serious import, and a person who had satisfactorily fulfilled such a trust would not be lightly estimated.

It is not requisite to assume that Shakespeare rushed in the first instance to the theatre or its neighbourhood in search of employment, and a plausible explanation can be given of the circumstances which led him to the occupation

mentioned in the Davenant anecdote. It appears that James Burbage, the owner of the Theatre, rented premises close by Smithfield in which he "usually kept horses at liverye for sundry persons ;" his assistant, or rather manager, of the stable being "a northerne man usually called by the name of Robyn," possibly the same individual whose life was afterwards sacrificed by the unfortunate rise in the price of oats. If the course adopted by Sadler on his arrival in London was, as is most likely, the one also taken by the poet, the latter would at once have proceeded to Smithfield to obtain the best price for the horse which carried him to the metropolis, the further retention of the animal being no doubt beyond his means. He might readily upon this occasion have become acquainted with James Burbage, at a time when he was desirous of obtaining any kind of situation that presented itself, the tradition leading to the inference that he was engaged by the latter to act in some equine capacity. If so, one of his duties would have been the care, during the performances, of the horses of those of Burbage's Smithfield customers who visited the theatre. This enterprising manager was also the landlord of a tavern in Shoreditch, where it is possible that his own horses may

have been kept. He must, at all events, have been just the kind of person to be ready to take an active and intelligent youth into his service, without being too inquisitive respecting the history of the lad's antecedents.

The transition from the stable and the fields to the interior of the theatre may not have been long deferred, but all the evidences unite in affirming that Shakespeare entered the latter in a very humble capacity. The best authority on this point is one William Castle, who was the parish-clerk of Stratford-on-Avon during nearly all the latter part of the seventeenth century, and used to tell visitors that the poet "was received into the playhouse as a serviture," in other words, an attendant on the performers. A later account is somewhat more explicit. We are informed by Malone, writing in 1780, that there was "a stage tradition that his first office in the theatre was that of prompter's attendant, whose employment it is to give the performers notice to be ready to enter as often as the business of the play requires their appearance on the stage." This functionary is termed the call-boy, each actor being summoned by him a few minutes before the prompter is ready to give the cue for entrance on the stage ; nor can the future eminence of Shakespeare be considered



to be opposed to the reception of the tradition. "I have known men within my remembrance," observes Downes, in 1710, "arrive to the highest dignities of the theatre, who made their entrance in the quality of mutes, joint-stools, flower-pots and tapestry-hangings." The office of prompter's attendant was at least as respectable as any of the occupations which are here enumerated.

No one has recorded the name of the first theatre with which Shakespeare was connected, but if, as is almost certain, he came to London in or soon after the year 1585, there were at the time of his arrival only two in the metropolis, both of them on the north of the Thames. The earliest legitimate theatre on the south was the Rose, the erection of which was contemplated in the year 1587, but it would seem from Henslowe's Diary that the building was not opened till early in 1592. The circus at Paris Garden, though perhaps occasionally used for dramatic performances, was not a regular theatre. Admitting, however, the possibility that companies of players could have hired the latter establishment, there is good reason for concluding that Southwark was not the locality alluded to in the Davenant tradition. The usual mode of transit for those Londoners who desired to attend theatrical performances in

Southwark, was certainly by water. The boatmen of the Thames were perpetually asserting at a somewhat later period that their living depended on the continuance of the Southwark, and the suppression of the London, theatres. Some few of the courtly members of the audience, perhaps for the mere sake of appearances, might occasionally have arrived at their destination on horseback, having taken what would be to most of them the circuitous route over London Bridge ; but the large majority would select the more convenient passage by boat. The Southwark audiences mainly consisted of Londoners, for in the then sparsely inhabited condition of Kent and Surrey very few could have arrived from those counties. The number of riders to the Bankside theatres must, therefore, always have been very limited, too much so for the remunerative employment of horse-holders, whose services would be required merely in regard to the still fewer persons who were unattended by their lackeys. The only theatres upon the other side of the Thames, when the poet arrived in London, were the Theatre and the Curtain, for, notwithstanding some apparent testimonies to the contrary, the Blackfriars' Theatre, as will be afterwards shown, was not then in existence.

It was to the Theatre or to the Curtain that the satirist alluded when he speaks of the fashionable youth riding "into the fieldes playes to behold." Both these theatres were situated in the parish of Shoreditch, in the fields of the Liberty of Halliwell, in which locality, if the Davenant tradition is in the slightest degree to be trusted, Shakespeare must have commenced his metropolitan life. This new career, however, was initiated not absolutely in London, but in a thinly populated outskirt about half a mile from the city walls, a locality possessing outwardly the appearance of a country village, but inwardly sustaining much of the bustle and all the vices of the town. These latter inconveniences could easily be avoided, for there were in the neighbouring meadows ample opportunities for quiet meditation or scientific enquiry. Here it was that Gerard, the celebrated botanist, a few years afterwards stumbled upon a new kind of crowfoot which he describes as being similar to the ordinary plant, "saving that his leaves are fatter, thicker and greener, and his small twiggie stalkes stand upright, otherwise it is like; of which kinde it chanced that, walking in the fieldes next unto the Theater by London, in company of a worshipfull marchant named master Nicholas Lete,

I founde one of this kinde there with double flowers, which before that time I had not seene," the Herball, 1597, p. 804. Thus Shakespeare's observation of our wild flowers was not necessarily limited, as has been supposed, to his provincial experiences, two of the principal theatres with which he was connected having been situated in a rural suburb, and green fields being throughout his life within an easy walk from any part of London.

Shakespeare's early theatrical life must have been an era of pecuniary struggles. There were his wife and children to support, at all events partially, even if some kind of assistance were tendered by the Hathaways; while his father had been in difficulties for several years past. In 1578 his parents had borrowed the sum of £40, on the security of his mother's estate of Asbies, from their connection, Edmund Lambert of Barton-on-the-Heath. The loan remaining unpaid, and the mortgagee dying in March, 1587, his son and heir, John, was naturally desirous of having the matter settled. John Shakespeare being at that time in prison for debt, and obviously unable to furnish the money, it was arranged shortly afterwards that Lambert should, on cancelling the mortgage and paying also the sum of £20, receive from the

Shakespeare's an absolute title to the estate. This offer would perhaps not have been made had it not been ascertained that the eldest son, William, had a contingent interest, derived no doubt from a settlement, and that his assent was essential to the security of a conveyance. The proposed arrangement was not completed, but the record of the poet's sanction to it is an interesting evidence that no estrangement between his parents and himself had followed the circumstances which led him to the metropolis.

It clearly appears, from the account given by Rowe, that Shakespeare returned to his native town after the dangers from the Lucy persecution had subsided. The same writer informs us that the visit occurred subsequently to his junction with one of the theatrical companies. The exact dates of these events are unknown, but it is not likely that he would have ventured into Sir Thomas's neighbourhood for a considerable time after his escapade. Country justices wielded in those days tremendous power in adjudication on minor offences. There were no newspapers to carry the intelligence of provincial tyranny to the ears of a sensitive public opinion, and there is no doubt that a youth in Shakespeare's position, who had dared to lampoon the most

influential magistrate of the locality, would have been for some time in a critical position. It is, therefore, not probable that the poet would be found again at Stratford-on-Avon before the year 1587, and then we have, in the Lambert episode, a substantial reason for believing that he had at that time a conference with his parents on the subject of the Asbies mortgage. The sum of £20, equivalent to at least £240 of our present money, to be paid in cash by Lambert, would have been an element of serious importance to them all in their then financial circumstances. It must have been a subject for anxious deliberation, one that could hardly have been arranged without a personal interview, and, in the presence of Rowe's testimony, it may fairly be assumed that the meeting took place at Stratford, not in London.

In the same year, 1587, an unusual number of companies of actors visited Stratford-on-Avon, including the Queen's Players and those of Lords Essex, Leicester, and Stafford. This circumstance has given rise to a variety of speculations respecting the company to which the poet may have belonged; but the fact is that we are destitute of any information, and have no relative means of forming an opinion on the subject. Even if it be conceded that

Burbage's theatre was the first with which Shakespeare was connected, no progress is made in the enquiry. That personage, who had retired from the stage, was in the habit of letting the building to any public entertainers who would remunerate him either in cash or by a share of profits. There was no establishment at that time devoted for a long continuous period to the use of a single company.

It may be gathered, from the poet's subsequent history, that his return to Stratford-on-Avon was merely of a temporary character. The actors of those days were, as a rule, individual wanderers, spending a large portion of their time at a distance from their families ; and there is every reason for believing that this was the case with Shakespeare from the period of his arrival in London until nearly the end of his life. All the old theatrical companies were more or less of an itinerant character, and it is all but impossible that he should not have already commenced his provincial tours. But what were their directions, or who were his associates, have not been discovered. There is not, indeed, a single particle of evidence respecting his career during the next five years, that is to say, from the time of the Lambert negotiation, in 1587, until he is discovered as a rising actor and dramatist in 1592.

This interval must have been the chief period of Shakespeare's literary education. Removed prematurely from school; residing with illiterate relatives in a bookless neighbourhood; thrown into the midst of occupations adverse to scholastic progress—it is difficult to believe that, when he first left Stratford, he was not all but destitute of polished accomplishments. He could not, at all events, under the circumstances in which he had then so long been placed, have had the opportunity of acquiring a refined style of composition. After he had once, however, gained a footing in London, he would have been placed under different conditions. Books of many kinds would have been accessible to him, and he would have been almost daily within hearing of the best dramatic poetry of the age. There would also no doubt have been occasional facilities for picking up a little smattering of the continental languages, and it is almost beyond a doubt that he added somewhat to his classical knowledge during his residence in the metropolis. It is, for instance, hardly possible that the *Amores* of Ovid, whence he derived his earliest motto, could have been one of his school-books.

Although Shakespeare had exhibited a taste for poetic composition before his first departure



from Stratford-on-Avon, all traditions agree in the statement that he was a recognized actor before he joined the ranks of the dramatists. This event appears to have occurred on the third of March, 1592, when a new drama, entitled *Henry, or Harry, the Sixth*, was brought out by Lord Strange's Servants, then acting either at Newington or Southwark under an arrangement with Henslowe, a wealthy stage manager, to whom no doubt the author had sold the play. In this year, as we learn on unquestionable authority, Shakespeare was first rising into prominent notice, so that the history then produced, now known as the *First Part of Henry the Sixth*, was, in all probability, his earliest complete dramatic work. Its extraordinary success must have secured for the author a substantial position in the theatrical world of the day. The play had, for those times, an unusually long run, so that Nash, writing in or before the following month of July, states that the performances of it had, in that short interval, been witnessed by "ten thousand spectators at least," and, although this estimate may be overstrained, there can be no hesitation in receiving it as a valid testimony to the singular popularity of the new drama. The *Second Part of Henry the Sixth* must have appeared

soon afterwards, but no record of its production on the stage has been preserved. The former drama was published for the first time in the collective edition of 1623. A garbled and spurious version of the second play, the unskilful work of some one who had not access to a perfect copy of the original, appeared in the year 1594 under the title of the First Part of the Contention betwixt the Houses of York and Lancaster. It was published by Millington, the same bookseller who afterwards issued the surreptitious edition of Henry the Fifth.

Robert Greene, a distinguished prose writer and dramatist, who had commenced his literary career nine years previously, died on the third of September, 1592. In a work entitled the Groatsworth of Wit, written shortly before his death, he had travestied, in an interesting sarcastic episode respecting some of his contemporaries, a line from one of Shakespeare's then recent compositions,—*O, tiger's heart, wrapp'd in a woman's hide!* This line is of extreme interest as including the earliest record of words composed by the great dramatist. It forms part of a vigorous speech which is as Shakespearean in its natural characterial fidelity, as it is Marlowean in its diction. This speech of the unfortunate Duke of York's is one of the most

striking in the play, and the above special line was probably selected for quotation by Greene on account of its popularity through effective delivery. The quotation shows that the Third Part of Henry the Sixth was written previously to September, 1592, and hence it may be concluded that all Shakespeare's plays on the subject of that reign, although perhaps subsequently revised in a few places by the author, were originally produced in that year. A surreptitious and tinkered version of the Third Part, made up by an inferior hand chiefly out of imperfect materials, appeared in 1595 under the title of the Tragedy of Richard Duke of York, and therein stated to have been "sundry times acted by the Earl of Pembroke's servants."

There is no reason for wonder in the style of a young author being influenced by that of a popular and accomplished contemporary, and judgement on the authorship of much of the above-named plays should not be ruled by a criticism which can only fairly be applied to the rapidly approaching period when the great dramatist had outlived the possibility of appearing in the character of an imitative writer. That Shakespeare commenced his literary vocation as, to some extent, a follower of Marlowe can hardly be denied, even were the line quoted

by Greene the only remnant of his early plays, and that the three Parts of Henry the Sixth had been some years on the stage, when Henry the Fifth was produced in 1599, may be gathered from that interesting relic of literary autobiography, the final chorus to the latter play. The theory which best agrees with the positive evidences is that which concedes the authorship of the three plays to Shakespeare, their production in the year 1592, and the quarto editions of the Second and Third Parts as vamped, imperfect, and blundering versions of the poet's own original dramas.

The Groatsworth of Wit was published very soon after the unfortunate writer's decease, that is to say, it appeared towards the end of September, 1592; and it is clear that one portion of it had been composed under the influence of a profound jealousy of Shakespeare. Greene is addressing his fellow-dramatists, and speaking of the actors of their plays, thus introduces his satirical observations on the author of the Third Part of Henry the Sixth, with a travesty of the line above mentioned,—“trust them not, for there is an upstart crow, beautified with our feathers, that with his *Tygers heart wrapt in a Players hide*, supposes he is as well able to bumbast out a blanke verse as the best of you ;

and being an absolute *Johannes fac totum*, is in his owne conceit the onely Shake-scene in a countrie." It was natural that these impertinent remarks should have annoyed the object of them, and that they were so far effective may be gathered from an interesting statement made by the editor, Henry Chettle, in a work of his own, entitled *Kind-Heart's Dream*,<sup>#</sup> that he published a few weeks afterwards, in which he specially regrets that the attack had proved offensive to Shakespeare, whom, he observes,—“at that time I did not so much spare as since I wish I had, for that, as I have moderated the heate of living writers, and might have usde my owne discretion, especially in such a case, the author beeing dead, that I did not I am as sory as if the originall fault had beene my fault, because myselfe have seene his demeanor no lesse civill than he exelent in the qualitie he professes ; besides, divers of worship have reported his uprightnes of dealing, which argues his honesty, and his facetious grace in writing, that aprooves his art.” Apologies of this kind are so apt to be overstrained that we can hardly gather more from the present one than the respectable position Shakespeare held as a writer and actor, and that Chettle, having made his acquaintance, was desirous of keeping friends with one who was

beginning to be appreciated by the higher classes of society. The annoyance, however, occasioned by Greene's posthumous criticism was soon forgotten by the poet amidst the triumphs of his subsequent career.

Removing now the scene of our fragmentary history from the metropolis to the country, we find, at the time of Greene's lampoonry, the poet's father busily engaged with his counters in appraising the goods of one Henry Field, a tanner of Stratford-on-Avon, whose inventory, attached to his will, was taken in August, 1592. This tradesman's son, Richard, who was apprenticed to a printer in London in the year 1579, took up his freedom in 1587, and soon afterwards commenced business on his own account, an elegant copy of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, 1589, being amongst the numerous works that issued from his press. It is most likely, indeed all but certain, that Shakespeare participated in his father's acquaintance with the printer's relatives, and at all events there was the provincial tie, so specially dear to Englishmen when at a distance from the town of their birth, between the poet and Richard Field. When, therefore, the latter is discovered, early in the year 1593, engaged in the production of *Venus and Adonis*, it is

only reasonable to infer that the author had a control over the typographical arrangements. The purity of the text and the nature of the dedication may be thought to strengthen this opinion, and, although poems were not then generally introduced to the public in the same glowing terms usually accorded to dramatic pieces, the singularly brief and anonymous title-page does not bear the appearance of a publisher's handy-work : Field, however, registered the copyright to himself on April the 18th, and the work was offered for sale, at the White Greyhound in St. Paul's Churchyard, by his friend, John Harrison, the publisher of the first three editions, and who next year became the owner both of the *Venus* and *Lucrece*. It may be well to record that the publication had what was probably the vicarious sanction of no less an individual than the Archbishop of Canterbury, who, although no Puritan, would scarcely have considered its exquisite versification sufficient to atone for its voluptuous character.

The poem of *Venus and Adonis*, which was favorably received and long continued to be the most popular book of the kind, is termed by the author "the first heir of my invention." If these words are to be literally interpreted, it must have been written in or before the year

1592 ; but Shakespeare may be referring only to works of a strictly poetical character, which were then held in far higher estimation than dramatic compositions. However that may be, the oft-repeated belief that *Venus and Adonis* was a production of his younger days at Stratford-on-Avon can hardly be sustained. It is extremely improbable that an epic, so highly finished and so completely devoid of patois, could have been produced under the circumstances of his then domestic surroundings, while, moreover, the notion is opposed to the best and earliest traditional opinions. It is also to be observed that there is nothing in the Dedication in favour of such a conjecture, although the fact, had it been one, would have formed a ready and natural defence against the writer's obvious timidity. The work was inscribed, apparently without permission, to Lord Southampton, a young nobleman then only in his twentieth year, who about this time had commenced to exhibit a special disposition to encourage the rising authors of the metropolis.

Literature, in Shakespeare's time, was nearly the only passport of the lower and middle class to the countenance and friendship of the great. It was no wonder that the poet, in days when interest was all but omnipotent, should have



wished to secure the advantages that could hardly fail to be derived from a special association with an individual in the favoured position, and with the exceptionally generous character, of Lord Southampton. Wealthy, accomplished and romantic,—with a temperament that could listen to a metrical narrative of the follies of Venus without yielding to hysterics,—the young nobleman was presumably the most eligible dedicatee that Shakespeare could have desired for the introduction of his first poem to the literary world. It is evident, however, that, when he was penning the inscription to Venus and Adonis, whatever presentiment he may have entertained on the subject, he was by no means sure that his lordship would give a friendly reception to, much less so that he would be gratified by, the intended compliment. But all doubts upon these points were speedily removed, and little more than a twelvemonth elapsed before the poet is found warmly attached to Lord Southampton, and eagerly taking the opportunity, in his second address, of tendering his gratitude for favours conferred in the interval.

In the winter-season of 1593-4, Shakespeare's earliest tragedy, which was, unfortunately, based on a repulsive tale, was brought out by the Earl of Sussex's actors, who were

then performing, after a tour in the provinces, at one of the Surrey theatres. They were either hired by, or playing under some financial arrangement with, Henslowe, who, after the representation of a number of revivals, ventured upon the production of a drama on the story of Titus Andronicus, the only new play introduced during the season. This tragedy, having been successfully produced before a large audience on January the 23rd, 1594, was shortly afterwards entered on the books of the Stationers' Company and published by Danter. It was also performed, almost if not quite simultaneously, by the servants of the Earls of Derby and Pembroke. Thus it appears that Shakespeare, up to this period, had written all his dramas for Henslowe, and that they were acted, under the sanction of that manager, by the various companies performing from 1592 to 1594 at the Rose Theatre and Newington Butts, Titus Andronicus and the three parts of Henry the Sixth must of course have been afterwards sold by Henslowe to the Lord Chamberlain's company.

It cannot be absolutely observed of Shakespeare, as it has been of another great poet, that he woke up one morning to discover that he was famous, but there is reason for believing

that the publication of his *Lucrece*, in the May of this year, almost immediately secured for its author a higher reputation than would then have been established by the most brilliant efforts of dramatic art. This magnificent poem, which was originally proposed to be entitled the *Ravishment of Lucrece*, must have been written after the Dedication to *Venus and Adonis*, and before the entry of the former work at Stationers' Hall, that is to say, at some time between April, 1593, and May, 1594. There can be no doubt of the estimation in which it was held in the year of publication, the author of an elegy on Lady Helen Branch, 1594, including amongst our *greater poetes*,—"You that have writ of chaste Lucretia, =whose death was witnesse of her Spotlesse life;" and Drayton, in his *Matilda*, of the same date, speaking of *Lucrece*, "lately reviv'd to live another age." Shakespeare's new poem is also mentioned in Willobie's *Avisa*, published in September, the earliest contemporary work in which he is introduced by name; and in the following year, "*Lucrecia—Sweet Shakspeare*,"—is a marginal note to *Polimanteia*, 1595, one which implies that it was then considered his best work. Later references testify its continued appreciation, and it was received as the

perfect exposition of woman's chastity, a sequel, or rather perhaps a companion, to the earlier one of her profligacy. The contemporaries of Shakespeare allude more than once to the two poems as being his most important works, and as those on which his literary distinction chiefly rested.

The prefixes to the *Venus* and *Lucrece* are, in the presence of so few biographical memorials, inestimable records of their author. The two dedications and the argument to the second work are the only non-dramatic prose compositions of Shakespeare that have descended to modern times, while the former are, alas, the sole remaining samples of his epistolary writings. The latter are of course by far the more interesting, and, making allowances for the inordinate deference to rank which then prevailed, they are perfect examples of the judicious fusion of independence with courtesy in a suggestive application for a favour, and in expressions of gratitude for its concession.

In the June of this same year, 1594, *Titus Andronicus* was performed at Newington Butts by the Lord Chamberlain's, then acting in conjunction with the Lord Admiral's Servants. It is exceedingly probable that Shakespeare then belonged to the former company, and if so, the

poet would have been one of the actors in the plays daily represented, Friday excepted, at the Newington Theatre from the third to the thirteenth of June in that year, in performances which included Marlowe's *Jew of Malta*, the old *Tragedy of Hamlet*, and the *Taming of a Shrew*.

The earliest definite notice, however, of the poet's appearance on the stage, is one in which he is recorded as having been a player in two comedies that were acted before Queen Elizabeth in the following December, 1594, at Greenwich Palace. He was then described as one of the Lord Chamberlain's Servants, and was associated in the performances with Kemp and Burbage, the former of whom was the most favourite comedian of the day. It is not known to what company or companies Shakespeare belonged previously to his adhesion to the one last named ; but the probabilities are these.—It is well ascertained that Henslowe was an exceedingly grasping manager, and it is, therefore, most unlikely that he would have speculated in new plays that were not intended for immediate use. We may then fairly assume that every drama composed for him would be, in the first instance, produced by the actors that occupied his theatre when the manuscript was

purchased. Now, as Shakespeare was an actor as well as a dramatist, there is an inclination towards the belief that he would have been engaged at Henslowe's theatre when employed to write for that personage, and, if we accept the theory of early production, would have belonged to those companies by whom the first representations of his dramas were given. If this view be taken, it would appear that the poet was one of Lord Strange's actors in March, 1592; one of Lord Pembroke's a few months later; and that he had joined the company of the Earl of Sussex in or before January, 1594.

There were rare doings at Gray's Inn in the Christmas holidays of 1594. The students of that house had usually excelled in their festive arrangements, and this year they made preparations for revels on a scale of exceptional magnificence, sports that were to include burlesque performances, masques, plays and dances, as well as processions through London and on the Thames. A mock Court was held at the Inn under the presidency of one Henry Helmes, a Norfolk gentleman, who was elected Prince of Purpoole, the ancient name of the manor, other students being elected to serve under him in all the various offices then appertaining to royalty and government. The grand entertain-

ment of all was arranged for the evening of Innocents' Day, December the 28th, on which occasion high scaffolds had been erected in the hall for the accommodation of the revellers and the principal guests, a large number of the latter having received invitations. Amongst the guests, the students of the Inner Temple, joining in the humour of their professional neighbours, and appearing as an embassy credited by their Emperor, arrived about nine o'clock "very gallantly appointed." The ambassador, we are told, was "brought in very solemnly, with sound of trumpets, the King at Arms and Lords of Purpoole making to his company, which marched before him in order ;—he was received very kindly by the Prince, and placed in a chair beside his Highness, to the end that he might be partaker of the sports intended." Complimentary addresses were then exchanged between the Prince and the Ambassador, but, owing to defective arrangements for a limitation of the number of those entitled to admission on the stage, there followed a scene of confusion which ended in the Templarians retiring in dudgeon. "After their departure," as we are told in the original narrative, "the throngs and tumults did somewhat cease, although so much of them con-

tinued as was able to disorder and confound any good inventions whatsoever; in regard whereof, as also for that the sports intended were especially for the gracing of the Templarians, it was thought good not to offer anything of account saving dancing and revelling with gentlewomen; and, after such sports, a Comedy of Errors, like to Plautus his *Menechmus*, was played by the players; so that night was begun and continued to the end in nothing but confusion and errors, whereupon it was ever afterwards called the Night of Errors." This is the earliest notice of the comedy which has yet been discovered, but that it was written before the year 1594 may be inferred from an allusion in it to the civil war for and against Henry the Fourth, the Protestant heir to the French throne, a contest which terminated in 1593.

The elegantly roof-timbered hall of Gray's Inn, the erection of which was completed in the year 1560, is one of the only two buildings now remaining in London in which, so far as we know, any of the plays of Shakespeare were performed in his own time. In accordance with the then usual custom of the Inns of Court, professional actors were engaged for the representation of the Comedy of Errors, and al-



though their names are not mentioned, it may be safely inferred that the play was acted by the Lord Chamberlain's Company, that to which Shakespeare was then attached, and the owner of the copyright. The performance must have taken place very late on the night following the day in which the poet had had the honour of playing before Queen Elizabeth. On the next evening there was a Commission of Oyer and Terminer at Gray's Inn to enquire into the circumstances of the misfortunes of the previous night, the cause of the tumult being assigned to the intervention of a sorcerer; but it is hardly pleasant to be told, even in burlesque, that this personage was accused of having "foisted a company of base and common fellows to make up our disorders with a play of errors and confusions." The Comedy of Errors, the perfection of dramatic farce, long continued an acting play, it having been performed before James the First on December the 28th, 1604.

When Greene thought to be sarcastic in terming Shakespeare "an absolute Johannes Factotum," he furnished an independent and valuable testimony to the poet's conspicuous activity. It is but reasonable to assume that part of this energy in theatrical matters was devoted, in accordance with the ordinary practice

of the time, to the revision and enlargement of the plays of others, work then assigned by managers to any convenient hands, without reference to sentimental views of authorial integrity. No record, however, has been discovered of the name of even one drama so treated by Shakespeare in the early period of his career, so that, if any such composition is preserved, the identification necessarily depends upon the tests of internal evidence. These are valueless in the chief direction, for there is surely not a known possible example in which is to be traced the incontestible supremacy of dramatic power that would on that account sanction the positive attribution of even one of its scenes to the pen of the great dramatist. Other tests, such as those of phraseology and mannerism, are nearly always illusory, but in an anonymous and popular drama entitled the *Reign of King Edward the Third*, produced in or before the year 1595, there are occasional passages which, by most judgments, will be accepted as having been written either by Shakespeare, or by an exceedingly dexterous and successful imitator of one of his then favourite styles of composition. For who but one or the other could have endowed a kind and gentle lady with the ability of replying to

the impertinent addresses of a foolish sovereign in words such as these,—

As easy may my intellectual soul  
Be lent away, and yet my body live,  
As lend my body, palace to my soul,  
Away from her, and yet retain my soul.  
My body is her bower, her court, her abbey,  
And she an angel, pure, divine, unspotted !  
If I should lend her house, my lord, to thee,  
I kill my poor soul, and my poor soul me.

or have enabled the king, when instinctively acknowledging the dread effect of her beauty, to thus express a wish that “ugly treason” might lie,—

No farther off than her conspiring eye,  
Which shoots infected poison in my heart,  
Beyond repulse of wit or cure of art,  
Now, in the sun alone it doth not lie,  
With light to take light from a mortal eye ;  
For here two day-stars, that mine eyes would see,  
More than the sun steal mine own light from me.  
Contemplative desire !—desire to be  
In contemplation that may master thee.

or have made the royal secretary convey his impression of the lady's conquest in the following lines,—

I might perceive his eye in her eye lost,  
His ear to drink her sweet tongue's utterance ;  
And changing passion, like inconstant clouds,  
That, rackt upon the carriage of the winds,  
Increase and die in his disturbed cheeks.  
Lo ! when she blush'd, even then did he look pale,

As if her cheeks, by some enchanted power,  
Attracted had the cherry blood from his.  
Anon, with reverent fear, when she grew pale,  
His cheek put on their scarlet ornaments,  
But no more like her oriental red  
Than brick to coral, or live things to dead.

but, as it is possible that Edward the Third was composed some time before the year 1595, it may, of course, be assumed that Shakespeare himself was the imitator, in his own acknowledged works, of the style of the writer of this anonymous play, or of that of some other author, the predecessor of both. Not one in fifty of the dramas of this period having descended to modern times, much of the reasoning upon this and similar questions must be received with grave suspicion of its validity, and the exact history of the composition of the play above quoted will most likely remain for ever a mystery. If, however, it is thought probable that Shakespeare's career of imitation expired with his treading in some of the footsteps of Marlowe, and that he had not, at the latest time when Edward the Third could have appeared, achieved a popularity sufficient to attract imitators of his own style, then there will be the conclusion that his work is to be traced in parts of that historical drama. Every now and then one meets in it with passages, especially in the

scenes referring to the King's infatuation for the Countess of Salisbury, which are so infinitely superior in composition to the rest of the play, and so exactly in Shakespeare's manner, this inference, under the above-named premises, can scarcely be avoided. Whether this view be accepted or not, Edward the Third will, under any circumstances, be indissolubly connected with the literary history of the great dramatist, for one of its lines is also found in his ninety-fourth sonnet. As the latter poem, even if it had been written as early as 1595, was not printed for many years afterwards, it is unlikely that the line in question could have been transplanted from the sonnet into the play by any one but Shakespeare himself, who, however, might have reversed the operation, whether he were or were not the original author of the words. This is the passage in the drama in which the line of the former is introduced,—

A spacious field of reasons could I urge  
Between his gloomy daughter and thy shame,—  
That poison shows worst in a golden cup ;  
Dark night seems darker by the lightning flash ;  
*Lilies that fester smell far worse than weeds ;*  
And every glory that inclines to sin,  
The shame is treble by the opposite.

In the summer of the year 1596, upon the death of the Lord Chamberlain on July the 22nd,

the company of actors to which the poet belonged became the servants of the late Chamberlain's eldest son, Lord Hunsdon, and one of the first dramas selected by them, while in their new position, was Shakespeare's tragedy of *Romeo and Juliet*, which was produced at the Curtain Theatre and met with great success. *Romeo and Juliet* may be said, indeed, to have taken the metropolis by storm and to have become *the* play of the season. Its popularity led to the publication of an imperfect and piratical edition which issued from Danter's press in the following year. In 1599, Cuthbert Burby, a bookseller, whose shop was near the Royal Exchange, published the tragedy with the overstrained announcement that it had been "newly corrected, augmented and amended." This is the version of the drama which is now accepted, and it appears to be an authentic copy of the tragedy produced in 1596, after a few passages in the latter had been revised by the author. The long-continued popularity of *Romeo and Juliet* may be inferred from several early allusions and editions, as well as from the express testimony of Leonard Digges. An interesting tradition respecting one of the characters in this tragedy is recorded by Dryden, who observes that the great dramatist "showed

the best of his skill in his *Mercutio*, and he said himself that he was forced to kill him in the third act, to prevent being killed by him."

A severe domestic affliction marred the pleasure that the author might otherwise have derived from his last-mentioned triumph. His only son Hamnet, then in his twelfth year, died early in August, 1596, and was buried at Stratford-on-Avon on the eleventh of that month. At the close of the year the poet also lost his uncle Henry, the farmer of Snitterfield, during the same Christmas holidays in which his company had the honour of performing on two occasions before Queen Elizabeth at Whitehall Palace.

No positive information on the subject has been recorded, but the few evidences there are lead to the belief that Shakespeare's family continued, throughout his life, to reside in his native town. They had not accompanied him in his first visit to the metropolis, and, from the circumstance of the burial of Hamnet at Stratford-on-Avon, it may be confidently inferred that they were living there at the time of the poor youth's decease. It is in the highest degree unlikely that they could have taken up an abode anywhere else but in London, and no hint is given of the latter having been the case. Let it also be borne in mind that Shakespeare's occu-

pations debarred him from the possibility of his sustaining even to an approach to a continuous domestic life, so that, when his known attachment to Stratford is taken into consideration, it seems all but certain that his wife and children were but waiting there under economical circumstances, perhaps with his parents in Henley Street, until he could provide them with a comfortable residence of their own. Every particular that is known indicates that he admitted no disgrace in the irresponsible persecution which occasioned his retreat to London, and that he persistently entertained the wish to make Stratford his and his family's only permanent home. This desire was too confirmed to be materially affected even by the death of his only son, for, shortly after that event, he is discovered taking a fancy to one of the largest houses in the town, and becoming its purchaser early in the following year. At this time, 1596, he appears to have been residing, when in town, in lodgings near the Bear Garden in Southwark.

There is preserved at the College of Arms the draft of a grant of coat-armour to John Shakespeare, dated in October, 1596, the result of an application made no doubt some little time previously. It may be safely inferred, from the unprosperous circumstances of the grantee,



that this attempt to confer gentility on the family was made at the poet's expense. This is the first evidence we have of his rising pecuniary fortunes, and of his determination to advance in social position.

Early in the year 1597,—on New Year's Day, Twelfth Night, Shrove Sunday and Shrove Tuesday,—Shakespeare's Company again performed before the Queen at Whitehall. In the summer they made a tour through Sussex and Kent, visiting Rye in August, and acting at Dover on the third of September. In their progress to the latter town, he who was hereafter to be the author of *Lear* might have witnessed, and been impressed with, the samphire gatherers on the celebrated rock that was afterwards to be regarded the type of *Edgar's* imaginary precipice. By the end of the same month they had quitted the southern counties, and travelled westward as far as Bristol.

In the spring of this year the poet made his first investment in realty by the purchase of New Place, consisting of a mansion and grounds in the centre of the town of Stratford-on-Avon. The estate was sold to him for £60, a moderate sum for so considerable a property, but the residence was described in 1549 as being then "in great ruyne and decay and unrepayred," so

that it was probably in a dilapidated condition when it was transferred to Shakespeare. There are reasons for believing that it was renovated by the new owner.

However limited may have been the character of the poet's visits to his native town, there is no doubt that New Place was henceforward to be accepted as his established residence. Early in the following year, on February the 4th, 1598, he is returned as the holder of ten quarters of corn in the Chapel Street Ward, that in which the newly acquired property was situated, and in future indentures he is never described as a Londoner, but always as, "William Shakespeare of Stratford-on-Avon, in the county of Warwick, gentleman." There is an evidence in the same direction in the interest that he took in the maintenance of his grounds, a fact elicited from two circumstances that are worthy of record. It appears from a comparison of descriptions of parcels, 1597 and 1602, that in the earlier years of his occupancy, he arranged a fruit-orchard in that portion of his garden which adjoined the neighbouring premises in Chapel Street. Then there is the well authenticated tradition that, in another locality near the back of the house, he planted a mulberry-tree with his own hands. The date of the latter occur-

rence has not been recorded, but it may be assigned, with a high degree of probability, to the spring of 1609, in which year a Frenchman named Verton distributed an immense number of young mulberry plants through the midland counties of England. This novel arrangement was carried out by the order of James the First, who vigorously encouraged the cultivation of that tree, vainly hoping that silk might thence become one of the staple productions of this country.

Those who would desire to realize the general appearance of the Stratford-on-Avon of the poet's days must deplore the absence, not merely of a genuine sketch of New Place, but of any kind of view or engraving of the town as it appeared in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries. Its aspect must then have been essentially different from that exhibited at a subsequent period. Relatively to ourselves, Shakespeare may practically be considered to have existed in a different land, not more than glimpses of the real nature of which are now to be obtained by the most careful study of existing documents and material remains. Many enthusiasts of these times who visit Stratford-on-Avon are under the delusion that they behold a locality which recalls the days of the great dramatist, but, with

the exception of a few diffused buildings, scarcely one of which is precisely in its original condition, there is no resemblance between the present town and the Shakespearean borough,—the latter with its medieval and Elizabethan buildings, its crosses, its numerous barns and thatched hovels, its water-mills, its street bridges and rivulets, its mud walls, its dunghills and fetid ditches, its unpaved walks and its wooden-spired church, with the common fields reaching nearly to the gardens of the Birth-Place. Neither can there be a much greater resemblance between the ancient and modern general views of the town from any of the neighbouring elevations. The tower and lower part of the church, the top of the Guild Chapel, a few old tall chimneys, the course of the river, the mill-dam and the outlines of the surrounding hills, would be nearly all that would be common to both prospects. There were, however, until the last few years, the old mill-bridge, which, excepting that rails had been added, preserved its Elizabethan form, the Cross-on-the-Hill, and the Wier Brake, the two latter fully retaining their original character. Now, alas, a hideous railway has obliterated all trace of the picturesque from what was one of the most interesting and charming spots in Warwickshire.

A former vicar of Stratford-on-Avon, writing in the year 1759, asserts that "the unanimous tradition of this neighbourhood is that, by the uncommon bounty of the Earl of Southampton, he was enabled to purchase houses and land at Stratford." According to Rowe, ed. 1709, p. x.,—"There is one instance so singular in the magnificence of this patron of Shakespear's that, if I had not been assur'd that the story was handed down by Sir William D'Avenant, who was probably very well acquainted with his affairs, I should not have ventur'd to have inserted ; that my Lord Southampton at one time gave him a thousand pounds to enable him to go through with a purchase which he heard he had a mind to." A comparison of these versions would indicate that, if the anecdote is based on truth, the gift was made on the occasion of the purchase of New Place ; and it is probable that it was larger than the sum required for that object, although the amount named by Rowe may be an exaggeration. Unless the general truth of the story be accepted, it is difficult to believe that Shakespeare could have obtained, so early in his career, the large means he certainly possessed in this and the following year. The largest emoluments that could have been derived from his profes-

sional avocations would hardly have sufficed to have accomplished such a result, and the necessity of forwarding continual remittances to Stratford-on-Avon must not be overlooked.

It was not till the year 1597 that Shakespeare's public reputation as a dramatist was sufficiently established for the booksellers to be anxious to secure the copyright of his plays. The first of his dramas so honoured was the successful and popular one of Richard the Second, which was entered as a tragedy on the books of the Stationers' Company by Andrew Wise, a publisher in St. Paul's Churchyard, on August the 29th, 1597. In this edition the deposition scene was omitted for political reasons, objections having been made to its introduction on the public stage, and it was not inserted by the publishers of the history until some years after the accession of James. Considering the small space that it occupies and its inoffensive character, the omission may appear rather singular, but during the few years that closed the eventful reign of Elizabeth, the subject of the deposition of Richard the Second bore so close an analogy, in the important respects of the wishes of those who desired a repetition of a similar occurrence,

it was an exceedingly dangerous theme for the pen of any contemporary writer.

One of the most popular subjects for the historical drama at this period was the story of King Richard the Third. A piece on the events of this reign had been acted by the Queen's Company in or before the month of June, 1594, but there is no evidence that this production was known to the great dramatist. The earliest notice of Shakespeare's play hitherto discovered is in an entry of it as a tragedy on the books of the Stationers' Company on October the 20th, 1597, and it was published by Wise in the same year. The historical portions are to a certain extent taken from More and Holinshed, but with an utter defiance of chronology, the imprisonment of Clarence, for instance, preceding the funeral of Henry the Sixth. There are, also, slight traces of an older play to be observed, passages which belong to an inferior hand, and incidents, such as that of the rising of the ghosts, suggested probably by similar ones in a more ancient composition. That the play of Richard the Third, as we now have it, is essentially Shakespeare's, cannot admit of a doubt; but as little can it be questioned that to the circumstance of an anterior work on the subject having been used do we

owe some of its weakness and excessively turbulent character. No copy of this older play is known to exist, but one brief speech and the two following lines have been accidentally preserved—

My liege, the Duke of Buckingham is ta'en,  
And Banister is come for his reward.

from which it is clear that Shakespeare did not hesitate to adopt an occasional line from his predecessor, although he entirely omitted the character of Banister. Both plays must have been successful, for, notwithstanding the great popularity of Shakespeare's, the more ancient one sustained its ground on the English stage until the reign of Charles the First.

Dick Burbage, the celebrated actor, undertook the character of Richard the Third, a part in which he was particularly celebrated. There was especially one telling speech in this most fiery of tragedies,—“a horse! a horse! my kingdom for a horse!”—which was enunciated by him with so much vigour and effect, that the line became an object for the imitation, and occasionally for the ridicule, of contemporary writers. The speech made such an impression on Marston, that it appears in his works not merely in its authentic form, but satirized and travestied into such lines as, – “a man! a man!



a kingdom for a man," Scourge of Villanie, ed. 1598, sig. F,—“a boate, a boate, a boate, a full hundred markes for a boate,” Eastward Hoe, 1605,—“a foole, a foole, a foole, my coxcombe for a foole,” Parasitaster, 1606. Burbage continued to enact the part of Richard until his death in 1619, and his supremacy in the character lingered for many years in the recollection of the public; so that Bishop Corbet, writing in the reign of Charles the First, and giving a description of the battle of Bosworth as narrated to him on the field by a provincial tavern-keeper, tells us that when the perspicuous guide—

—— would have said, King Richard died,  
And called, a horse ! a horse !, he Burbage cried.

Although the experiment seems to have failed, it may here be mentioned that, in November, 1597, John Shakespeare, no doubt at the poet's instigation and expense, filed a bill in Chancery against Lambert for the recovery of Asbies. No record of a decree in the suit has been discovered, and this is the last we hear either of the litigation or the estate.

Queen Elizabeth held her court at Whitehall in the Christmas holidays of 1597, and amongst the plays then performed was the comedy of *Love's Labour's Lost*, printed in the

following year, 1598, under the title of,—“A Pleasant Conceited Comedie called, Loues labors lost.” No record has been discovered of the time at which this drama was first produced, but on the present occasion it had been “newly corrected and augmented,” that is to say, it had received some additions and improvements from the hands of the author, but the play itself had not been re-written. A few scraps of the original version of the comedy have been accidentally preserved, and are of extreme interest as distinctly exhibiting Shakespeare’s method of working in the revision of a play. Thus, for example, the following three lines of the earlier drama,—

From women’s eyes this doctrine I derive ;  
 They are the ground, the books, the academes  
 From whence doth spring the true Promethean fire.

are thus gracefully expanded in the corrected version which has so fortunately descended to us,—

From women’s eyes this doctrine I derive ;  
 They sparkle still the right Promethean fire ;  
 They are the books, the arts, the academes,  
 That show, contain, and nourish all the world ;  
 Else none at all in ought proves excellent.

Love’s Labour’s Lost is mentioned by Tofte and Meres in 1598, and was no doubt successful

on the stage, or otherwise it would scarcely have been revised and published. Burbage, at all events, had a high opinion of the comedy, for when the company to which the author belonged selected it for representation before Queen Anne of Denmark at Southampton House early in the year 1605, he observed that it was one "which for wit and mirth will please her exceedingly." That the great actor correctly estimated its attractions, may be gathered from its being performed about the same time before the Court.

The First Part of Henry the Fourth, the appearance of which on the stage may be confidently assigned to the spring of the year 1597, was followed immediately, or a few months afterwards, by the composition of the Second Part. It is recorded that both these plays were very favourably received by Elizabeth, the Queen especially relishing the character of Falstaff, and they were most probably amongst the dramas represented before that sovereign in the Christmas holidays of 1597-8. At this time, or then very recently, the renowned hero of the Boar's Head Tavern had been introduced as Sir John Oldcastle, but the Queen ordered Shakespeare to alter the name of the character. This step was taken in consequence of the representations of some

member or members of the Cobham family, who had taken offence at their illustrious ancestor, Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, the Protestant martyr, being disparagingly introduced on the stage, and, accordingly, in or before the February of the following year, Falstaff took the place of Oldcastle, the former being probably one of the few names invented by Shakespeare.

The great dramatist himself, having nominally adopted Oldcastle from a character who is one of Prince Henry's profligate companions in a previous drama, a composition which had been several years before the public, and had not encountered effective remonstrance, could have had no idea that his appropriation of the name would have given so much displeasure. The subject, however, was viewed by the Cobhams in a very serious light. This is clearly shown, not merely by the action taken by the Queen, but by the anxiety exhibited by Shakespeare, in the Epilogue to the Second Part, to place the matter beyond all doubt by the explicit declaration that there was in Falstaff no kind of association, satirical or otherwise, with the martyred Oldcastle. The whole incident is a testimony to the popularity of, and the importance attached to, these dramas of Shakespeare's at

their first appearance, and it may be fairly questioned if any comedy on the early English stage was more immediately or enthusiastically appreciated than was the First Part of Henry the Fourth. Two editions of the latter play appeared in 1598, and, in the same year, there were quoted from it passages that had evidently already become familiar household words in the mouths of the public. Strangely enough, however, the earliest edition that bore the author's name on the title page was not published till the following year.

The inimitable humour of Falstaff was appreciated at the Court as heartily as by the public. The Queen was so taken with the delineation of that marvellous character in the two parts of Henry the Fourth, that she commanded Shakespeare to write a third Part in which the fat knight should be exhibited as a victim to the power of love. Sovereigns in the olden time, especially one of Elizabeth's temperament, would never have dreamt of consulting the author as to the risk of the selected additional passion not harmonizing with the original conception. Shakespeare's business was to obey, not to indulge in what would have been considered an insolent and unintelligible remonstrance. His intention of continuing the

history of the same Falstaff in the play of Henry the Fifth was, therefore, abandoned, and thus we have, in the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, a comedy in which some of the names are adopted from the previous dramas, but the natures of the characters to which those names are attached are either modified or altogether transformed. The transient allusions which bring the latter play into the historical series are so trivial, that they would appear to have been introduced merely out of deference to the Queen's expressed wishes for a continuation. The comedy diverges in every other respect from the two Parts of Henry the Fourth, and remains, with the Induction to the *Taming of the Shrew*, the only examples in the works of Shakespeare of absolute and continuous representations of English life and manners of the author's own time.

There is an old tradition which avers that the *Merry Wives of Windsor* was written, at the desire of the Queen, in the brief space of a fortnight, and that it gave immense satisfaction at the Court. Nor, in those days of rapid dramatic composition, when brevity of time in the execution of such work was frequently part of an ordinary theatrical agreement, could such a feat have been impossible to Shakespeare. It

could have been no trouble to him to write, and the exceptional celerity of his pen is recorded by several of his friends. Hence, probably, are to be traced most of the numerous little discrepancies which, by a careful analysis, may be detected throughout the works of the great dramatist, and which are seen perhaps more conspicuously in this play than in most of the others. Shakespeare had evidently, as a writer, neither a topographical nor a chronometrical mind, and took small care to avoid inconsistencies arising from errors in his dispositions of localities and periods of time ; provided always of course that such oversights were not sufficiently palpable in the action to disturb the complete reception of the latter by the audience. We may rest assured that the poet, when engaged in dramatic writing, neither placed before his eyes an elaborate map of the scenes of the plot ; nor reckoned the exact number of hours to be taken by a character in moving from one spot to another ; nor, in the composition of each line of verse, repeated the syllables to ascertain if they developed the style of metre it was his duty to posterity to be using at that special period of his life. Such precautions may best be indefinitely reserved for the use of that visionary personage,—a scientific and arithmetrical Shakespeare.

The earliest notice of the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, hitherto discovered, is in an entry on the registers of the Stationers' Company bearing date in January, 1602, in which year a catch-penny publisher surreptitiously issued a very defective copy, one made up by some poetaster, with the aid of shorthand notes, into the form of a play. That it was written, however, before the production of *Henry the Fifth* in 1599 is most probable, it being so unlikely that Shakespeare would have revived the characters of Falstaff, Quickly, Nym, and Bardolph, after their deaths in that play. It is certain, at all events, that the comedy was produced before the death of Sir Thomas Lucy of Charlecote in July, 1600, for it is contrary to all records of Shakespeare's nature to believe that the more than playful allusions it contains to that personage would have been penned after the decease of Shallow's prototype. There is a mystery attached to the resuscitation, in the opening scene of the play, of what is apparently a reference to the deer stealing incident, the only plausible explanation of the revived memory of the latter being in the possibility of some additional offence, in connection with the original exploit, having been given by Sir Thomas after the poet had established for himself a leading position in his native



town by the purchase of New Place in the year 1597.

Three plays, the titles of which have not been recorded, were acted by Shakespeare's Company, before the Queen at Whitehall, at the commencement of the year 1598. The poet's now increasing wealth, and the importance and respect with which he was regarded at Stratford at this period, are illustrated by a letter written by Abraham Sturley, January the 24th, 1597-8, in which he urges his correspondent, Richard Quiney, to persuade him to make a purchase at Shottery, and, among other inducements, mentions "the frendes he can make therefore," clearly showing that his desire to establish himself influentially at Stratford was well known to the writer. It also appears that the purchase would have been advantageous to the Corporation; "it obtained would advance him in deede, and would do us much good." Later in the same year, on October the 25th, Quiney applied to Shakespeare for a loan of the then very considerable sum of £30, and that the poet at once consented to advance the money can be gathered from a letter written by the former on the same day to his brother-in-law at Stratford-on-Avon. It may be concluded that the great dramatist forwarded the letter to

his solicitor with instructions to prepare the requisite security, for otherwise it would be all but impossible to account for its having been preserved, with other papers of Greene, amongst the records of the Corporation.

Quiney's letter is the only one known to be in existence that was addressed to the poet. The writer terms Shakespeare his "loveinge contreyman," and the missive is dated "from the Bell in Carter Lane the 25 October, 1598;" the endorsement running as follows,—“to my loveinge good frend and contreyman, M<sup>r</sup>. Wm. Shackespere, deliver thees.” The communication was no doubt forwarded by hand, or otherwise the locality of residence would have been added.

The comedy of the Merchant of Venice, the plot of which was either grounded on that of an older drama, or formed out of tales long familiar to the public, was represented with success in London in or before the month of July, 1598. It then had another title, being “otherwise called the Jew of Venice,” and a bookseller named Roberts endeavoured to secure the consent of the Lord Chamberlain to its publication, but without success, for upwards of two years elapsed before the earliest editions of the comedy appeared. It continued for a

long time to be one of the acting plays of the Lord Chamberlain's company, and, as lately as 1605, it attracted the favourable notice of James the First, who was so much pleased with one performance that he ordered a repetition of it two days afterwards.

One of the most interesting of the recorded events of Shakespeare's life occurred in the present year. In September, 1598, Ben Jonson's famous comedy of *Every Man in his Humor* was produced by the Lord Chamberlain's company, and there is every probability that both writer and manager were indebted for its acceptance to the sagacity of the great dramatist, who was one of the leading actors on the occasion. "His acquaintance with Ben Johnson," observes Rowe, "began with a remarkable piece of humanity and good nature; Mr. Johnson, who was at that time altogether unknown to the world, had offer'd one of his plays to the players in order to have it acted, and the persons into whose hands it was put, after having turn'd it carelessly and superciliously over, were just upon returning it to him with an ill-natur'd answer that it would be of no service to their company, when Shakespear luckily cast his eye upon it, and found something so well in it as to engage him first to read it through, and

afterwards to recommend Mr. Johnson and his writings to the publick." Previously to this occurrence, rare Ben had been engaged in some dramatic work for Henslowe, but about this time he appears to have deserted that manager in favour of the company to which Shakespeare belonged. These circumstances favour the general credibility of the anecdote narrated by Rowe, although the statement that Jonson was then new to literature is certainly erroneous.

In the same month in which Shakespeare was acting in Ben Jonson's comedy, there appeared in London the *Palladis Tamia*, a work that contains more elaborate notices of the great dramatist than are elsewhere to be found in all contemporary literature. Its author was one Francis Meres, a native of Lincolnshire, who had been educated at Cambridge, but for some time past resident in the metropolis. Although his studies were mostly of a theological character, he was interested in all branches of literature, and had formed intimacies with some of its chief representatives. He had been favoured with access to the unpublished writings of Drayton and Shakespeare, and had either seen a manuscript, or witnessed a representation, of rare Ben's earliest tragedy. In the important enumeration of Shake-

spere's plays given by Meres, four of them,—the Two Gentlemen of Verona, Love Labours Won, the Midsummer Night's Dream, and King John,—are mentioned for the first time. There can be no doubt that the first of these dramas had been written some years previously, and Love Labours Won, a production which is nowhere else alluded to, is one of the numerous works of that time which have long since perished, unless its graceful appellation be the original or a secondary title of some other comedy. Neither King John nor the Two Gentlemen of Verona were printed during the author's lifetime, but two editions of the Midsummer Night's Dream appeared in the year 1600. This last-mentioned circumstance indicates the then popularity of that exquisite but singular drama, the comic scenes of which appear to have been those specially relished by the public. One little fragment of the contemporary stage humour, displayed in the representation of this play, has been recorded. When Thisbe killed herself, she fell on the scabbard, not on the trusty sword, the interlude doubtlessly having been acted in that spirit of extreme farce which was naturally evolved from the stupidity and nervousness of the clowns.

It is in the *Palladis Tamia*, 1598, that we

first hear of those remarkable productions, the Sonnets. "As the soul of Euphorbus," observes Meres in that quaint collection of similitudes, "was thought to live in Pythagoras, so the sweet witty soul of Ovid lives in mellifluous and honey-tongued Shakespeare ; witness his Venus and Adonis, his Lucrece, his sugared Sonnets among his private friends, &c." These last-mentioned dainty poems were clearly not then intended for general circulation, and even transcripts of any of them were obtainable with difficulty. A publisher named Jaggard who, in the following year, 1599, attempted to form a collection of new Shakespearean poems, did not manage to obtain more than two of the Sonnets. The words of Meres, and the insignificant result of Jaggard's efforts, lead to the inference that these strange poems were an assemblage of separate contributions made by their writer to the albums of his friends, probably no two of the latter being favoured with identical compositions. There was no tradition adverse to a belief in their fragmentary character in the generation immediately following the author's death, as may be gathered from the arrangement found in Benson's edition of 1640 ; and this concludes the little real evidence on the subject that has descended to us. It was reserved for the stu-

dents of the present century, who have ascertained so much respecting Shakespeare that was unsuspected by his own friends and contemporaries, to discover that his innermost earnest thoughts, his mental conflicts, and so on, are revealed in what would then be the most powerful lyrics yet given to the world. But the victim of spiritual emotions that involve criminatory reflections, does not usually protrude them voluntarily on the consideration of society; and, if the personal theory be accepted, we must concede the possibility of our national dramatist gratuitously confessing his own sins and revealing those of others, proclaiming his disgrace and avowing his repentance, in poetical circulars distributed by the delinquent himself amongst his own intimate friends.

There are no external testimonies of any description in favour of a personal application of the Sonnets, while there are abundant difficulties arising from the reception of such a theory. Amongst the latter is one deserving of special notice, for its investigation will tend to remove the displeasing interpretation all but universally given of two of the poems, those in which reference is supposed to be made to a bitter feeling of personal degradation allowed by Shakespeare to result from his connexion

with the stage. Is it conceivable that a man who encouraged a sentiment of this nature, one which must have been accompanied with a distaste and contempt for his profession, would have remained an actor years and years after any real necessity for such a course had expired? By the spring of 1602 at the latest, if not previously, he had acquired a secure and definite competence independently of his emoluments as a dramatist, and yet, eight years afterwards, in 1610, he is discovered playing in company with Burbage and Heminges at the Blackfriars Theatre. When, in addition to this voluntary long continuance on the boards, we bear in mind the vivid interest in the stage, and in the purity of the acted drama, which is exhibited in the well-known dialogue in Hamlet, and that the poet's last wishes included affectionate recollections of three of his fellow-players, it is difficult to believe that he could have nourished a real antipathy to his lower vocation. It is, on the contrary, to be inferred that, however greatly he may have deplored the unfortunate estimation in which the stage was held by the immense majority of his countrymen, he himself entertained a love for it that was too sincere to be repressed by contemporary disdain. If there is, amongst the defective



records of the poet's life, one feature demanding special respect, it is the unflinching courage with which, notwithstanding his desire for social position, he braved public opinion in favour of a continued adherence to that which he felt was in itself a noble profession, and this at a time when it was not merely despised, but surrounded by an aggressive fanaticism that prohibited its exercise even in his own native town.

These considerations may suffice to eliminate a personal application from the two sonnets above mentioned, and as to the remainder, if the only safe method, that of discarding all mere assumptions, be strictly followed, the clearer the ideality of most of them, and the futility of arguments resting on any other basis, will be perceived. It will be observed that all the hypotheses, which aim at a complete biographical exposition of the Sonnets, necessitate the acceptance of interpretations that are too subtle for dispassionate reasoners. Even in the few instances where there is a reasonable possibility that Shakespeare is addressing living individuals, as when he refers to an unknown poetical rival or quibbles on his own Christian name, scarcely any, if any, light is thrown on his personal feelings or character. In the latter

case, it is a mere assumption that the second Will is the youth of the opening series, or, at least, that position cannot be sustained without tortuous interpretations of much which is found in the interval. With respect to other suggested personal revelations, such as those which are thought to be chronicled in Shakespeare's addresses to the dark-eyed beauty of doubtful reputation, he might, perhaps, unless he desired to proclaim to his acquaintances his own infidelity and folly, have repeated the words of the author of *Licia*, who published his own sonnets in the year 1593, and thus writes of their probable effects,—“for the matter of love, it may bee I am so devoted to some one, into whose hands these may light by chance, that she may say, which thou nowe saiest, that surelie he is in love, which if she doe, then have I the full recompence of my labour, and the poems have dealt sufficientlie for the discharge of their owne duetie.” The disguise of the ideal under the personal was, indeed, an ordinary expedient.

The most celebrated theatre the world has ever seen was now to receive a local habitation and a name. The wooden structure belonging to the Burbages in Shoreditch had fallen into desuetude in 1598, and, very early in the following year, they had pulled it down and removed

the materials to Southwark, using them in the erection of a new building which, in allusion to its circular form, was denominated the Globe. Henry the Fifth and Every Man out of his Humor were amongst the earliest plays there exhibited, the latter having been acted by the Lord Chamberlain's Servants in 1599, and the author distinctly appealing to the judgment of "the happier spirits in this faire-fild Globe," ed. 1600. In another place the Presenter addresses the audience as the "thronged round." Amongst the Shakespearean dramas acted at the old Globe before its destruction by fire in 1613 may be mentioned, Romeo and Juliet, Richard the Second, King Lear, Troilus and Cressida, Pericles, Othello, Macbeth and the Winter's Tale.

In the Christmas holidays of 1598-1599, three plays were acted by Shakespeare's Company before the Queen at Whitehall, after which they do not appear to have performed at Court until the following December, on the 26th of which month they were at Richmond Palace. The poet's distinguished friend, Lord Southampton, was in London in the autumn of this year, and no doubt favoured the new Globe Theatre with his attendance. In a letter dated October the 11th, 1599, his lordship is alluded

to as spending his time "merrily in going to plays every day."

In March, 1599, the Earl of Essex departed on his ill-starred expedition to Ireland, leaving the metropolis amidst the enthusiastic cheers of the inhabitants. He was then the most popular man in all England, hosts of the middle and lower classes regarding him as their chief hope for the redress of their grievances. At some time in May or June, whilst the suppression of the Irish was considered in his able hands a mere work of time, Shakespeare composed his play of Henry the Fifth, taking the opportunity of introducing in it a graceful compliment to the Earl, in terms which indicate that the poet himself sympathized with the thousands of Londoners who fondly expected hereafter to welcome his victorious return to England. Independently, however, of his appreciation of Essex, it was natural that the great dramatist should have taken a special interest in the course of affairs in Ireland, his great patron and friend, Lord Southampton, holding the distinguished position of General of the Horse in the Earl's army. There is no record of this drama in the year of its composition, but it is obvious, from the Chorus-Prologue, that it was written for and produced at the Globe Theatre, being necessarily one of the first plays, if not the very first one, that was

represented on that stage in 1599. It was favourably received, and the character of Pistol appears to have been specially relished by the audiences. In or before the August of the following year, 1600, an unsuccessful attempt was made to obtain a license for its publication, but the only copy of it, printed in the author's life-time, was a miserably imperfect and garbled one, which was surreptitiously published about that time by Millington and Busby, and transferred by them very soon afterwards to Thomas Pavier, the latter reprinting this spurious edition in 1602 and 1608. It is curious that Pavier, who was so unscrupulous in other instances in the use of Shakespeare's name, should have refrained from placing it on the title-pages of any of these impressions. There are unequivocal indications that the edition of 1600 was fraudulently printed from a copy made up from notes taken at the theatre.

Towards the close of this year, 1599, a renewed attempt was made by the poet to obtain a grant of coat-armour to his father. It was now proposed to impale the arms of Shakespeare with those of Arden, and on each occasion ridiculous statements were made respecting the claims of the two families. Both were really descended from obscure English country yeomen, but the heralds made out that

the predecessors of John Shakespeare were rewarded by the Crown for distinguished services, and that his wife's ancestors were entitled to armorial bearings. Although the poet's relatives at a later date assumed his right to the coat suggested for his father in 1596, it does not appear that either of the proposed grants was ratified by the college, and certainly nothing more is heard of the Arden impalement.

The Sonnets, first mentioned in the previous year, are now again brought into notice. They had evidently obtained a recognition in literary circles, but restrictive suggestions had possibly been made to the recipients, for, as previously observed, when Jaggard, in 1599, issued a tiny volume under the fanciful title of the *Passionate Pilgrim*, he was apparently not enabled to secure more than two of them. These are in the first part of the book, the second being entitled "*Sonnets to sundry Notes of Music*," but Shakespeare's name is not attached to the latter division. The publisher seems to have had few materials of any description that he could venture to insert under either title, for he adopted the very unusual course of having nearly the whole of the tract printed only upon one side of the leaf. Not keeping a shop, he entrusted the sale to Leake, who was then the

owner of the copyright of *Venus and Adonis*, and who published an edition of that poem in the same year, the two little volumes no doubt being displayed together on the stall of the latter in St. Paul's Churchyard. With the exception of the two sonnets above alluded to, and a few verses taken from the already published comedy of *Love's Labour's Lost*, Jaggard's collection does not include a single line that can be positively ascribed to the pen of the great dramatist, but much that has been ascertained to have been the composition of others. The entire publication bears evident marks of an attempted fraud, and it may well be doubted if any of its untraced contents, with perhaps three exceptions, justify the announcement of the title-page. The three pieces alluded to are those on the subject of *Venus and Adonis*, and these, with the beautiful little poem called the *Lover's Complaint*, may be included in the significant *et cetera* by which Meres clearly implies that Shakespeare was the author of other separate poetical essays besides those which he enumerates.

It is extremely improbable that Shakespeare, in that age of small London and few publishers, could have been ignorant of the use made of his name in the first edition of the *Passionate*

Pilgrim. Although he may, however, have been displeased at Jaggard's unwarrantable conduct in the matter, it appears that he took no strenuous measure to induce him to disavow or suppress the ascription in the title-page of that work. There was, it is true, no legal remedy, but there is reason for believing that, in this case, at least, a personal remonstrance would have been effective. Owing, perhaps, to the apathy exhibited by Shakespeare on this occasion, a far more remarkable operation in the same kind of knavery was perpetrated in the latter part of the following year by the publisher of the First Part of the Life of Sir John Oldcastle, 1600, a play mainly concerned with the romantic adventures of Lord Cobham. Although this drama is known not only to have been composed by other dramatists, but also to have belonged to a theatrical company with whom Shakespeare had then no manner of connection, it was unblushingly announced as his work by the publisher, Thomas Pavier, a shifty bookseller, residing at the grotesque sign of the Cat and Parrots near the Royal Exchange. Two editions were issued in that same year by Pavier, the one most largely distributed being that which was assigned to the pen of the great dramatist, and another to



which no writer's name is attached. As there are no means of ascertaining which of these editions is the first in order of publication, it is impossible to say with certainty whether the introduction of Shakespeare's name was an afterthought, or if it were withdrawn for a special reason, perhaps either at his instigation or at that of the real authors. It is most likely, however, that the anonymous impression was the first that was published, that the ascribed edition was the second, and that there was no cancel of the poet's name in either.

Shakespeare's company acted before Queen Elizabeth at Richmond Palace on Twelfth Night and Shrove Sunday, 1600, and at Whitehall on the 26th of December. On March the 6th they were at Somerset House, and there performed, before Lord Hunsdon and some foreign ambassadors, another drama on the subject of Oldcastle. A few weeks after the last occurrence, Shakespeare, who was then in London, brought an action against one John Clayton to recover the sum of £7, and duly succeeded in obtaining a verdict in his favour. This is one of the several evidences that distinctly prove the great dramatist to have been a man of business, thoroughly realizing the necessity of careful attention to his pecuniary

affairs. Here we have the highest example of all to tell us that financial discretion is not incompatible with the possession of literary genius,

One of the most exquisite of Shakespeare's comedies, *As You Like It*, was produced in the summer of this year, and was, as might be expected, favourably received. The celebrated speech of Jacques on the seven ages of man would have had an appropriate significance when uttered below the Latin motto under the sign of the Globe Theatre, but the coincidence was no doubt accidental. An attempt to publish the comedy was frustrated by an appeal to the Stationers' Company, a fact which testifies to its popularity. It is satisfactory to be enabled to state that one of the songs introduced into this play,—“It was a lover and his lass,”—was not written by Shakespeare, but by Thomas Morley, an eminent musician of the day, who published it, with some others of a cognate description, in his *First Booke of Ayres or Little Short Songs*, a small thin folio volume printed at London in the same year, 1600.

According to a tradition mentioned by several writers of the last century, there was a character in *As You Like It* that was performed by Shakespeare himself. “One of Shakespeare's

younger brothers," says Oldys, " who lived to a good old age, even some years, as I compute, after the restoration of King Charles the Second, would in his younger days come to London to visit his brother Will, as he called him, and be a spectator of him as an actor in some of his own plays. This custom, as his brother's fame enlarged, and his dramattick entertainments grew the greatest support of our principal, if not of all our theatres, he continued, it seems, so long after his brother's death, as even to the latter end of his own life. The curiosity at this time of the most noted actors to learn something from him of his brother, &c., they justly held him in the highest veneration ; and it may be well believed, as there was besides a kinsman and descendant of the family, who was then a celebrated actor among them, this opportunity made them greedily inquisitive into every little circumstance, more especially in his dramattick character, which his brother could relate of him. But he, it seems, was so stricken in years, and possibly his memory so weakened with infirmities, which might make him the easier pass for a man of weak intèllects, that he could give them but little light into their enquiries ; and all that could be recollected from him of his brother Will in that station

was, the faint, general and almost lost ideas he had of having once seen him act a part in one of his own comedies, wherein being to personate a decrepit old man, he wore a long beard, and appeared so weak and drooping and unable to walk, that he was forced to be supported and carried by another person to a table, at which he was seated among some company who were eating, and one of them sung a song." This account contains several discrepancies, but there may be a glimmering of truth in it, and, at all events, it must be recollected that Oldys wrote before the era of Shakespearian forgeries had commenced.

The earliest notice of the comedy of *Much Ado about Nothing* occurs in the entry in which we also first hear of *As You Like It*. Its attempted publication was stopped by an application made to the Stationers' Company on or before August the 4th, 1600, but, on the 23rd of the same month, Wise and Aspley succeeded in obtaining a licence. It is not known if the prohibition was directed against the latter publication and afterwards removed, or whether it refers to a fraudulent attempt by some other bookseller to issue a surreptitious copy. Although *Much Ado about Nothing* was not reprinted in the author's life-time, there is no doubt of its continued popularity.

The scene of this comedy is laid in Messina, but the satire on the constables obviously refers to those of the England of the author's own time. Aubrey, whose statements are always to be cautiously received, asserts that Shakespeare "happened to take" the "humour" of one of them "at Grendon in Bucks, which is in the road from London to Stratford, and there was living that constable about 1642." The eccentric biographer no doubt refers to Dogberry or Verges, but if the poet really had a special individual in his mind when portraying either of those characters, it is not likely that the Grendon constable could have been the person so honoured, for unless he had attained an incredible age in the year 1642, he would have been too young for the prototype. It is far more likely that the satire was generally applicable to the English constables of the author's period, to such as were those in the neighbourhood of London at the time of his arrival there, and who are so graphically thus described in a letter from Lord Burghley to Sir Francis Walsingham, written in 1586,—“as I came from London homeward in my coach, I saw at every town's end the number of ten or twelve standing with long staves, and, until I came to Enfield, I thought no other of them but

that they had stayed for avoiding of the rain, or to drink at some alehouses, for so they did stand under pentices at alehouses; but at Enfield, finding a dozen in a plump when there was no rain, I bethought myself that they were appointed as watchmen for the apprehending of such as are missing; and thereupon I called some of them to me apart, and asked them wherefore they stood there, and one of them answered, to take three young men; and, demanding how they should know the persons,—Marry, said they, one of the parties hath a hooked nose; and have you, quoth I, no other mark? No, said they. Surely, sir, these watchmen stand so openly in plumps as no suspected person will come near them, and if they be no better instructed but to find three persons by one of them having a hooked nose, they may miss thereof.”

It was towards the close of the present year, 1600, or at some time in the following one, that Shakespeare, for the first and only time, came forward in the avowed character of a philosophical writer. One Robert Chester was the author of a long allegorical poem, which was issued in 1601, under the title of,—“Love’s Martyr or Rosalins Complaint, allegorically shadowing the truth of Love in the constant

fate of the Phœnix and Turtle," and "To these are added some new compositions of severall moderne writers whose names are subscribed to their severall workes, upon the first subject ; viz., the Phœnix and Turtle." The latter were stated, in a separate title-page, to have been "done by the best and chiefest of our moderne writers, with their names subscribed to their particular workes : neuer before extant ; and now first consecrated by them all generally, to the loue and merite of the true-noble Knight, Sir Iohn Salisburie",—the names of Shakespeare, Marston, Chapman, and Jonson being attached to the recognized pieces of this latter series. The contribution of the great dramatist is a remarkable poem in which he makes a notice of the obsequies of the phœnix and turtle-dove subservient to the delineation of spiritual union. It is generally thought that Chester himself intended a personal allegory, but, if that be the case, there is nothing to indicate that Shakespeare participated in the design, nor even that he had endured the punishment of reading Love's Martyr.

The poet's father,—Mr. Johannes Shakespeare, as he is called in the register,—was buried at Stratford-on-Avon on September the 8th, 1601. He is mentioned as being concerned

in the same year, probably as a witness, in an action brought by Sir Edward Grevile against the town, so there are no reasons for believing that his latest years were accompanied by decrepitude.

Twelfth Night, the perfection of English Comedy and the most fascinating drama in the language, was produced in the season of 1601-2, most probably on January the 5th. There is preserved a curious notice of its performance in the following month before the benchers of the Middle Temple in their beautiful hall, nearly the only building now remaining in London in which it is known that any of Shakespeare's dramas were represented during the author's life-time. The record of this interesting occurrence is embedded in the minutely written contemporary diary of one John Manningham, a student at that inn of court, who appears to have been specially impressed with the character of Malvolio. "A good practice in it," he observes, "to make the steward believe his lady widow was in love with him, by counterfeiting a letter as from his lady in general terms, telling him what she liked best in him, and prescribing his gesture in smiling, his apparel, &c., and then, when he came to practice, making him believe they took him to be mad." This repre-



sentation of Twelfth Night took place at the Feast of the Purification, February the 2nd, one of the two grand festival days of the lawyers, on which occasion professional actors were annually engaged at the Middle Temple, the then liberal sum of ten pounds being given to them for a single performance. There is no doubt that the comedy was performed by the Lord Chamberlain's Company, and very little that Shakespeare himself was one of the actors who were engaged. Twelfth Night was appreciated at an early period as one of the author's most popular creations. There is not only the testimony of Manningham in its favour, but Leonard Digges, in the verses "describing this most attractive of Shakespeare's acting dramas, expressly alludes to the estimation in which the part of Malvolio was held by the frequenters of the theatre.

The Queen kept her Court at Whitehall in the Christmas of 1601-1602, and, during the holidays, four plays, one of them most probably Twelfth Night, were exhibited before her by Shakespeare's company. In the following May, the great dramatist purchased from the Combes, for the sum of £320, one hundred and seven acres of land near Stratford-on-Avon, but, owing to his absence from that town, the conveyance

was delivered for his use to his brother Gilbert. The pecuniary resources of Shakespeare must now have been very considerable, for, notwithstanding the serious expenditure incurred by this last acquisition, a few months afterwards he is recorded as the purchaser of a small copyhold estate near his country residence. On September the 28th, 1602, at a Court Baron of the Manor of Rowington, one Walter Getley transferred to the poet a cottage and garden which were situated in Chapel Lane opposite the lower grounds of New Place. They covered the space of a quarter of an acre, with a frontage in the lane of forty feet, and were held practically in fee simple at the annual rental of two shillings and sixpence. It appears from the Roll that Shakespeare did not attend the Manorial Court then held at Rowington, there being a stipulation that the estate should remain in the hands of the Lady of the Manor until he appeared in person to complete the transaction with the usual formalities. At a later period he was admitted to the copyhold, and then he surrendered it to the use of himself for life, with a remainder to his two daughters in fee. The cottage was replaced about the year 1690 by a brick and tiled building, and no representation of the original tenement is known to be in existence. The latter, in all proba-

bility, had, like most other cottages at Stratford-on-Avon in the poet's time, a thatched roof supported by mud walls. The adjoining boundary wall that enclosed the vicarage garden continued to be one of mud until the beginning of the present century.

In the spring of this year, 1602, our national tragedy, known originally under the title of the *Revenge of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark*, was in course of representation by the Lord Chamberlain's players at the Globe Theatre, and had then, in all probability, been recently composed. Its popularity led to an unsuccessful attempt by Roberts, a London publisher, to include it amongst his dramatic issues, but it was not printed until the summer of the following year, 1603, when two booksellers, named Ling and Trundell, employed an inferior and clumsy writer to work up, in his own fashion, what scraps of the play had been furtively obtained from shorthand notes or other memoranda into the semblance of a perfect drama, which they had the audacity to publish as Shakespeare's own work. It is possible, however, that the appearance of this surreptitious edition, which contains several abnormous variations from the complete work, may have led the sharers of the theatre to be less averse to the publication of their own copy.

At all events, Ling in some way obtained an authentic transcript of the play in the following year, and it was "newly imprinted" by Roberts for that publisher, "enlarged to almost as much againe as it was, according to the true and perfect coppie," 1604. The appearance of subsequent editions and various early notices evince the favour in which the tragedy was held by the public in the time of its author. The hero was admirably pourtrayed by Burbage, and has ever since, as then, been accepted as the leading character of the greatest actor of the passing day. It is worth notice that the incident of Hamlet leaping into Ophelia's grave, now sometimes omitted, was considered in Burbage's time to be one of the most striking features of the acted tragedy; and there is a high probability that a singular little incident of by-play, enacted by the First Grave-digger, was also introduced at the Globe performances. The once popular stage-trick of that personage taking off a number of waistcoats one after the other, previously to the serious commencement of his work, is an artifice which has only been laid aside in comparatively recent years.

In February, 1603, Roberts, one of the Shakespearean printers, attempted to obtain a license for an impression of the play of Troilus

and Cressida, then in the course of representation by the Lord Chamberlain's servants. The subject had been dramatized by Decker and Chettle for the Lord Admiral's Servants in 1599, but although the two companies may have been then, as in former years, on friendly terms, there is no probability that their copyrights were exchangeable, so that the application made by Roberts is not likely to refer to the jointly-written drama. When that printer applied for a license for the publication of the new tragedy, he had not obtained, nor is there any reason for believing that he ever succeeded in procuring, the Company's sanction to his projected speculation. At all events, Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida* was not printed until early in the year 1609, when two other publishers, Bonian and Walley, having surreptitiously procured a copy, ventured on its publication, and, in the hope of attracting purchasers, they had the audacity to state, in an unusual preface, that it had never been represented on the stage. They even appear to exult in having treacherously obtained a manuscript of the tragedy, but the triumph of their artifices was of brief duration. The deceptive temptation they offered of novelty must have been immediately exposed, and a pressure was no doubt exerted upon them by

the Company, who probably withdrew their opposition on payment of compensation, for, by the 28th of January, the printers had received a license from the Lord Chamberlain for the publication. The preface was then entirely cancelled, and the falsity of the assertion that *Troilus and Cressida* had never been acted was conspicuously admitted by the re-issue professing to appear "as it *was* acted by the King's Majesty's Servants at the Globe,"—when is not stated. The suppressed preface could hardly have been written had the drama been one of the acting plays of the season of 1608-9, and, indeed, the whole tenor of that preamble is against the validity of such an assumption.

The career of the illustrious sovereign, who had so highly appreciated the dramas of our national poet, was now drawing to an end. Shakespeare's company, who had acted before her at Whitehall on December the 26th, 1602, were summoned to Richmond for another performance on the following Candlemas Day, February the 2nd, 1603. The Queen was then in a very precarious state of health, and this was the last occasion on which the poet could have had the opportunity of appearing before her. Elizabeth died on March the 24th, but, amongst the poetical tributes to her memory

that were elicited by her decease, there was not one from the pen of Shakespeare.

The poetical apathy exhibited by the great dramatist on this occasion, although specially lamented by a contemporary writer, can easily be accounted for in more than one way. The company to which he belonged might have been absent, as several others were at the time, on a provincial tour. Again, they were no doubt intent on obtaining the patronage of the new sovereign, and may have fancied that too enthusiastic a display of grief for Elizabeth would have been considered inseparable from a regret for the change of dynasty. However that may be, James the First arrived in London on May the 7th, 1603, and ten days afterwards he granted, by Bill of Privy Signet, a licence to Shakespeare and the other members of his company to perform in London at the Globe Theatre, and in the provinces at town-halls or other suitable buildings. In this year, and under this licence, the company, including the poet himself, acted in Ben Jonson's new comedy of *Sejanus*.

The King was staying in December at Wilton, the seat of one of Shakespeare's patrons, William Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke, and on the second of that month the company had

the honour of performing before the distinguished party then assembled in that noble mansion. In the following Christmas holidays they were acting on several occasions at Hampton Court.

Owing in some degree to the plague of 1603, and more perhaps to royal disinclination, the public entry of the King into the metropolis did not take place until nearly a year after the death of Elizabeth. It was on the 15th of March, 1604, that James undertook his formal march from the Tower to Westminster, amidst emphatic demonstrations of welcome, and passing every now and then under the most elaborate triumphal arches London had ever seen. In the royal train were the nine actors to whom the special licence had been granted the previous year, including of course Shakespeare and his three friends, Burbage, Hemings, and Condell. Each of them were presented with four yards and a half of scarlet cloth, the usual dress allowance to players belonging to the household. The poet and his colleagues were termed the King's Servants, and took rank at Court amongst the Grooms of the Chamber.

Shortly after this event the poet made a visit to Stratford-on-Avon. It appears, from a declaration filed in the local court, that he had sold in that town to one Philip Rogers several



bushels of malt at various times between March the 27th and the end of May, and that the latter did not, or could not, pay the debt thus incurred, amounting to £1. 15s. 10d. Shakespeare had sold him malt to the value of £1. 19s. 10d., and, on June 25th, Rogers borrowed two shillings of the poet at Stratford, making in all £2. 1s. 10d. Six shillings of this were afterwards paid, and the action was brought to recover the remainder, the sum above mentioned.

In the following August the great dramatist was in London, there having been a special order, issued at the desire of the King, for every member of the company to be in attendance at Somerset House. This was on the occasion of the visit of the Spanish Ambassador to England, but it may be perhaps that their professional services were not required, for no notice of them has been discovered.

The tragedy of Othello, originally known under the title of the Moor of Venice, is first heard of in 1604, it having been performed by the King's players, who then included Shakespeare himself, before the Court, in the Banqueting House at Whitehall, on the evening of Hallowmas day, November the first. This drama was very popular, Leonard Digges speaking of the audiences preferring it to the

laboured compositions of Ben Jonson. In 1609, a stage-loving parent, one William Bishop, of Shoreditch, who had perhaps been taken with the representation of the tragedy, gave the name of Othello's perfect wife to one of his twin daughters. A performance at the Globe in the April of the following year, 1610, was honoured with the presence of the German Ambassador and his suite, and it was again represented at Court before Prince Charles, the Princess Elizabeth, and the Elector Palatine, in May, 1613. These scattered notices, accidentally preserved, doubtlessly out of many others that might have been recorded, are indicative of its continuance as an acting play; a result that may, without disparagement to the author, be attributed in some measure to the leading character having been assigned to the most accomplished tragic actor of the day,—Richard Burbage. The name of the first performer of Iago is not known, but there is a curious tradition, which can be traced as far back as the close of the seventeenth century, to the effect that the part was originally undertaken by a popular comedian, and that Shakespeare adapted some of the speeches of that character to the peculiar talents of the actor.

In the Christmas holidays of the same year,

on the evening of December the 26th, 1604. the comedy of Measure for Measure was performed before the Court, and if it were written for that special occasion, it seems probable that lines, those in which Angelo deprecates the thronging of the multitude to royalty, were introduced out of special consideration to James the First, who, as is well known, had a great dislike to encountering crowds of people. The lines in the mouth of Angelo appear to be somewhat forced, while their metrical disposition is consistent with the idea that they might have been the result of an afterthought.

Shakespeare's company performed a number of plays before the Court early in the following year, 1605, including several of his own. On May the 4th one of his colleagues, Augustine Phillips, made his will, leaving "to my fellowe, William Shakespeare, a thirty shillings peece in goold." The testator was very ill at the time the will was executed, and expired a few days afterwards.

In the July of the same year, Shakespeare made the largest, and, in a pecuniary point of view, perhaps the most judicious purchase he ever completed, giving the sum of £440 for the unexpired term of a moiety of the interest in a lease, granted in 1544 for ninety-two years,

of the tithes of Stratford, Old Stratford, Bishop-ton, and Welcombe, subject to certain annnal payments. It appears that, as early as 1598, the subject of his becoming the purchaser of these tithes had been mooted at Stratford, and the management of them would probably require great prudential care. It is not impossible that confidence was entertained in his tact and judgment, and that this, as well as his command of capital, were the reasons that induced the Council of Stratford, who received a rent from these tithes, to desire that he should be the purchaser.

On October the 9th, 1605, Shakespeare's company gave a performance before the Mayor and Corporation of Oxford. If the poet, as was most likely the case, was one of the actors on the occasion, he would have been lodging at the Crown Inn, a wine tavern kept by one John Davenant, who had taken out his licence in the previous year, 1604. The landlord was a highly respectable man, filling in succession the chief municipal offices, but, although of a peculiarly grave and saturnine disposition, he was, as recorded by Wood in 1692, "an admirer and lover of plays and play-makers, especially Shakespeare, who frequented his house in his journies between Warwickshire and London."

His wife is described by the same writer as "a very beautiful woman, of a good wit and conversation." Early in the following year the latter presented her husband with a son, who was christened at St. Martin's Church on March the 3rd, 1606, receiving there the name of William. They had several other children, and their married life was one of such exceptional harmony that it elicited the unusual honour of metrical tributes. A more devoted pair the city of Oxford had never seen, and John Davenant, in his will, 1622, expressly desires that he should be "buried in the parish of St. Martin's in Oxford as nere my wife as the place will give leave where shee lyeth."

It was the general belief in Oxford, in the latter part of the seventeenth century, that Shakespcare was William Davenant's godfather, and, from the great regard in which the poet is said to have been held by the worthy innkeeper, the tradition is, in all probability, correct. There was also current in the same town a favourite anecdote, in which a person was warned not to speak of his godfather lest he should incur the risk of breaking the Third Commandment. This was a kind of a representative story, one which could be told of any individual at the pleasure of the narrator, and it is found in the generic

form in a collection of tavern pleasantries made by Taylor, the Water-Poet, in 1629. This last fact alone is sufficient to invest a personal application with the gravest doubt, and to lead to the inference that the subsequent version related of Shakespeare was altogether unauthorized. If so, there can be little doubt that with the spurious tale originated its necessary foundation,—the oft-repeated intimation that Sir William Davenant was the natural son of the great dramatist. The latter is first heard of in one of the manuscripts of Aubrey, written in or before the year 1680, in which he says, after mentioning the Crown tavern,—“Mr. William Shakespeare was wont to goe into Warwickshire once a yeare, and did commonly in his journey lye at this house in Oxon, where he was exceedingly respected.” He then proceeds to tell us that Sir William, considering himself equal in genius to Shakespeare, was not averse to being taken for his son, and would occasionally make these confessions in his drinking bouts with Sam Butler and other friends. The writer’s language is obscure, and might have been thought to mean simply that Davenant wished to appear in the light of a son in the poetical acceptation of the term, but the mischievous gossip must needs add that Sir William’s mother “had a

very light report ;—in those days she was called a trader," in other words, a perfect Thais. Sufficient is known of the family history of the Davenants to enable us to be certain that this onslaught upon the lady's reputation is a scandalous mis-statement. Anthony Wood also, the conscientious Oxonian biographer, who had the free use of Aubrey's papers, eliminates every kind of insinuation against the character of either Shakespeare or Mrs. Davenant. He had the sagacity to observe that the reception of the libel involved extravagant admissions. It would require us to believe that the guilty parties, with incredible callousness, united at the font to perpetuate their own recollection of the crime ; and this in the presence of the injured husband, who must be presumed to have been then, and throughout his life, unconscious of a secret which was so insecurely kept that it furnished ample materials for future slander. Even Aubrey himself tacitly concedes that the scandal had not transpired in the poet's time, for he mentions the great respect in which the latter was held at Oxford. Then, as if to make assurance to posterity double sure, there is preserved at Alnwick Castle a very elaborate manuscript poem on the Oxford gossip of the time of James the First, including especially

everything that could be raked up against its innkeepers and taverns, and in that manuscript there is no mention either of the Crown Inn or the Davenants.

It is, indeed, easy to perceive that we should never have heard any scandal respecting Mrs. Davenant, if she had not been noted in her own time, and for long afterwards, for her exceptional personal attractions. Her history ought to be a consolation to ugly girls, that is to say, if the existence of such rarities as the latter be not altogether mythical. Listen to the antique words of Flecknoe, 1654, referring to Lord Exeter's observation that the world spoke kindly of none but people of the ordinary types. "There is no great danger," he writes, even of the latter escaping censure, "calumny being so universal a trade now, as every one is of it; nor is there any action so good they cannot find a bad name for, nor entail upon't an ill intention; insomuch as one was so injurious to his mistress's beauty not long since to say,—she has more beauty than becomes the chaste."

On the evening of December the 26th, in the Christmas holidays of 1606, the tragedy of King Lear, some of the incidents of which were adopted from one or more older dramas on the same legend, was performed before



King James at Whitehall. No record of the character of its reception by the Court has been preserved, but it must have been successful at the Globe Theatre, for the booksellers, late in the November of the following year, made an arrangement with the company to enable them to obtain the sanction of the Master of the Revels for the publication of the tragedy, two editions of which shortly afterwards appeared, both dated in 1608. In these issues the author's name is curiously given in one line of large type at the very commencement of each title-page, a singular and even unique testimony to the popularity of a dramatic author of the period.

The poet's eldest daughter, Susanna, was married at Stratford-on-Avon on June the 5th, 1607, to Dr. John Hall, an eminent physician, and no doubt in the presence of her father ; for that the union met with his special approval may be inferred from the position she occupies in his will. Their only child, Elizabeth, was baptized on February the 21st in the following year, 1608. A few weeks previously to the latter occurrence, that is to say, on December the 31st, 1607, the poet's brother Edmund was buried at Southwark, in the church of St. Saviour's, " with a forenoone knell of the great

bell." He was in the twenty-eighth year of his age, and is described in the register as a player.

In the spring of the year 1608, the apparently inartificial drama of *Pericles* was represented at the Globe Theatre. It seems to have been well received, and Edward Blount, a London bookseller, lost no time in obtaining the personal sanction of Sir George Buck, the Master of the Revels, for its publication, but the emoluments derived from the stage performances were probably too great for the company to incur the risk of their being diminished by the circulation of the printed drama. Blount was perhaps either too friendly or too conscientious to persist in his designs against the wishes of the actors, and it was reserved for a less respectable publisher to issue the first edition of *Pericles* early in the following year, 1609, an impression followed by another surreptitious one in 1611. As Blount, the legitimate owner of the copyright, was one of the proprietors of the first folio, it may safely be inferred that the editors of that work did not consider that the poet's share in the composition of *Pericles* was sufficiently large to entitle it to a place in their collection.

About the time that *Pericles* was so well received at the Globe, the tragedy of Antony and

Cleopatra was in course of performance at the same theatre, but, although successful, it did not equal the former in popularity. It was, however, sufficiently attractive for Blount to secure the consent of the Master of the Revels to its publication and also for the company at the Globe to frustrate his immediate design.

Almost simultaneously with the contemplated publication of the admirable tragedy last mentioned, an insignificant piece, of some little merit but no dramatic power, entitled the Yorkshire Tragedy, was impudently submitted to the public as having been "written by W. Shakspeare." It was "printed by R. B. for Thomas Pavier" in 1608, the latter being a well-known unscrupulous publisher of the day, but it is of considerable interest as one of the few domestic tragedies of the kind and period that have descended to us, as well as from the circumstance of its having been performed by Shakespeare's company at the Globe Theatre. When originally produced, it appears to have had the title *All's One*, belonging to a series of four diminutive plays, consecutively acted by the company as a single performance in lieu of a regular five-act drama. This was a curious practice of the early stage of which there are several other examples. The Yorkshire Tragedy,

the only one of this Globe series now preserved, was founded on a real occurrence which happened in the spring of the year 1605—one of those exceptionally terrible murders that every now and then electrify and sadden the public. A Yorkshire squire of good family, maddened by losses resulting from a career of dissipation, having killed two of his sons, unsuccessfully attempted the destruction of his wife and her then sole remaining child. The event created a great sensation in London at the time, and it is most likely that this drama on the subject was produced at the theatre shortly after its occurrence, or, at least, before the public excitement respecting it had subsided. This is probable, not merely from the haste with which it was apparently written, but from its somewhat abrupt termination indicating that it was completed before the execution of the murderer at York in August, 1605. It appears to have been the criminal's professed object to blot out the family in sight of their impending ruin, intending perhaps to consummate the work by suicide, but he exhibited at the last some kind of desire to atone for his unnatural cruelty. In order to save the remnant of the family estates for the benefit of his wife and surviving child, he refused to plead to the indictment, thus practically electing to

suffer the then inevitable and fearful alternative of being pressed to death.

It is not unlikely that the publisher of the Yorkshire Tragedy took advantage of the departure of Shakespeare from London to perpetrate his nominated fraud, for the poet's company were travelling on the southern coast about the time of its appearance. A few months later the great dramatist was destined to lose his mother, the Mary Arden of former days, who was buried at Stratford-on-Avon on September the 9th, 1608. He would naturally have desired, if possible, to attend the funeral, and it is nearly certain that he was at his native town in the following month. On October the 16th he was the principal godfather at the baptism of the William Walker to whom, in 1616, he bequeathed "twenty shillings in gold."

The records of Stratford exhibit Shakespeare, in 1608 and 1609, engaged in a suit with a townsman for the recovery of a debt. In August, 1608, he commenced an action against one John Addenbroke, but it then seems to have been in abeyance for a time, the precept for a jury in the cause being dated December 21st, 1608; after which there was another delay, possibly in the hope of the matter being amicably arranged, a peremptory summons to the

same jury having been issued on February 15th in the following year. A verdict was then given in favour of the poet for £6 and £1. 4s. costs, and execution went forth against the defendant; but the sergeant at mace returning that he was not to be found within the liberty of the borough, Shakespeare proceeded against a person of the name of Horneby, who had become bail for Addenbroke. This last process is dated on June the 7th, 1609, so that nearly a year elapsed during the prosecution of the suit. It must not be assumed that the great dramatist attended personally to these matters, although of course the proceedings were carried on under his instructions. The precepts, as appears from memoranda in the originals, were issued by the poet's solicitor, Thomas Greene, who was then residing, under some unknown conditions, at New Place.

The spring of the year 1609 is memorable in literary history for the appearance of one of the most singular volumes that ever issued from the press. It was entered at Stationers' Hall on May the 20th, and published by one Thomas Thorpe under the title of—"Shake-speares Sonnets, neuer before Imprinted,"—the first two words being given in large capitals, so that they might attract their full share of public notice.

This little book, a very small quarto of forty leaves, was sold at what would now be considered the trifling price of five-pence. The exact manner in which these sonnets were acquired for publication remains a mystery, but it is most probable that they were obtained from one of the poet's intimate friends, who alone would be likely to have copies, not only of so many of those pieces but also one of the Lover's Complaint. However that may be, Thorpe,—the well-wishing *adventurer*,—was so elated with the opportunity of entering into the speculation that he dedicated the work to the factor in the acquisition, one Mr. W. H., in language of hyperbolical gratitude, wishing him every happiness and an eternity, the latter in terms which are altogether inexplicable. The surname of the addressee, which has not been recorded, has been the subject of numerous futile conjectures ; but the use of initials in place of names, especially if they referred to private individuals, was then so extremely common that it is not necessary to assume that there was an intentional reservation.

This was a memorable year in the theatrical biography of the great dramatist, for, in the following December, the eyry of children quitted the Blackfriars Theatre to be replaced by

Shakespeare's company. The latter then included Heminge, Condell, Burbage, and the poet himself.

The next year, 1610, is nearly barren of recorded incidents, but in the month of June he purchased twenty acres of pasture land from the Combes, adding them to the property he obtained from those parties in 1602.

There are an unusual number of evidences of Shakespeare's dramatic popularity in the following year. We now first hear of his plays of *Macbeth*, the *Winter's Tale*, *Cymbeline*, and the *Tempest*. New impressions of *Titus Andronicus*, *Hamlet* and *Pericles* also appeared in 1611, and, in the same year, a publisher named Helme issued an edition of the old play of *King John*, that which Shakespeare so marvellously re-dramatized, with the deceptive imputation of the authorship to one W. Sh., a clear proof, if any were needed, of the early publishing value of his name.

The tragedy of *Macbeth* was acted at the Globe Theatre, in April, 1611, and Forman, the celebrated astrologer, has recorded a graphic account of its performance on that occasion, the only contemporary notice of it that has been discovered. The eccentric Doctor appears to have given some of the details inaccurately, but



he could hardly have been mistaken in the statement that Macbeth and Banquo made their first appearance on horseback, a curious testimony to the rude endeavours of the stage managers of the day to invest their representations with something of reality. The weird sisters were personated by men whose heads were disguised by grotesque periwigs. Forman's narrative decides a question, which has frequently been raised, as to whether the Ghost of Banquo should appear, or only be imagined, by Macbeth. There is no doubt that the Ghost was personally introduced on the early stage as well as long afterwards, when the tragedy was revived by Davenant ; but the audiences of the seventeenth century were indoctrinated with the common belief that spirits were generally visible only to those connected with their object or mission, so, in this play, as in some others of the period, an artificial stimulus to credulity in that direction was unnecessary. It is a singular circumstance that, in Davenant's time, Banquo and his Ghost were performed by different actors, a practice not impossibly derived from that of former times.

A performance of the comedy of the *Winter's Tale*, the name of which is probably owing to its having been originally produced in the

winter season, was witnessed by Dr. Forman at the Globe Theatre on May the 15th, 1611. It was also the play chosen for representation before the Court on the fifth of November in the same year. Although it is extremely unlikely that Camillo's speech respecting "anointed Kings" influenced the selection of the comedy, there can hardly be a doubt that a sentiment so appropriate to the anniversary celebrated on that day was favourably received by a Whitehall audience. The Winter's Tale was also performed in the year 1613 before Prince Charles, the Lady Elizabeth and the Prince Elector Palatine, some time before the close of the month of April, at which period the two last of the above-named personages left England for the Continent.

Amongst the performances of other dramas witnessed by Dr. Forman was one of the tragedy of Cymbeline, and although he does not record either the date or the locality, there can be little hesitation in referring the incident to the spring of the year 1611; at all events, to a period not later than the following September, when that marvellously eccentric astrologer died suddenly in a boat while passing over the Thames from Southwark to Puddle Dock. It may be suspected that the poet was in London

at the time of that occurrence, for in a subscription-list originated at Stratford-on-Avon on the eleventh of that month, his name is the only one found on the margin, as if it were a later insertion in a folio page of donors "towardses the charge of prosecutyng the bill in Parliament for the better repayre of the highe waies." The moneys were raised in anticipation of a Parliament which was then expected to be summoned, but which did not meet until long afterwards. The list includes the names of all the leading inhabitants of the town, so that it is impossible to say whether the poet took a special interest in the proposed design, or if he allowed his name to appear merely out of consideration for its promoters.

The Tempest was performed before King James and the Court at Whitehall on the evening of the First of November, 1611, the incidental music having been composed by Robert Johnson, one of the Royal "musicians for the lutes." This is the earliest notice of the comedy yet discovered. It was also acted with success at the Blackfriars Theatre, and it was one of the dramas selected early in the year 1613 for representation before Prince Charles, the Lady Elizabeth and the Prince Palatine Elector.

The four years and a half that intervened

between the performance of the *Tempest* in 1611 and the author's death, could not have been one of his periods of great literary activity. So many of his plays are known to have been in existence at the former date, it follows that there are only six which could by any possibility have been written after that time, and it is not likely that the whole of those belong to so late an era. These facts lead irresistibly to the conclusion that the poet abandoned literary occupation a considerable period before his decease, and, in all probability, when he disposed of his theatrical property. So long as he continued to be a shareholder in the Globe Theatre, it was incumbent upon him to supply the company with two plays annually. It may, therefore, be reasonably inferred that he parted with his shares two or three years after the performance above alluded to, the drama of *Henry the Eighth* being, most likely, his concluding work.

Several years elapsed after Shakespeare's death before a collective edition of his dramas was given to the world, but, in the year 1623, his theatrical colleagues and special friends, Heminge and Condell, published the whole of them in a noble folio. It is either in this book, or in the entry of it on the registers of the Stationers' Company, that we hear indisputably

for the first time of the Taming of the Shrew, Henry the Eighth, All's Well that Ends Well, Julius Cæsar, Timon of Athens, and Coriolanus. Such great pains were evidently taken not merely in forming the collection, but in the exclusion of spurious works, that, notwithstanding the editors' conventional exaggeration of the purity of its texts, it is a testimony of authorship which should predominate modern opinions. There is, also, the stage tradition of the seventeenth century, recorded on the excellent authority of Betterton, that every one of Shakespeare's authentic plays was included in that remarkable volume.

The incidents of the Taming of the Shrew, as well as those of its exquisite Induction, are founded upon an old comedy, which was written at some time before May, 1594, and published in that year under the nearly identical title of the Taming of a Shrew. This latter drama had then been acted by the Earl of Pembroke's servants, and was probably well known to Shakespeare when he was connected with that company, or shortly afterwards, for it was one of the plays represented at the Newington Butts Theatre by the Lord Admiral's and the Lord Chamberlain's men in the June of the same year. The period at which he wrote the

new comedy is at present a matter solely of conjecture. Its local allusions might induce an opinion that it was composed with a view to a contemplated representation before a provincial audience. That delicious episode, the Induction, presents us with a fragment of the rural life with which Shakespeare himself must have been familiar in his native county. With such animated power is it written that we almost appear to personally witness the affray between Marian Hacket, the fat ale-wife of Wincot, and Christopher Sly, to see the nobleman on his return from the chase discovering the insensible drunkard, and to hear the strolling actors make the offer of professional services that was requited by the cordial welcome to the buttery. Wincot is a secluded hamlet near Stratford-on-Avon, and there is an old tradition that the ale-house frequented by Sly was often resorted to by Shakespeare for the sake of diverting himself with a fool who belonged to a neighbouring mill. Stephen Sly, one of the tinker's friends or relatives, was a known character at Stratford-on-Avon and is several times mentioned in the records of that town. This fact, taken in conjunction with the references to Wilmecote and Barton-on-the-Heath, definitely prove that the

scene of the Induction was intended to be in the neighbourhood of Stratford-on-Avon, the water-mill tradition leading to the belief that Little Wilmecote, the part of the hamlet nearest to the poet's native town, is the Wincot alluded to in the comedy, If—but the virtuous character of that particle must not be overlooked—the local imagery extends to the nobleman, the play itself must be supposed to be represented at Clopton House, the only large private residence near the scene of Sly's intemperance; but if so, not until 1605, in the May of which year Sir George became Baron Carew of Clopton.

In the year 1612 the poet was involved in a suit respecting his interests in the local tithes. It appears from the draft of a bill filed before Lord Ellesmere, that some of the lessees refusing to contribute their proper shares of a reserved rent, a greater proportion than was right fell to Lane, Greene, and Shakespeare. The result of the suit is not known, but it is ascertained from the draft bill that an annual income of £60 was derived from the poet's share.

It was about this time that the third edition of the *Passionate Pilgrim* made its appearance, the publisher seeking to attract a special class

of buyers by describing it as consisting of "Certain Amorous Sonnets between Venus and Adonis." These were announced as the work of Shakespeare, but it is also stated that to them were "newly added two love epistles, the first from Paris to Helen, and Helen's answer back again to Paris;" the name of the author of the last two poems not being mentioned. The wording of the title might imply that the latter were also the compositions of the great dramatist, but they were in fact written by Thomas Heywood, and had been impudently taken from his *Troia Britanica*, a large poetical work that had appeared three years previously, 1609. "Here, likewise," observes that writer, speaking in 1612 of the last-named production, "I must necessarily insert a manifest injury done me in that worke, by taking the two Epistles of Paris to Helen, and Helen to Paris, and printing them in a lesse volume under the name of another, which may put the world in opinion I might steale them from him; and hee, to doe himselfe right, hath since published them in his owne name; but as I must acknowledge my lines not worthy his patronage under whom he hath publisht them, so the author I know much offended with M. Jaggard that (altogether unknowne to him) presumed to make so bold with his name."



Although Heywood thus ingeniously endeavours to make it appear that his chief objection to the piracy arose from a desire to shield himself against a charge of plagiarism, it is apparent that he was highly incensed at the liberty that had been taken ; and a new title-page to the *Passionate Pilgrim* of 1612, from which Shakespeare's name was withdrawn, was afterwards issued. There can be little doubt that this step was taken mainly in consequence of the remonstrances of Heywood addressed to Shakespeare, who may certainly have been displeased at Jaggard's proceedings, but as clearly required pressure to induce him to act in the matter. If the publisher would now so readily listen to Shakespeare's wishes, it is difficult to believe that he would not have been equally compliant had he been expostulated with either at the first appearance of the work in 1599, or at any period during the following twelve years of its circulation. It is pleasing to notice that Heywood, in observing that the poet was ignorant of Jaggard's intentions, entirely acquits the former of any blame in the matter.

Early in the following year the great dramatist lost his younger brother Richard, who was buried at Stratford-on-Avon on February the 4th, 1613. He was in the thirty-ninth year of his age.

There is no record of the exact period at which the great dramatist retired from the stage in favour of a retreat at New Place, but it is not likely that he made the latter a permanent residence until 1613 at the earliest. Had this step been taken previously, it is so improbable that he would, in the March of that year, have been anxious to secure possession of an estate in London, a property consisting of a house and a yard, the lower part of the former having been then and for long previously a haberdasher's shop. The premises referred to, situated within one or two hundred yards to the east of the Blackfriars Theatre, were bought by the poet for the sum of £140, and, for some reason or other, he was so intent on its acquisition that he permitted a considerable amount, £60, of the purchase-money to remain on mortgage. That reason can hardly be found in the notion that the property was merely a desirable investment, for it would appear to have been purchased at a somewhat extravagant rate, the vendor, one Henry Walker, a London musician, having paid but £100 for it in the year 1604. If intended for conversion into Shakespeare's own residence, that design was afterwards abandoned, for, at some time previously to his death, he had granted a lease of it to John Robinson,

who was, oddly enough, one of the persons who had violently opposed the establishment of the neighbouring theatre. It does not appear that Shakespeare lived to redeem the mortgage, for the legal estate remained in the trustees until the year 1618. Amongst the latter was one described as John Hemyng of London, gentleman, who signs himself Heminges, but it is not likely that he was the poet's friend and colleague of the same name.

This Blackfriars estate was the only London property that Shakespeare is known for certain to have ever owned. It consisted of a dwelling-house, the first story of which was erected partially over a gateway, with an enclosed small plot of land either at the side or back. The house was situated on the west side of St. Andrew's Hill, formerly otherwise termed Puddle Hill or Puddle Dock Hill, and it was either partially on or very near the locality now and for more than two centuries known as Ireland Yard. At the bottom of the hill was Puddle Dock, a narrow creek of the Thames which I remember in former days, with its repulsive very gradually inclined surface of mud at low water, and, at high, an admirable representative of its name. Stow, in his *Survey of London*, ed. 1603, p. 41, mentions "a water gate at Puddle Wharfe,

of one Puddle that kept a wharfe on the west side thereof, and now of puddle water, by meanes of many horses watred there." It is scarcely necessary to observe that every vestige of the Shakespearean house was obliterated in the great fire of 1666. So complete was the destruction of all this quarter of London that, perhaps, the only fragment of its ancient buildings that remained to the present century is a doorway of the old church or priory of the Blackfriars, a relic which was to be observed about twenty years since, then built into the outer wall of a parish lumber-house adjoining St. Anne's burying ground.

The Globe Theatre was destroyed by fire on Tuesday, June the 29th, 1613. The great dramatist was probably at Stratford-on-Avon at the time of this lamentable occurrence. At all events, his name is not mentioned in any of the notices of the calamity, nor is there a probability that he was the author of the drama then produced, the first one on the public stage in which the efforts of the dramatist were subordinated to theatrical display. It is true that some of the historical incidents in the piece, that was in course of representation when the accident occurred, are also introduced into Shakespeare's play, but it is not likely that there was any

other resemblance between the two works. Amongst the actors engaged at the theatre on this fatal day were Burbage, Heminge, and Condell, the last of whom had, even in the fragmentary performance, been favourably received in the character of the Fool. Up to this period, therefore, it may reasonably be inferred that the stage-fool had been introduced into every play on the subject of Henry the Eighth, so that, when Shakespeare's pageant drama appeared some time afterwards, the Prologue is careful to inform the audience that there was to be a novel treatment of the history divested of some of the former accompaniments. This theory, of a late date, is in consonance with the internal evidence. During the last five or six years of the poet's career, the immoderate use of lines with the hypermetrical syllable became fashionable with our dramatists, and although, for the most part, Shakespeare's metre was a free offspring of the ear, owing little but its generic form to his predecessors and contemporaries, it appears certain that, in his later years, he suffered himself to be influenced by this disagreeable innovation.

When Shakespeare's Henry the Eighth was produced, the character of the King was undertaken by Lowin, a very accomplished actor.

This fact, which is stated on the authority of an old manuscript note in a copy of the second folio preserved at Windsor Castle, is confirmed by Downes, in 1708, and by Roberts, the actor, in a tract published in 1729, the latter observing,—“ I am apt to think, he (Lowin) did not rise to his perfection and most exalted state in the theatre till after Burbage, tho' he play'd what we call second and third characters in his time, and particularly Henry the Eighth originally ; from an observation of whose acting it in his later days, Sir William Davenant convey'd his instructions to Mr. Betterton.” According to Downes, Betterton was instructed in the acting of the part by Davenant, “ who had it from old Mr. Lowin that had his instructions from Mr. Shakespeare himself.” There is a stage-tradition that, in Shakespeare's drama, as was also probably the case in all the old plays on the subject, the King's exclamation, of *ha* was peculiarly emphasized. A story is told by Fuller of a boy-actor in the part whose feeble utterance of this particle occasioned a colleague to warn him that, if he did not pronounce it more vigorously, his Parliament would never give him “ a penny of money.”

Shortly before the destruction of the Globe Theatre in 1613, and in the same month of

June, there was a tiresome bit of gossip in circulation at Stratford-on-Avon respecting Mrs. Hall, Shakespeare's eldest daughter, and one Ralph Smith. Matters came to such a pass that Dr. Hall considered it advisable to take proceedings in the Ecclesiastical Court against one of the persons who had slandered his wife. The case was heard at Worcester on July the 15th, 1613, and appears to have been conducted somewhat mysteriously, the deposition of Robert Whatcot, the poet's intimate friend, being the only evidence recorded, and throwing no substantial light on the merits of the dispute. In the end, however, the lady's character was vindicated by the excommunication of the defendant on July the 27th.

When itinerant preachers visited Stratford-on-Avon, it was the fashion in those days for the Corporation to make them complimentary offerings. In the spring of the year 1614 one of these gentlemen arrived in the town, and being either quartered at New Place, or spending a few hours in that house, was there presented by the municipal authorities with one quart of sack and another of claret. There is no evidence that Shakespeare participated in the clerical festivity, the earliest notice of him in this year being in July, when John Combe, one

of the leading inhabitants, died, bequeathing him the then handsome legacy of £5. It is clear, therefore, that, at the time the will was made, there was no unfriendliness between the two parties, and that the lines commencing, *Ten-in-the-hundred*, if genuine, must have been composed at a later period. The first two lines of that mock elegy are, however, undoubtedly spurious, and are omitted in the earliest discovered version of it, dated 1630, preserved at Thirlestane House. There is, moreover, no reason for believing that Combe was an usurious money-lender, ten per cent. being then the legal and ordinary rate of interest. That rate was not lowered until after the death of Shakespeare.

The Globe theatre, which had been rebuilt at a cost of £1400, had then been recently opened ; and Chamberlain, writing from London on June the 30th, 1614, to a lady at Venice, says, "I heare much speach of this new play-house, which is saide to be the fayrest that ever was in England."

In the autumn of the year 1614 there was great excitement at Stratford-on-Avon respecting an attempted enclosure of a large portion of the neighbouring common-fields,—not commons, as so many biographers have inadvertently stated. . The design was resisted by the Cor-



poration under the natural impression that, if it were realized, both the number of agricultural employés and the value of the tithes would be seriously diminished. There is no doubt that this would have been the case, and, as might have been expected, William Combe, the squire of Welcombe, who originated the movement, encountered a determined, and, in the end, a successful opposition. He spared, however, no exertions to accomplish the object, and, in many instances, if we may believe contemporary allegations, tormented the poor and coaxed the rich into an acquiescence with his views. It appears most probable that Shakespeare was one of the latter who were so influenced, and that, amongst perhaps other inducements, he was allured to the unpopular side by Combe's agent, one Replingham, guaranteeing him from prospective loss. However that may be, it is certain that the poet was in favour of the enclosures, for, on December the 23rd, the Corporation addressed a letter of remonstrance to him on the subject, and another on the same day to a Mr. Manwaring. The latter, who had been practically bribed by some land arrangements at Welcombe, undertook to protect the interests of Shakespeare, so there can be no doubt that the three parties were acting in unison.

It appears that Shakespeare was in the metropolis when the Corporation decided to address an expostulatory letter to him, and that he had arrived there on Wednesday, November the 16th. We are indebted for the knowledge of this circumstance to the diary of Thomas Greene, who was the town-clerk of Stratford-on-Avon and the poet's solicitor, and who has recorded in that manuscript the following too brief, but still extremely curious, notices of the great dramatist in connection with the subject of the enclosures :—

1.—Jovis, 17 Nov., my cosen Shakspeare comyng yesterday to towne, I went to see him how he did. He told me that they assured him they ment to inclose noe further than to Gospell Bushe, and so upp straight (leavyng out part of the Dyngles to the Field) to the Gate in Clopton hedge, and take in Salisburys peece; and that they mean in Aprill to survey the land, and then to gyve satisfaccion, and not before; and he and Mr. Hall say they think ther will be nothyng done at all.

2.—23 Dec. A hall. Lettres wrytten, one to Mr. Manyring, another to Mr. Shakspear, with almost all the company's handes to eyther. I alsoe wrytte of myself to my cosen Shakspear the coppyes of all our actes, and then also a not of the inconveniences wold happen by the inclosure.

3.—10 Januarii, 1614. Mr. Manwaryng and his agreement for me with my cosen Shakspeare.

4.—9 Jan. 1614. Mr. Replyngham, 28 Octobris, article with Mr. Shakspear, and then I was putt in by Thursday.

5.—Sept. Mr. Shakspeare told Mr. J. Greene that I was not abble to beare the enclosing of Welcombe.

Greene was in London at the date of the

first entry, and at Stratford at that of the second. The exact day on which the fifth memorandum was written is not given, but it was certainly penned before the fifth of September. Why the last observation should have been chronicled at all is a mystery, but the note has a mournful interest as the register of the latest recorded spoken words of the great dramatist. The end was near at hand.

Amongst the numerous popular errors of our ancestors was the belief that fevers often resulted from convivial indulgences. This was the current notion in England until a comparatively recent period, and its prevalence affected the traditional history of the poet's last illness. The facts were these. In the early part of the year 1616, Shakespeare and his two friends, Drayton and Ben Jonson, regaled themselves at an entertainment in one of the taverns at Stratford-on-Avon. It is recorded that the party was a jovial one, and, according to a somewhat late but apparently reliable tradition, when the great dramatist was returning to New Place in the evening, he had taken more wine than was conducive to pedestrian accuracy. Shortly or immediately afterwards, he was seized by the lamentable fever which terminated fatally on Tuesday, April the 23rd. The cause of the malady, then attributed to undue festivity, would

now be readily discernible in the wretched sanitary conditions surrounding his residence. If truth, and not romance, is to be invoked, were there the woodbine and sweet honeysuckle within reach of the poet's death-bed, their fragrance would have been neutralized by their vicinity to middens, fetid water-courses, mud-walls and piggeries.

The funeral was solemnized on the following Thursday, April the 25th, 1616, when all that was mortal of the great dramatist was consigned to its final resting-place in the beautiful parish church of his native town. His remains were deposited in the chancel, the selection of that locality for the interment being due to the circumstance of its then being the legal and customary burial-place of the owners of the tithes.

The grave is situated near the northern wall of the chancel, within a few paces of the ancient charnel-house, the arch of the door-way that opened to the latter, with its antique corbels, still remaining. The sepulchre was covered with a slab, that bore the following inscription,—

Good friend, for Jesus sake forbear  
To dig the dust inclosed here ;  
Blest be the man that spares these stones,  
And curst be he that moves my bones.

lines which a well-supported tradition assigns to the pen of Shakespeare himself. Those who believe that a great dramatist could not have written a poor monumental quatrain, may take refuge in the possibility that the present one originated with a relative or friend who was acquainted with the poet's repugnance to the idea of a disturbance of his remains. It should be remembered that the transfer of bones from graves to the charnel-house was then an ordinary practice at Stratford-on-Avon. There has long been an opinion, and even, I believe, a tradition, that Shakespeare's feelings on this subject arose from a reflection on the ghastly appearance of that receptacle, which the elder Ireland, writing in the year 1795, describes as then containing "the largest assemblage of human bones" he had ever beheld. But whether this be the truth, or if it were merely the natural wish of a sensitive and thoughtful mind, it is a source of congratulation that the lines should have protected his ashes from sacrilege. The nearest approach to an excavation into the grave of Shakespeare was made in the summer of the year 1796, in digging a vault in the immediate locality, when an opening appeared which was presumed to indicate the commencement of the site of the bard's

remains. The most scrupulous care, however, was taken not to disturb the neighbouring earth in the slightest degree, the clerk having been placed there, until the brickwork of the adjoining vault was completed, to prevent anyone making an examination. No relics whatever were visible through the small opening that thus presented itself, and as the poet was buried in the ground, not in a vault, the chancel earth, moreover, formerly absorbing a large degree of moisture, the great probability is that dust alone remains. This consideration may tend to discourage an irreverent opinion expressed by some, that it is due to the interests of science to unfold to the world the material abode which formerly held so great an intellect. It is not many years since a phalanx of trouble-tombs, lanterns and spades in hand, assembled in the chancel at dead of night, intent on disobeying the solemn injunction that the bones of Shakespeare were not to be disturbed. But the supplicatory lines prevailed. There were some amongst the number who, at the last moment, refused to incur the warning condemnation, and so the design was happily abandoned.

The honours of repose, which have thus far been conceded to the poet's remains, have not been extended to the tomb-stone. The latter

had, by the middle of the last century, sank below the level of the floor, and, about fifty years ago, had become so much decayed as to suggest a vandalic order for its removal, and, in its stead, to place a new slab, one which marks certainly the locality of Shakespeare's grave and continues the record of the farewell lines, but indicates nothing more. The original memorial has wandered from its allotted station no one can tell whither,—a sacrifice to the insane worship of prosaic neatness, that mischievous demon whose votaries have practically destroyed so many of the priceless relics of ancient England and her gifted sons.

## AFTER THE FUNERAL.

The poet's bereaved family now consisted of his widow, the Anne Hathaway of his youth ; his elder daughter, Susanna, and her husband, Dr. Hall ; his other daughter, Judith, and her husband, Thomas Quiney ; his sister Joan Hart, and her three sons, William, Thomas and Michael ; and his only grand-child, Elizabeth Hall, a little girl in the ninth year of her age.

There now only remains for the consideration of the biographer, the record of the last wishes of the poet, as they are detailed in his will, and the particulars connected with that most interesting document. Edward Alleyn, the eminent actor, and Shakespeare's contemporary, made a large fortune by his professional labours, and took the surest method of handing down his name and industry to future generations by a noble foundation not affected by the vicissitudes which attend the continuance of



property in the hands of descendants. The name of Shakespeare is bequeathed by his works in perpetuity to all nations, and it needs no artificial support such as this ; but it is undeniable that the great dramatist was actuated by a similar anxiety, and that his continued increase of property in the neighbourhood of his early home had constant reference to the establishment of a family which should for ages inherit the fruits of his exertions. The will is the last document written in the lifetime of the poet, connected with his history, that can be produced. There are several erasures and interlineations rendering it difficult to convey to the reader's mind an exact idea of the original ; but if he will carefully bear in mind that, in the following transcript, *all words inserted in square brackets are those which have been erased, and that all the Italics represent interlineations*, he will be enabled to derive a tolerably clear impression of this interesting record. The will occupies three large sheets of paper, the testator's signature appearing on each.

Vicesimo quinto die [Januarii] *Martii*, anno regni domini nostri Jacobi, nunc regis Angliæ, &c. decimo quarto, et Scotiæ xlix<sup>o</sup> annoque Domini 1616.

T. Wmi. Shackspeare.—In the name of God, amen ! I William Shackspeare, of Stratford upon Avon in the countie of Warr. gent. in perfect health and memorie, God be prayesd, doe

make and ordayne this my last will and testament in manner and forme followeing, that ys to saye, First, I comend my soule into the handes of God my Creator, hoping and assuredlie beleeeving, through thonellie merittes of Jesus Christe my Saviour, to be made partaker of lyfe everlastinge, and my bodye to the earth whereof yt ys made. Item, I gyve and bequeath unto my [sonne and] daughter Judyth one hundred and fyftie poundes of lawfull English money, to be paied unto her in manner and forme followeing, that ys to saye, one hundred poundes *in discharge of her marriage porcion* within one yeare after my deceas, with consideracion after the rate of twoe shillinges in the pound for soe long tyme as the same shalbe unpaid unto her after my deceas, and the fyftie poundes residewe thereof upon her surrendring *of*, or gyving of such sufficient securitie as the overseers of this my will shall like of to surrender or graunte all her estate and right that shall discend or come unto her after my deceas, or *that shee* nowe hath, of in or to one copiehold tenemente with thappurtenaunces lyeing and being in Stratford-upon-Avon aforesaied in the saied countie of Warr., being parcell or holden of the mannour of Rowington, unto my daughter Susanna Hall and her heires for ever. Item, I gyve and bequeath unto my saied daughter Judith one hundred and fyftie poundes more, if shee or anie issue of her bodie be lyvinge att thend of three yeares next ensueing the daie of the date of this my will, during which tyme my executours to<sup>o</sup> paie her consideracion from my deceas according to the rate aforesaied ; and if she dye within the saied terme without issue of her bodye, then my will ys, and I doe gyve and bequeath one hundred poundes thereof to my neece Elizabeth Hall, and the fiftie poundes to be sett fourth by my executours during the lief of my sister Johane Harte, and the use and proffitt thereof cominge shalbe payed to my saied sister Jone, and after her deceas the saied l.<sup>ty</sup> shall remaine amongst the children of my saied sister equallie to be devided amongst them ; but if my saied daughter Judith be lyving att thend of the saied three yeares, or anie yssue of her bodye, then my will ys and soe I devise and bequeath the saied hundred and fyftie

poundes to be sett out *by my executours and overseers* for the best benefitt of her and her issue, and *the stock not to be* paid unto her soe long as she shalbe marryed and covert baron [by my executours and overseers] ; but my will ys that she shall have the consideracion yearelie paid unto her during her lief, and, after her deceas, the saied stock and consideracion to bee paid to her children, if she have anie, and if not, to her executours or assignes, she lyving the saied terme after my deceas, Provided that yf such husbond, as she shall att thend of the saied three yeares be marryed unto, or att anie after®, doe sufficientlie assure unto her and thissue of her bodie landes awnswereable to the porcion by this my will gyven unto her, and to be adjudged soe by my executours and overseers, then my will ys that the saied cl.*li.* shalbe paid to such husbond as shall make such assurance, to his owne use. Item, I gyve and bequeath unto my saied sister Jone xx.*li.* and all my wearing apparrell, to be paid and delivered within one yeare after my deceas ; and I doe will and devise unto her *the house* with thappurtenaunces in Stratford, wherein she dwelleth, for her naturall lief, under the yearelie rent of xij.d. Item, I gyve and bequeath unto her three sonns, William Harte, . . . Hart, and Michaell Harte, fyve poundes a peece, to be payed within one yeare after my deceas [to be sett out for her within one yeare after my deceas by my executours, with thadvise and direccions of my overseers, for her best profitt, untill her mariage, and then the same with the increase thereof to be paid unto her]. Item, I gyve and bequeath unto [her] *the saied Elizabeth Hall* all my plate, *except my brod silver and gilt bole*, that I now have att the date of this my will. Item, I gyve and bequeath unto the poore of Stratford aforesaid tenn poundes ; to Mr. Thomas Combe my sword ; to Thomas Russell esquier fyve poundes, and to Frauncis Collins of the borough of Warr. in the countie of Warr. gentleman thirteene poundes, sixe shillinges, and eight pence, to be paid within one yeare after my deceas. Item, I gyve and bequeath to [Mr. Richard Tyler thelder] *Hamlett Sadler* xxvj.s. viij.d. to buy him a ringe ; to *William Raynoldes, gent.* xxvj.s. viij.d. to

*buy him a ringe* ; to my godson William Walker xx.<sup>s.</sup> in gold ; to Anthonye Nashe gent. xxvj.<sup>s.</sup> viij.<sup>d.</sup>, and to Mr. John Nashe xxvj.<sup>s.</sup> viij.<sup>d.</sup> [in gold] ; *and to my fellowes John Hemynges, Richard Burbage, and Henry Cundell, xxvj.<sup>s.</sup> viij.<sup>d.</sup> a peece to buy them ringes.* Item, I gyve, will, bequeath and devise, unto my daughter Susanna Hall, *for better enabling of her to performe this my will, and towards the performans thereof,* all that capitall messuage or tenemente, with thappurtenaunces, *in Stratford aforesaid,* called the Newe Place, wherein I nowe dwell, and two messuages or tenementes with thappurtenaunces, scituat lyeing and being in Henley streete within the borough of Stratford aforesaid ; and all my barnes, stables, orchardes, gardens, landes, tenementes and hereditamentes whatsoever, scituat lyeing and being, or to be had, receyved, perceyved, or taken, within the townes, hamlettes, villages, fieldes and groundes of Stratford-upon-Avon, Oldstratford, Bushopton, and Welcombe, or in anie of them in the saied countie of Warr. And alsoe all that messuage or tenemente with thappurtenaunces wherein one John Robinson dwelleth, scituat lyeng and being in the Blackfriers in London nere the Wardrobe ; and all other my landes, tenementes, and hereditamentes whatsoever, To have and to hold all and singuler the saied premisses with their appurtenaunces unto the saied Susanna Hall for and during the terme of her naturall lief, and after her deceas, to the first sonne of her bodie lawfullie yssueing, and to the heires males of the bodie of the saied first sonne lawfullie yssueinge, and for defalt of such issue, to the second sonne of her bodie lawfullie issueinge, and to the heires males of the bodie of the saied second sonne lawfullie yssueinge, and for defalt of such heires, to the third sonne of the bodie of the saied Susanna lawfullie yssueing, and of the heires males of the bodie of the saied third sonne lawfullie yssueing, and for defalt of such issue, the same soe to be and remaine to the ffourth [sonne], ffyfh, sixte, and seaventh sonnes of her bodie lawfullie issueing one after another, and to the heires males of the bodies of the saied ffourth, fifth, sixte and seaventh sonnes lawfullie yssueing, in

such manner as yt ys before lymitted to be and remaine to the first, second and third sonns of her bodie, and to theire heires males, and for defalt of such issue, the saied premisses to be and remaine to my sayed neece Hall, and the heires males of her bodie lawfullie yssueing, and for defalt of such issue, to my daughter Judith, and the heires males of her bodie lawfullie issueinge, and for defalt of such issue, to the right heires of me the saied William Shackspeare for ever. *Item, I gyve unto my wief my second best bed with the furniture.* *Item, I gyve and bequeath to my saied daughter Judith my broad silver gilt bole.* All the rest of my goodes, chattels, leases, plate, jewels, and household stuffe whatsoever, after my dettes and legasies paied, and my funerall expences discharged, I gyve, devise, and bequeath to my sonne in lawe, John Hall gent., and my daughter Susanna, his wief, whom I ordaine and make executours of this my last will and testament. And I doe intreat and appoint *the saied* Thomas Russell esquier and Frauncis Collins gent. to be overseers hereof, and doe revoke all former wills, and publishe this to be my last will and testament. In witness whereof I have hereunto put my [seale] *hand* the daie and yeare first above-written.—*By me William Shakespeare.*

Probatum coram magistro Willielmo Byrde, legum doctore comiss. &c. xxij.<sup>do</sup> die mensis Junii, anno Domini 1616, jramento Johannis Hall, unius executorum, &c. cui &c. de bene &c. jurat. reservat. potestate &c. Susannæ Hall alteri ~~Execu-~~torum &c. cum venerit &c. petitur. (Inv. ex.)

There is very little that can be stated with certainty respecting the history of the preparation of this document. It is clear that either oral or written instructions for its terms had been given to the scribe, or, that person arranging his draft on January the 25th. That draft must have remained unsettled for several weeks, and the only feasible reason that can be sug-

gested for its final acceptance in lieu of a formal transcript is that the poet was taken suddenly ill in March, and that it was not considered advisable to incur a moment's delay in its execution. Were it otherwise, there would of course have been time for the engrossment of the draft, but the transaction appears to have been so hastily conducted that even the correction of the day of the month was overlooked. With regard to the erasures and interlineations, a few may have been the work of the scrivener before the draft was transmitted, but some are obviously the result of the testator's subsequent personal directions. The latter could not have been given long, if at all, before the commencement of his illness, for otherwise it is only reasonable to assume that a fair copy of the settled record would have been ready for use. On the other hand, it is not certain that the interlineated notes of legacies were made at the time of the execution of the will ; and, indeed, it is an assumption which seems to be rather inconsistent with the extreme haste with which the proceedings on that occasion were conducted. It is by no means improbable that they were the result of occasional later wishes expressed by the poet, who might have been equal to such an effort and yet too weak to encounter the fatigue

of passing through another legal ceremony. In those days there was so much laxity in everything connected with testamentary formalities that no inconvenience would have arisen from such expedients. No one, excepting in subsequent litigation, would ever have dreamt of asking if erasures preceded signatures, how or when interlineations were added, if the witnesses were present at the execution, or, in fact, any questions at all. The officials thought nothing of even admitting to probate a mere copy of a will that was destitute of the signatures both of testator and witnesses.

The first interlineation, that which refers to Judith, may or may not have been in the original draft, some of the language of which may be taken to imply that her marriage was contemplated at the time when the first instructions were given to the scrivener. Her union with Thomas Quiney, a wine-merchant residing in the High-Street of Stratford-on-Avon, took place in that town on February the 10th. There appears to have been some reason for accelerating this event, for they were married without a licence, and were summoned a few weeks afterwards to the ecclesiastical court at Worcester to atone for the offence. No evidence, however, has been discovered to warrant the frequent

suggestion that the poet disapproved of the alliance, and it is worth notice that their first-born son was christened after him.

The most celebrated interlineation is that in which Shakespeare leaves his widow his "second-best bed with the furniture," the first-best no doubt being that reserved for visitors. Bedsteads were sometimes of elaborate workmanship, and gifts of them are often to be met with in ancient wills. The notion of indifference to his wife, so frequently deduced from the above-mentioned entry, cannot be sustained. So far from being considered of trifling import, beds were even sometimes selected as portions of compensation for dower; and bequests of personal articles of the most insignificant description were never formerly held in any light but that of marks of affection. Amongst the smaller legacies of former days may be enumerated kettles, chairs, gowns, hats, pewter cups, feather bolsters and cullenders. In the year 1642 one John Shakespeare of Budbrook, near Warwick, considered it a sufficient mark of respect to his father-in-law to leave him "his best boots."

The conjugal history of Shakespeare would not have been so tarnished had more regard been given to contemporary practices. It has



generally been considered that the terms of the marriage-bond favour a suspicion of haste and irregularity, but it will be seen on examination that they are merely copies of the ordinary forms in use at Worcester. We should not inspect these matters through the glasses of modern life. For the gift of a bed let us substitute that of one of its present correlatives, a valuable diamond-ring for example, and we should then instinctively feel not only that the gift was one of affection, but that its isolation was most probably due to the circumstance of a special provision of livelihood for her being unnecessary. This was undoubtedly the case in the present instance. The interests of the survivor were nearly always duly considered in the voluntary settlements formerly so often made between husband and wife, but if there were no such arrangements in this case, the latter would have been well provided for by free-bench in the Rowington copyhold, and by dower on the rest of the property.

It is curious that the only real ground for a belief in any kind of estrangement between them should not hitherto have been noticed, but something to favour that impression may be fancied to be visible in the poet's neglect to

give his widow a life-interest in their own residence at New Place. However liberally she may have been provided for, that circumstance would hardly reconcile us to the somewhat ungracious divorce of a wife from the control of her own household. It is clear that there must have been some valid reason for this arrangement, for the grant of such an interest would not have affected the testator's evident desire to perpetuate a family estate, and there appears to be no other obvious design with which a limited gift of New Place could have interfered. Perhaps the only theory that would be consistent with the terms of the will, and with the deep affection which she is traditionally recorded to have entertained for him to the end of her life, is the possibility of her having been afflicted with some chronic infirmity of a nature that precluded all hope of recovery. In such a case, to relieve her from household anxieties and select a comfortable apartment at New Place, where she would be under the care of an affectionate daughter and an experienced physician, would have been the wisest and kindest measure that could have been adopted.

The inventory of the poet's goods that was taken after his decease has not been discovered. If it ever comes to light, it can hardly fail to be

of surpassing interest, especially if it contains a list of the books preserved at New Place. These must have been very limited in number, for there is no allusion to such luxuries in the will. Anything like a private library, even of the smallest dimensions, was then of the rarest occurrence, and that Shakespeare ever owned one at any time of his life is exceedingly improbable. The folios of Holinshed and Plutarch, the former in the edition of 1586 and the latter in probably that of 1595, are amongst the few volumes that we can positively say were in his own hands. In that age of common-place books it must not be too hastily assumed that individual passages, such as that he adapted from Montaigne, were taken from the works themselves.

In the year 1625 his son-in-law, Dr. Hall, parted with the share in the tithes that had been purchased by Shakespeare from Huband in 1605. It formed a part of the residuary estate. The land bought from the Combes, the Henley-Street property and New Place, continued in the family until the death of the poet's last descendant, Lady Barnard, in 1670. The two houses in Henley-Street were included in the entail, but one was subject to the life-interest of the poet's sister, Joan Hart, who died in

1646. Lady Barnard devised both of them to the Harts, in whose possession they remained until the beginning of the present century.

Judith Quiney duly surrendered her interest in the Rowington copyhold to her sister, and the latter was formally admitted to it at one of the manorial courts. This little estate remained in the possession of the Halls at least down to the year 1633; but its subsequent descent, until it is noticed as being in the hands of the Cloptons early in the last century, is unknown.

The Blackfriars estate followed the succession of the other properties until October, 1652, when it was excluded from the parcels in the re-settlement executed by the Barnards in the October of that year. Upon the death of Mrs. Hall, in 1649, it had passed into the fee-simple ownership of her daughter, who no doubt retained its exclusive possession until she parted with it, either by sale or gift, to her kinsman, Edward Bagley. The date of this transfer is not known, but it occurred some time in or before 1667, in the August of which year the latter sold the property to Sir Heneage Fetherston. The buildings upon it had been destroyed in the Fire of London, Bagley receiving only £35 for the land, and it may be that the estate did not come into his hands until after, and per-

haps in consequence of, that calamity. With the possible exception of the Getley copyhold, this was the first disseverance of any of the poet's estates from the hands of his descendants.

## THE TWO NOBLE KINSMEN.

There can be little doubt that Shakespeare, who was in early life, and perhaps to some extent afterwards, the *Johannes Factotum* of the theatre, contributed numerous fragments to the dramas of others. There is not, however, the slightest contemporary hint that he ever entered into the joint authorship of a play with any one else, and such a notion is directly opposed to the express testimony of Leonard Digges. No intimation of anything of the kind occurred until nearly twenty years after the poet's death, when a publisher named Waterson issued the *Two Noble Kinsmen*, in 1634, as the united composition of Fletcher and Shakespeare. A perfect distinction should be drawn between instances of occasional and those of incorporated dramatic assistance. Possible examples of two of the former have been already mentioned in the notices of *Edward the Third* and *Pericles*. Both are plays which may have been delivered to the theatre as complete, and Shakespeare's additions to, or variations of scenes in, them made afterwards. The case of the *Two Noble Kinsmen* stands on different grounds, for if the great dramatist wrote the portions of it attributed to him by modern critics, he must on that occasion have entered into a literary partnership with some other writer. Although satisfied that this cannot be the fact, and being unable to appreciate the definite Shakespearean individuality of composition which is imagined by so many to pervade certain scenes in that drama, it will be only fair to state concisely the main external testimonies on each side of the question.

*A. Reasons for attributing the whole or part of the Two Noble Kinsmen to the pen of Shakespeare.*—1. Waterson's entry of the play at Stationers' Hall on April the 8th, 1634,

under the title of, "a tragicomedy called the Two Noble Kinsmen, by Jo: Fletcher and W<sup>m</sup>. Shakespeare."—2. The title-page of the first edition, which runs thus,—“The Two Noble Kinsmen, presented at the Blackfriars by the Kings Maiesties servants with great applause: Written by the memorable Worthies of their time, Mr. John Fletcher, Gent., and Mr. William Shakspeare, Gent.,” 4to. Lond. 1634.—3. “Two Noble Kinsmen, a tragi-comedy; this play was written by Mr. Fletcher and Mr. Shakespeare,” Langbaine’s English Dramatick Poets, ed. 1691, p. 215.—4. Pope’s assertion that there was a tradition to the effect that the whole of the Two Noble Kinsmen was written by Shakespeare. This writer’s notes on such matters appear, however, to be of little value. In another place he gives as a tradition the incredible report that the 1591 play of King John was the joint production of Shakespeare and William Rowley.—5. The assertion made by Steevens that “there is a play-house tradition that the first act was written by Shakespeare.”

*B. Reasons for believing that the great dramatist had no share whatever in the composition of the Two Noble Kinsmen.*—1. When John Waterson, in October, 1646, transferred to Humphrey Moseley his copyright interests in three plays,—the Elder Brother, Monsieur Thomas and the Two Noble Kinsmen—the undivided authorship of all of them is distinctly assigned to Fletcher in the register, the third appearing there under the title of *the Noble Kinsman*. The Fletcherian authorship of the two other dramas is undisputed, and, if Waterson really believed that Shakespeare had written part of the last, there seems no reason why the name of the great dramatist should not have been given in the entry of the assignment. The omission of the Two Noble Kinsmen in the folio edition of Beaumont and Fletcher, 1647, is no evidence one way or the other, the Elder Brother and Monsieur Thomas being also excluded. Moseley’s preface to that work is dated very early in 1646-7, and the probability is that the whole of the folio had been worked off before he had purchased the copyrights from Waterson.—2. In a list of books printed for Moseley, which is inserted at the end of some copies of Shirley’s Six New Playes,

1653, occurs "the Two Noble Kinsmen, a comedy written by Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, gent., in 4<sup>o</sup>." The same entry is met with the following year in a similar list of the works of the same publisher, these announcements singularly contrasting with his trading anxiety to use the name of Shakespeare improperly in other instances. It should be carefully recollected that Moseley was specially connected with the works of Beaumont and Fletcher, so that his evidence, valueless in a question of Shakespearean authorship, is most likely important in regard to the works of the former dramatists.—3. The Two Noble Kinsmen is attributed to the unassisted pen of Fletcher in Kirkman's Catalogue, 1671, but this is an evidence of no value.—4. The play was inserted without Shakespeare's name in the second folio edition of Beaumont and Fletcher, published in 1679.—5. The absence of contemporary evidence that Shakespeare and Fletcher were acquainted with each other.—6. The obvious anxiety of Fletcher in several of his plays to imitate and rival Shakespeare. This tendency has been traditionally recorded by Davies even in an instance that might not otherwise have been suspected. "Above fifty years since," he observes, "it was traditionary among the comedians that Cacofero was the intended rival of Falstaff, whom he resembles in nothing but in bulk and cowardice," *Dramatic Miscellanies*, ed. 1785, i. 203.—7. The direct evidence of Leonard Digges about the year 1623 of Shakespeare's aversion to any kind of literary partnership, so that he even carefully avoided the then common practice of availing himself of scenes written for him by other dramatists.—8. The parallel instance of "the History of Cardenio by Mr. Fletcher and Shakespeare" having been entered by Moseley on the registers of the Stationers' Company in the year 1653.—9. Finally, the extreme improbability of a dramatist of Shakespeare's unrivalled power and rapidity of composition entering, at the maturest period of his reputation, into the joint-authorship of a play with a much younger writer, and of the latter having in such a case the assurance to be palpably imitating him, both characterially and verbally, in his portion of the work.





## THE SPURIOUS PLAYS.

With the exception of the plays in the first folio, and the three mentioned at the commencement of the preceding article, there is not one the attribution of which to the great dramatist is worthy of serious discussion. A few observations, however, on the inconsiderate ascriptions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries may be useful for reference; but later ones have neither the possession of a moderate antiquity, nor any other features, to render them of Shakespearean interest. There is no limit to conjectural extravagance, otherwise it would be incredible that portions of the drama of Sir Thomas More, the whole of the comedy of Albumazar, with various other pieces of an equally inferior character, should have been assigned in recent times to the pen of Shakespeare.

*Arden of Feversham.*—An inartificial tragedy, published in 1592, and first attributed to Shakespeare by Mr. Edward Jacob in 1770.

*The Arraignment of Paris.*—A dramatic pastoral by George Peele, printed in 4to, 1584. It is foolishly ascribed to Shakespeare in Kirkman's Catalogue, 4to, 1671.

*The Birth of Merlin.*—A drama which was printed in 1662 by Thomas Johnson for Francis Kirkman and Henry Marsh, who announce that it was "written by William Shakespear and William Rowley." Publishing evidence of this nature and late period is all but worthless,—in Kirkman's case absolutely so,—and it is in the highest degree improbable that Shakespeare ever wrote any work in conjunction with William Rowley, who did not join the King's Company during the life-time of the great dramatist. It is curious to observe how few plays, not included in the first folio, were issued with Shakespeare's name

to them during the long interval between the year of his death and the appearance of the present one. They are limited to *Pericles*, 1619, 1630 and 1635; the *Yorkshire Tragedy*, 1619; the *Troublesome Raigne of John*, 1622; and the *Two Noble Kinsman*, 1634.

*The Double Falsehood*.—First published by Theobald in 1728 as, "written originally by W. Shakespeare." The history of the two manuscripts of this play, which is given by the editor, is not satisfactory. He states that the oldest of them "is of above sixty years standing, in the handwriting of Mr. Downes, the famous old prompter, and, as I am credibly inform'd, was early in the possession of the celebrated Mr. Betterton, and by him design'd to have been usher'd into the world." An anecdote, which is not creditable to the taste of its inventor, is put forth in support of the conjectural authorship,—“there is a tradition, which I have from the noble person who supply'd me with one of my copies, that it was given by our author, as a present of value, to a natural daughter of his for whose sake he wrote it in the time of his retirement from the stage.”

*Fair Em*.—A comedy first published in 1631, but acted many years previously by Lord Strange's Servants. It has been attributed to the great dramatist from being found in a collection of quarto plays lettered, *Shakespear, Vol. I.*, formerly belonging to Charles the Second, and so described, no doubt from the binder's title, in the old manuscript catalogue of that sovereign's library. The volume is described as containing,—“Shakespeare's *Puritan Widow*, *Sir John Oldcastel*, *Cromwells Life*, *Devell of Edmonton*, *London Prodigall*, *Mucedorus*, *Miller's Daughter*, *Love Labour Lost*.”

*George a Greene*.—This comedy was acted in December, 1593, by the players of the Earl of Sussex, a company who produced *Titus Andronicus* in the following month. It was entered at Stationers' Hall in 1595, but the earliest known edition bears the date of 1599. The statement that there was a tradition assigning this play to Shakespeare is a pure invention, and the great dramatist himself is a witness to its having been composed by some other writer, the following early manuscript

note occurring in a copy of the first edition,—“written by . . . a minister who acted the piners part in it himself, teste W. Shakespeare.” Another memorandum, also of nearly contemporary date, is as follows,—“Ed. Juby saith it was made by Ro. Greene.”

*Henry the First and Henry the Second.*—In 1653 Moseley entered “Henry the First and Henry the 2d. by Shakespeare and Davenport” on the registers of the Stationers’ Company. Henry the First is also in the list of manuscript plays said to have been destroyed by Warburton’s servant about the year 1730, so that two plays appear to have been registered under the above titles, and Sir Henry Herbert, in 1624, licensed “for the King’s company the Historye of Henry the First, written by Dampont.” Whether Moseley intended to assert that each drama was the joint composition of Shakespeare and Davenport, or that the one first named in the entry was written by the former and the other by the latter, is a matter of uncertainty as well as one of no consequence. A drama called Harey the Firste Life and Deth was produced by the Lord Admiral’s Company in May, 1597, and another on the events of the same reign was written by Drayton and others in the following year.

*Locrine.*—A tragedy printed by Thomas Creede, in 1595, as “newly set forth, ouerseene and corrected, by W. S.” It was first ascribed to Shakespeare by the editors of the third folio, 1664. A very obscurely written manuscript note, in a copy of the first edition, signed by one G. B., believed from the handwriting to be the initials of Sir George Buck, would lead to the inference that this drama was originally entitled *Estrild*, and that it was written by Charles Tilney.

*Lorrino.*—A play mentioned in a list of Shakespeare’s dramatic works in Winstanley’s *Lives of the Poets*, 1687, p. 132.

*The Merry Devil of Edmonton.*—This entertaining comedy is mentioned in the *Blacke Booke*, 1604, and was entered at Stationers’ Hall in October, 1607, to Arthur Johnson, who published it in the following year, 1608, under the title of, *The Merry Devil of Edmonton*, as it hath beene sundry times acted by his Majesties Seruants at the Globe on the Banke-side ; that

is, by Shakespeare's company. The copyright of what appears to have been a rival and lost drama on the same history was claimed by other publishers in April, 1608, and was attributed by them to the pen of one T. B. In this latter play, the death of Fabel was introduced, while the enumeration of the other incidents forbids us to suppose that it could be a continuation of the former comedy. The earliest attribution of a piece on this subject to the great dramatist is found in the registers of the Stationers' Company under the date of September, 1653, when a publisher named Moseley inserted, "The Merry Deuill of Edmōnton by Wm. Shakespeare," in an entry which includes palpable misrepresentations respecting the authorship of other compositions. The evidence of Moseley is clearly not reliable, but there appears to have been a vague idea, in the latter part of the seventeenth century, that the play might have been written by Shakespeare. It is attributed to him in an early manuscript note in a copy of the edition of 1655, and also by a bookseller named Kirkman in 1671. Langbaine, ed. 1691, p. 541, judiciously discredits the last mentioned authority.

*Mucedorous.* An inferior but popular old comedy, the earliest known edition of which appeared in the year 1598. It was first attributed to Shakespeare by Kirkman in 1671, and it is also mentioned as his production in Winstanley's *Lives*, 1687, p. 132. Langbaine, ed. 1691, p. 542, merely refers to some of these previous assignments without expressing a decisive opinion on the subject.

*Oldrastes.*—A play mentioned in a list of Shakespeare's dramatic works in Winstanley's *Lives of the Poets*, 1687, p. 132.

*The Puritan.*—Licensed by Sir George Buck, entered by Eld at Stationers' Hall in August, 1607, as "a booke called the comedie of the Puritan Wydowe," and issued by that printer in the same year under the title of, *The Puritaine or the Widdow of Watling-streete*; acted by the Children of Paules; written by W. S. This play is attributed to Shakespeare in the third folio of 1664, as also by Winstanley in 1687 and by several later writers.

*The Second Maiden's Tragedy.*—A play licensed without an author's name in the year 1611, and preserved in manuscript in the Lansdowne collection. It is ascribed by a later hand in the volume to George Chapman, whose name has been erased for the substitution of that of the great dramatist. The last handwriting is unquestionably of a late date, certainly not earlier than the period of the reign of George the First.



## ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES.

*Page 5, line 1. The remains of New Place.*—These interesting relics are, alas, nearly all that now remains of the poet's residence, but, considering that New Place was razed to the ground nearly two centuries ago, it is wonderful that even these fragments should have escaped destruction. The engraving is taken from an accurate drawing made by Blight at the time of their discovery in 1862.

*Page 7, line 7. Through the media of his works.*—The greatest of dramatists must also necessarily be the least egotistical. One of the profoundest achievements of a dramatic writer is, by rapid permutations of thought and feeling, to identify himself for the moment with the inner consciousness of each personage appearing on the scene. In the course of that mental process he is constantly embodying passions which are not only utterly at variance with his own disposition, but altogether foreign to his experiences. It will be conceded by every reader that Shakespeare possessed these gifts in a pre-eminent, if not in an absolute, degree. It must, therefore, be highly improbable that, excepting by accident, the sentiments of any of his characters represented his own; nor, indeed, could they have done so by design without the poet's fidelity to nature having been prejudiced. As Lord Byron observes in one of his letters to Moore,—“a man's poetry has no more to do with the every day individual than the inspiration with the Pythoness when removed from the tripod.”

*Page 11, line 15. Metrical tests.*—These are the ignes fatui which, in recent years, have enticed many a deluded traveller out of the beaten path into strange quagmires. We may rest satisfied that no process which aims at establishing the periods



of Shakespeare's diction with scientific accuracy, or, indeed, any system not grounded on the axiom of its spontaneous freedom and versatility, will ultimately be accepted. The study of these baseless limitations is, however, comparatively harmless. A far more serious evil may be apprehended, when the statistical use of metrical tests is invoked for the determination of authorship in opposition to external contemporary, or internal dramatic, evidence. It will be obvious to the most casual reader that Shakespeare adapted his metre generically to the subject, and specifically to character and sentiment. The metres were selected for the plays, not the plays for the metres, so that, although he could not have followed a definitively late metrical fashion at an early period of his literary career, we cannot assume with certainty that he would ever have abandoned the intermittent use of any known measures, if they chanced to harmonise with the treatment of the subject and the positions of the characters. The fallacies appear to consist in the endeavour to regulate, by a theoretical order, the sequence of desultory and subtle uses of various metrical structures, and in the curious presumption of attempting to determine the mental conditions of which the deviations of those uses are the supposed result.

*Page 11, line 20. Most of those epochs.*—The extravagant introduction of lines with the hypermetrical syllable did not come into vogue with our dramatists until in or about the year 1610. Hence it may be inferred that the composition of those plays of Shakespeare, in which this peculiarity occurs, may be assigned to a late period of his life. This is the only one of the metrical tests which has a positive chronological value, the others having, at the best, only a correlative importance and being practically useless in the presence of other evidence. In all cases in which a metrical is antagonistic either to an external, or to what may be termed dramatic-power or character-fidelity tests, the first is necessarily abandoned.

*Page 12, line 18. Of a different nature.*—The preface up to these words is nearly identical with one in a work of mine published in the year 1874. The opinions therein expressed were the results of much study and thought, nor have I found

reason, during the interval that has now elapsed, to reverse them.

*Page 13, line 4. In plain and unobtrusive language.*—Life is not breathed into a skeleton by attiring it in fancy gauze. Meretricious finery tends but to intensify the gravity of the object, without adding to our knowledge of the original framework, and thus the climax of dullness has been reached by all writers, who, blending the real with the ideal, have hitherto attempted to produce a readable Life of Shakespeare. A foolish desire to avoid the title of Dryasdusts has driven them into the ranks of the larger family of Dryerthandusts. It is not every subject that can legitimately be made attractive to the lazy, or, as it is the fashion to term him, the general reader. In the entire absence of materials that reveal the poet's living character, our selection really lies between the acceptance of romance and that of a simple narrative of external facts. We have not even the consolation of expecting that narrative to be ever interwoven with an absolutely faithful representation of contemporary life,—a life with all the subtle variations from that of the present day many of which elude research and defy imagination.

*Page 14, line 10. Week after week.*—Amongst numerous disappointments perhaps the most serious were those experienced at Coventry and Worcester. One might naturally have expected that some kind of information, respecting the poet or his family, would have been preserved amongst the voluminous municipal records of those cities, but an exhaustive search proved fruitless.

*Page 17, line 2. A farmer.*—Thomas Atwode alias Tailor of Stratford-on-Avon, in his will made in October, 1543, bequeaths "unto Richarde Shakespere of Snyterfelde my foure oxen which are nowe in his keping."

*Page 17, line 3. Richard Shakespeare.*—The name of Shakespeare probably arose in the thirteenth century, when surnames derived from personal occupations first came into general use in this country, and it appears to have rapidly become a favourite patronymic. The origin of it is sufficiently obvious.

Some, says Camden, are named "from that which they commonly carried, as Palmer, that is, Pilgrime, for that they carried palme when they returned from Hierusalem; Long-sword, Broad-speare, Fortescu, that is, Strong-shield, and in some such respect, Break-speare, Shake-speare, Shot-bolt, Wagstaffe," Remaines, ed. 1605, p. 111. "Breakspear, Shakspear, and the lyke, have bin surnames imposed upon the first bearers of them for valour and feates of armes," Verstegan's Restitution of Decayed Intelligence, ed. 1605, p. 294. Drawsword was another old English surname of similar formation. The name of the poet's family was certainly known as early as the thirteenth century, there having been a John Shakespere, living, apparently in Kent, in the year 1279, who is mentioned in Plac. Cor. 7 Edw. I. Kanc. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries there were Shakespeares residing in several English counties both in the north and south, and in the two following centuries there were families of the name to be found in nearly every part of England. It cannot be said that during the latter period the surname was anywhere an excessively rare one, but from an early date Shakespeares abounded most in Warwickshire. In the fifteenth century there were to be found in that county at Coventry, Wroxhall, Balsall, Knowle, Meriden and Rowington; in the sixteenth century, at Berkswell, Snitterfield, Lapworth, Haseley, Ascote, Rowington, Packwood, Salford, Tanworth, Barston, Warwick, Tachbrook, Haselor, Rugby, Budbrook, Wroxall, Norton-Lindsey, Wolverton, Hampton-in-Arden, Knowle, Hampton Lucy and Alcester; and in the seventeenth century, at Weston, Haseley, Henley-in-Arden, Kenilworth, Wroxhall, Nuneaton, Tardebigg, Charlcote, Kingswood, Knowle, Flenkenho, Coventry, Rowington, Hatton, Ansley, Solihull, Lapworth, Budbrook, Arley, Packington, Tanworth, Warwick, Longbridge, Kington, Fillongley, Little Packington, Meriden, Long Itchington, Claverdon and Tachbrook. It is not probable that this list, which has been compiled almost exclusively from records inspected by myself, is by any means a complete one, but it is sufficiently extensive to show how very numerous formerly were Shakespeares in Warwickshire, and

how dangerous it must be, in the absence of direct evidence, to assume that early notices of persons of that name relate to members of the poet's family. Thus it has happened that more than one John Shakespeare has been erroneously identified with the father of the great dramatist. There was an agriculturist of that name, who, in 1570, was in the occupation of a small farm, situated in the parish of Hampton Lucy near Stratford-on-Avon, which was described as "one other meadowe with thap-purtenaunces called or knowen by the name of Ingon alias Ington meadowe, conteynynge by estymacion fouretene acres, be it more or lesse, then or late in the tenure or occupacion of John Shaxpere or his assignes," Rot. Claus. 23 Eliz. This individual has always been considered to have been the John Shakespeare of Henley Street, but that he was a different person who resided at Ingon appears from the following entry in the Hampton Lucy register under the date of 1589,—*"Joannes Shakespere of Yngon was buried the xxv. th of September."* It has also been supposed that the poet's father resided about the year 1583 at Clifford, a village at a short distance from Stratford-on-Avon, but that this conjecture is groundless may be confidently inferred from the fact of the John Shakespeare of Clifford having been married there in 1560 to a widow of the name of Hobbysns. *"1560, 15 Octobris, John Shaxspere was maryed unto Julian Hobbysns vidua,"* MS. Register in Clifford Church. Even when there are documents which yield notices referring apparently to one individual in one locality, identification should not be assumed in the absence of corroborative evidence or at least of circumstances inducing a high degree of probability; but when, as in the instances just discussed, there are merely the facts of persons of the same Christian and surname living about the same period in neighbouring but different parishes, conjecture of identity, without such confirmation, ought to be inadmissible. Neither would any interest attach to the volumes which might be compiled on the numerous ancient branches of the Shakespeares, and at the same time be destitute of a single morsel of real evidence to connect them in any degree of consanguinity with those of Stratford-on-Avon.

*Page 17, line 5. He had two Sons.*—Richard Shakespeare was residing at Snitterfield as lately as 1560, and the conjecture that he removed some time after that year to Rowington, and was the same person as the Richard Shakespeare of the latter village, who died in or about 1592, is one of those gratuitous speculations which unfortunately embarrass most discussions on geneological subjects. Richard had been a Christian name in the Rowington family at least as early as the time of Henry the Eighth, as appears from the subsidy rolls of that reign, and it frequently occurs in the Rowington Shakespeare documents from that period to the close of the seventeenth century. There is no reason for believing that any person of the name migrated to Rowington after the year 1560, much less any evidence that he arrived there from Snitterfield. It is not probable, however, that the idea of a connexion between the Shakespeares of Rowington and the poet's family would have arisen, had it not been assumed, from the fact of Shakespeare having been a copyholder under the manor, that he was also connected with the parish. This was not necessarily the case. Singularly enough, there were two very small properties at Stratford-on-Avon held under the manor of Rowington, but it does not follow, from the mere circumstance of Shakespeare purchasing one of those estates, that he was connected in any way with that village, or that he was ever there with the exception of one attendance at the manorial court. One of these Stratford copyholds was located in Church Street, and the other the one in Chapel Lane which was surrendered to the poet in 1602. Rowington and Stratford-on-Avon are in the same Hundred, but they were about twelve miles distant from each other by the nearest road, and there was very little communication between the two places in Shakespeare's time. Their relative situations will be best observed in the map of Warwickshire engraved in 1603, in which the indirect roads between them are delineated. More than one person of the name of William Shakespeare resided at Rowington in the times of Elizabeth and the first James. Richard Shakespeare of Rowington, who died in 1560, mentions his son William in a will dated in the same year. It appears from

the will of another Richard Shakespeare of Rowington, 1591, that his youngest son was also named William. There was a William Shakespeare, who signs his name with a mark, something like a small letter *a*,—"the mark of William Shakespere"—in a roll of the customs of the manor of Rowington which were confirmed in 1614, this person being one of the jury sworn on that occasion. The eldest son of a Richard Shakespeare of Rowington, who died in 1614, was also called William, as appears from his will and from the papers of a Chancery suit of 1616. This individual may or may not have been the marksman of the customs roll. He was over forty years of age in 1614, as is ascertained from the Chancery records just mentioned. Which of these William Shakespeares was the trained soldier of Rowington in the muster-roll of 1605 is a matter of no consequence, it being certain that the latter was not the great dramatist, who, in such a list, would undoubtedly have been described as belonging to Stratford-on-Avon, not to a place in which he never resided. A reference to the original muster-roll will set the question at rest, a list of the trained soldiers at Stratford-on-Avon appearing not only in a different part of the manuscript, but in another division of the Hundred, and including no person of the name of Shakespeare. There is no doubt that, amongst the multitude of Shakespeare families who were settled in Warwickshire in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Shakespeares of Rowington are those most frequently noticed in the records of those times. It is no exaggeration to say that at least a hundred pages of this work could be filled even with the materials regarding them which have been collected by myself, and these are certainly not exhaustive. If any connexion, however slight, had existed between the Shakespeares of Rowington and those of Stratford-on-Avon during that period, it is all but impossible that some indication of the fact should not be discovered in one or other of the numerous wills, law papers and other documents of the Rowington family. There is nothing of the kind.

*Page 17, line 17. And for many generations afterwards.—*  
In the year 1734 the Court Leet presented "Joseph Sambidge

in the Henley Street for not carrying in his muck before his door ;” and they added—“ We allow him one week to take it in on pain of forfeiting five shillings.”

*Page 19, line 15. One being the premises.*—This important fact, which distinctly proves that the small house now pointed out as the Birth-Place is correctly so designated, is ascertained by the identity of the chief rent in the manorial return of 1590,—“Johannes Shackespere tenet libere unum tenementum cum pertinentiis pro redd. per annum vj.*d.* sect. cur.” The entry in the court-roll of October the 2nd, 1556, is as follows,—“Item, quod Edwardus West alienavit prædicto Johanni Shackespere unum tent. cum gardin. adjacen. in Henley Strete, pro redd. inde domino per annum vj.*d.* et sect. cur. et idem Johannes prædictus in curia fecit fidelitatem.” It appears from the later record of 1590 that John Shakespeare then owned an adjoining property held under a rent of thirteen pence, which in all probability consisted of the two houses that he bought from the Halls in 1575. The situation of the latter is not mentioned in the final concord, the only document connected with the purchase known to exist. Joan Shakespeare appears to have lived in 1616 at the house now used for the Museum, her chief rental being mentioned as twelve-pence in her brother’s will. The difference of the penny was no doubt caused by the alienation of the slip of land to Badger in 1597. It has been hitherto assumed that the purchase made in 1556 referred to a copyhold, the oversight having arisen from its being taken for granted that all entries in court-rolls referred to that description of title. It was, however, the usual practice to note in those records all transfers of freehold estates that were subject to chief rents and suits of court. Numerous examples of the latter kind of tenure are mentioned in the ancient Stratford deeds, and one in a conveyance of 1602 will be observed at p. 593.

*Page 21, line 9. That of a glover.* This appears not only from the often quoted entry in the Corporation books of June, 1556, but from a recognizance in the Controlment Roll of the twenty-ninth of Elizabeth, the latter showing that John Shakespeare was known in Stratford-on-Avon as a glover thirty years afterwards, 1586.

*Page 21, line 12. In corn and other articles.*—There were other glovers at Stratford-on-Avon in Elizabeth's time, who did not restrict themselves to their nominal business. One of them dealt in wool, yarn, and malt, the last-named article seeming to be their usual additional trading material. "George Perrye, besides is glovers trade, usethe buyinge and sellinge of woll and yorne, and makeinge of malte," MS. dated 1595. "Roberte Butler, besides his glovers occupation, usethe makeinge of malte," MS. *ibid.* "Rychard Castell, Rother Market, usethe his glovers occupacion; his wiewe utterethe weekelye by bruyng ij. strikes of mallte," MS. *ibid.* Even in this century, there were firms in the north who were glovers and dealers in wool, as well as dyers of leather and dressers of skins. In former days glovers were almost invariably fellmongers as well. "To Townsen, the glover, for two sheepe skines, vj. s. viij. d.," Records of Rye, co. Sussex, 1604. "Butler of Puddle Wharfe, a glover, fellmonger, or sheep-skin-dresser," Brian, 1637. There is, in the churchyard of Stratford-on-Avon, a tombstone of the latter part of the seventeenth century to the memory of "a fellmonger and glover."

*Page 21, line 14. The concentration of several trades.*—Thus it is recorded that "Thomas Rogers, now baieliefe of this towne," 1595, "besydes his butchers trade, which until now of late hee allwaies used, hee ys a buyer and seller of corne for great somes, and withall usethe grazeinge and buyinge and sellinge of cattell, and hathe in howshold xiiij. persons." When Aubrey states that John Shakespeare was a butcher, he either confused the father's occupation with that of the son, or was led to the assertion by the probable circumstance of the former having sometimes dealt in meat when he was the owner of Ashbies. It is in the highest degree improbable that the leading business of John Shakespeare was ever that of a butcher. If that had been the case, there would assuredly have been some allusion to the fact in the local records. Two other examples of the combination of trades at Stratford-on-Avon are worth adding. "Mr. Persons, hathe, besides his trade of draperye and lyvinge yeerely commynge in, of longe tyme used makeinge of mallte



and bruyinge to sell in his howse, and ys a common buyer and seller of corne," MS. dated 1595. "Peeter Davyes, besides his woolwynders occupacion, usethe the makinge of mallte and victuallinge," MS. *ibid*.

*Page 22, line 4. On that Saturday.*—De Quincy was the first to conjecture that the 22nd of April, corresponding to our present 4th of May, is the real birth-day. The suggestion was derived from the circumstance of the poet's only grand-child having been married to Thomas Nash on the 22nd of April, 1626; and few things are more likely than the selection of her grandfather's birthday for such a celebration. Only ten years had elapsed since his death, and that he had been kind to her in her childhood may be safely inferred from the remembrances in the will. Whatever opinion may be formed respecting the precise interpretation of the record of the age under the monumental effigy, the latter is a certain evidence that Shakespeare was not born after the 23rd of April. It may also be fairly assumed that the event could not have happened many days previously, for it was the almost universal practice amongst the middle classes of that time to baptize children very shortly after birth. The notion that Shakespeare died on his birthday was not circulated until the middle of the last century, and it is completely devoid of substantial foundation. Had so unusual a circumstance occurred, it is all but impossible that it should not have been numbered amongst the early traditions of Stratford-on-Avon, and there is good evidence that no such incident was known in that town at the close of the seventeenth century. There is preserved at the end of the parish register a few notes on the local celebrities headed,—“I finde these persons remarkable,”—written about the year 1690, and under the poet's name is this statement,—“born Ap. the 26th, 1564,”—a date obviously taken from the baptismal register, and proving that the writer had no other information on the subject.

*Page 23, line 18. As a haberdasher.*—This fact I gather from an entry in the Controlment Rolls, but as his name does not occur in the subsidy lists of the period, it is not unlikely that he was either a partner with, or assistant to, some other tradesmen of the same occupation.

*Page 30, line 1. With tapestries.*—The Smiths' Company in 1440 paid three shillings and sixpence halfpenny for "cloth to lap abowt the pajent." On another occasion sixpence was invested in "halfe a yard of rede sea," Smiths' Accounts, 1569, Coventry, MS. Longbridge. Two "pajiont clothes of the Passion" are mentioned in an inventory of the goods of the Cappers' Company in the time of Henry the Eighth, and in a list of the theatrical appliances of another trading company, 1565, are included "three paynted clothes to hang abowte the pageant." Some of the pageant accounts include payments "for curten ryngus." It is probable that curtains were sometimes placed across the stage, so that a new scene might by their withdrawal be instantaneously presented to the audience. "Payd for makyng of the hooke to hang the curten on, iiij. *d.*," Accounts 2 Edward VI., MS. *ibid.*

*Page 30, line 5. Hell-mouth.*—"The little children were never so afrayd of hell mouth in the old plaies painted with great gang teeth, staring eyes and a foule bottle nose," Harsnet's Declaration, 1603. "Item, payd for payntyng hell hede newe, xx. *d.*; payde for kepyng hell hede, viij. *d.*; item, payd for kepyng of fyer at hell mothe, iiij. *d.*; paid to Jhon Huyt for payntyng of hell mowthe, xvj. *d.*; paid for makyng hell mowth and cloth for hyt, iiij. *s.*," Accounts of the Drapers' Pageant at Coventry, 1554-1567, printed in Sharp's Dissertation, 1825, pp. 61, 73. It may be observed that hell-mouth was one of the few contrivances in use in the ancient mysteries which were retained on the metropolitan stage in the time of Shakespeare, it being in the list of properties belonging to the Lord Admiral's Servants in 1599.

*Page 30, line 28. Decorated sentry-boxes.*—Noah's Ark must have been a magnificent example of this class of properties, as may be gathered from the following stage-direction in the Chester mystery of the Flood,—"then Noy shall goe into the Arke with all his famylie, his wife excepte; the Arke must be borded rounde about, and upon the bordes all the beastes and fowles hereafter rehearsed must be painted, that there wordes maye agree with the pictures," MS. Harl. 2013, fol. 23.

*Page 32, line 5. The garments of skins.*—"Adam and Eve aparlet in whytt lether," stage direction in the old Cornish mystery of the Creation of the World. "Two cotes and a payre hosen for Eve stayned; a cote and hosen for Adam steyned," inventory of pageant costumes, 1565.

*Page 32, line 20. Herod.*—It would seem that the actor of this part wore a painted mask, there being several entries of payments in the accounts of the guilds for mending and painting his head. "Item, to a peyntour for peynting the fauchon and Herodes face, x. d.," Accounts of the Smiths' Company, 1477, MS. Longbridge. "Item, payd to a peynter for peynting and mending of Herodes heed, iiij. d.," Costes on Corpus Christi day, 1516, MS. *ibid.* "Paid to John Croo for mendding of Herrode hed and a mytor and other thynges, ij. s.," Costes on Corpus Crysty day, 1547, MS. *ibid.* "Payd to John Hewet, payntter, for dressyng of Errod hed and the faychon, ij. s." Paymentes for the Pagent, 1554, MS. *ibid.* The faychon here mentioned was a painted sword, in addition to which Herod carried a sceptre and had an ornamented helmet and crest.

*Page 32, line 23. As far as costume.*—"Item, paid for a gowen to Arrode, vij. s. iiij. d.; item, paid for peynting and stenying theroff, vj. s. iiij. d.; item, paid for Arrodes garment peynting that he went a prossassyon in, xx. d.; item, paid for mending off Arrodes gauen to a taillour, viij. d.; item, paid for mending off hattes, cappus and Arreddes creste, with other smale geyr belongyng, iij. s.," Accounts of the Smiths' Company, 1490, MS. Longbridge. "Item paid for iij. platis to Heroddis crest of iron, vj. d.; item, paid to Hatfeld for dressyng of Herodes creste, xiiij. d.," Smiths' Accounts, 1495, MS. *ibid.* "Item, paid for colour and coloryng of Arade, iiij. d.," Costes of Corpus day Christi, 1508, MS. *ibid.*

*Page 33, line 11. Painting the faces.*—"Item, paid for gloves to the pleyares, xix. d.; item, paid for pynting off ther fasus, ij. d.," Accounts of the Smiths' Company, 1502, MS. Longbridge. "Payd to the paynter for paynting the players facys, iiij. d.," Paymentes on Corpus Crysty day, 1548, MS. *ibid.* The Longbridge Manuscripts, so frequently cited in the present

work, were erewhile preserved at the ancient seat of the Staunton family near Stratford-on-Avon, and were part of the largest and most valuable Warwickshire collection ever formed. This celebrated and important assemblage of rare volumes, engravings and drawings, all relating to that county, has now unfortunately been destroyed by fire. In many former years, through the kind liberality of its possessor,—John Staunton, Esq., of Longbridge House,—every possible facility was given me for consulting those treasures, and I have at least the consolation of believing that they included no fact of interest, bearing on the history of the poet's life, that could have eluded my researches.

*Page 33, line 16. Cannot admit of a reasonable doubt.*—There is no absolute evidence on this subject, nor was there likely to be, but it is unreasonable to require early written testimony on such a point, or to assume it credible that Shakespeare did not witness scenes that were then, in all probability, familiar to every lad at Stratford-on-Avon. We have no evidence that the poet ever saw a maypole, yet we know perfectly well that he must have met with many a one in the course of his life, and the persuasion that he was a spectator at some of the mysteries rests on exactly similar, though less cogent, deductive impressions. Had the representations of those primitive dramas been of very exceptional occurrence, it would of course have been a different matter.

*Page 34, line 2. Where it is recorded.*—"Item, paid to the players of Coventrie by the commaundement of Mr. Mayer and thaldremen, x. s." Bristol Corporation MSS., December, 1570. They were at Abingdon in the same year and at Leicester in 1569 and 1571, but there is no record of the nature of their performances. Those at Coventry were no doubt of a more impressive character, the players there having the advantage of elaborate appliances.

*Page 35, line 10. Appeared with sooty faces.*—"The Black or Damned Souls had their faces blackened, and were dressed in coats and hose; the fabric of the hose was buckram or canvas, of which latter material nineteen ells were used, nine of

yellow and ten of black, in 1556, and probably a sort of party-coloured dress was made for them, where the yellow was so combined as to represent flames," Sharp's Dissertation on the Coventry Mysteries, 1825, p. 70. The following notices of these singular personages are taken from the accounts of the Coventry Guilds as quoted in the same work,—“1537. Item, for v. elnes of canvas for shyrts and hose for the blakke soules at v. *d.* the elne, ij. s. j. *d.*; item, for color yng and mak yng the same cots, ix. *d.*; item, for mak yng and mend ynge of the blakke soules hose, vj. *d.*” In 1556, there is an entry of a payment which was made “for blakyng the sollys fassys.”

*Page 42, line 25. Was a farmer.*—Mr. Roach Smith, in his very able essays and lectures on the Rural Life of Shakespeare, has arrived independently at this conclusion from internal evidences in the poet's works.

*Page 43, line 23. Most likely in 1579.*—Certainly not long previously, for the usual duration of apprenticeship was seven years, and he had not completed his term at the period of his flight to London, an event which took place at earliest in 1585.

*Page 45, line 9. Cohabitation.*—One of the acutest of modern critics, the late Alexander Dyce, after observing that “some recent biographers have anxiously informed us that, in those days, betrothment was often regarded as a sufficient warrant for cohabitation before actual marriage,” adds that “it by no means follows that Shakespeare saw any excuse for his weakness in the conventional morality of the time,” Works of Shakespeare, ed. Dyce, ed. 1866, i. 33. There would have been, however, in the poet's day, neither a question of weakness nor one of conventional morality. Assuming the existence of a pre-contract, Shakespeare and Anne Hathaway were, by virtue of that contract, to use the words of Bishop Watson, “perfectly married together”; although, as the Bishop continues to observe, “the marriage of them in the face of the Church afterward, by the ministration of the priest, is not superfluous, but much expedient for sundry causes,” Doctrine of the Seven Sacraments, 1558. Even if there had been an informality in the pre-contract, the offence supposed to have been committed by Shakespeare would have been in itself

a condition that would have rendered the arrangement legally valid. See Swinburne's *Treatise of Spousals*, 1686, p. 224.

*Page 45, line 10. Had previously taken place.*—If the question be decided by a strictly legal standard, this inference, however reasonable on a balance of probabilities, is at least not one of absolute certainty. The provisions of the Scotch law mention six lunar months as the shortest period of gestation consistent with the viability of the child, and the French code regards as legitimate and viable all children born after one hundred and eighty days. See a full and able discussion of the subject in Dr. Montgomery's *Exposition of the Signs and Symptoms of Pregnancy*, ed. 1856, pp. 513-524. In the year 1710, the then leading physicians of Edniburgh made a legal declaration "that a child born in the beginning of the sixth lunar month may be alive and continue in life, which is consistent with our observation and experience;" and the words of the most eminent authority of all, Dr. Hunter, imply that healthy maturity can be attained by a child born in the middle of the seventh lunar month.

*Page 47, line 18. In the history.*—This narrative is or was preserved in a manuscript written by Sadler's daughter, but it is here taken from extracts from the original which were published in the *Holy Life of Mrs. Elizabeth Walker*, 8vo. Lond. 1690, pp. 10, 11.

*Page 50, line 20. The best version.*—The anecdote is told somewhat differently by Jordan, a native of Stratford-on-Avon, in a manuscript written about the year 1783,—“Some relate that he had the care of gentlemen's horses, for carriages at that time were very little used; his business, therefore, say they, was to take the horses to the inn and order them to be fed until the play was over, and then see that they were returned to their owners, and that they had several boys under him constantly in employ, from which they were called Shakespeare's boys.” It may be doubted if this be a correct version of any tradition current at the time it was written, Jordan having been in the habit of recording the Shakespearean tales with fanciful additions of his own. Gentlemen's horses in Shakespeare's days were

more hardy than those of modern times, so that stables or sheds for them, during the two hours the performance then lasted, were not absolute necessities. At the same time it is worth recording that there were taverns, with accommodation for horses, in the neighbourhood of the theatres at Shoreditch. A witness, whose deposition respecting some land in the immediate locality was taken in 1602, states that he recollected, in years previously, "a greate ponde wherein the servauntes of the said Earle, and diverse his neighbours inholders, did usually wasshe and water theire horses, which ponde was commonly called the Earles horsepond." The nobleman here mentioned was the Earl of Rutland.

*Page 53, line 16. Horse-stealing.*—The theatres of the suburbs, observes a puritanical Lord Mayor of London in the year 1597, are "ordinary places for vagrant persons, maisterles men, thieves, *horse-stealers*, whoremongers, coozeners, cony-catchers, contrivers of treason and other idele and daungerous persons to meet together and to make theire matches, to the great displeasure of Almighty God and the hurt and annoyance of her Majesties people, which cannot be prevented nor discovered by the governors of the Citie, for that they ar owt of the Citees jurisdiction," City of London MSS.

*Page 59, line 26. It was arranged.*—These particulars are derived from the Bill of Complaint given at p. 570. This interesting document was first printed in my Illustrations of the Life of Shakespeare, fol. Lond. 1874, p. 126, but its existence was known to more than one of my predecessors.

*Page 64, line 5. A new drama.*—This fact is ascertained from Henslowe's Diary, the letters N.E., that is, New Enterlude, being attached to the note of the performance, which realized the then large sum of three pounds sixteen shillings and five pence.

*Page 64, line 11. On unquestionable authority.*—That of Robert Greene who, in his Groatsworth of Wit, written in or shortly before August, 1592, mentions Shakespeare as an *upstart crow*, a phrase altogether inconsistent with the opinion that the authorial career of the latter had been initiated any length of time previously to the appearance of that work.

*Page 64, line 21. Month of July.*—Nash's *Pierce Penilesse*, the work here alluded to, was entered on the registers of the Stationers' Company on August the 8th, 1592. The words of Nash, calling Talbot the Terror of the French, viewed in connection with the entries in Henslowe's Diary, not only proves that he refers to the drama which was produced in March, but that the latter was, in all probability, the First Part of Henry the Sixth; that is to say, if it be conceded that Greene quotes from the Third Part in the *Groatworth of Wit* published in the following September.

*Page 65, line 4. Collective Edition of 1623.*—The omissions, discrepancies, transpositions, and repetitions, found in this edition of the Second and Third Parts, merely show that the latter was printed from theatrical copies in which there were numerous erasures and alterations. Both plays, in reference to these peculiarities, should be considered together. In one instance, at least, a speech, which occurs in the First Part of the Contention and in the Second Part of Henry the Sixth, is repeated nearly word for word in the Third Part of the latter, but is not inserted in the True Tragedie,—“Hold, Warwick, seek thee out,” &c., 2 Henry VI., act v. sc. 2. The careless manner in which the folio copies have been edited is perhaps nowhere more clearly seen than in the lines respecting the Castle Tavern, a speech which in that edition is obviously an imperfect transcript. Malone, ed. 1821, xviii. 451, referring to the obviously incorrect repetitions in the folio editions, considers that they arose “from Shakespeare's first copying his original as it lay before him, and afterwards, in subsequent passages, added to the old matter, introducing expressions which had struck him in preceding scenes.” This deduction is not sustained on a careful examination, for repetitions also occur in the quartos. It is unsafe to rest arguments either on these or on verbal indications, but one of the latter, *fore-spent* in the edition of 1623, printed *sore spent* in that of 1595, may possibly imply the priority of the text of the former.

*Page 65, line 4. A garbled and spurious version.*—This



theory appears to present fewer difficulties than any other that has been advanced to meet the singular perplexities of the case. As some of this version was probably taken in short-hand at the theatre, and that in the folio printed from a theatrical copy that had been tampered with, it is most likely that some lines of Shakespeare's are peculiar to the former. There are several that he could hardly have rejected had he been merely composing an alteration of the First Part of the Contention. The internal evidence is strongly in favour of the Second part of Henry the Sixth, although of course it may have been retouched by the author after its first production, being one of Shakespeare's earliest plays. That part of young Clifford's speech commencing, "Meet I an infant of the House of York," is in itself almost decisive as to this point, while it is an essential portion of a noble harangue, the other lines of which may or may not have been subject to revision. It is also worth notice that there are a larger number of decided archaisms in the Second part of Henry the Sixth than there are in the First Part of the Contention ; and as there are good reasons for believing that the manuscript of the Third Part of Henry the Sixth was in existence in 1594, it is most extremely unlikely, in such a case, that copies of the other parts, as written by Shakespeare, were not in the actors' hands at the same period.

. *Page 65, line 10. By Millington.*—Both parts of the Contention had been assigned by Millington to Pavier in April, 1602, the latter entering them upon the books of the Stationers' Company on that occasion, *salvo jure cujuscunque*, as "the first and second parte of henry the vi.t, ii. bookes ;" a mistake for the First and Second Parts of the Contention ; and we accordingly find that when Blount and Jaggard, in 1623, inserted a list of Shakespeare's plays, "as are not formerly entered to other men," they omitted the first and second parts of the amended plays, and only inserted "The Thirde Parte of Henry the Sixt." There seems something mysterious in the words, *salvo jure cujuscunque*; and it is curious that Pavier should have kept them till the year 1619 without a republication. The entry is, however, important, for it clearly shows that, as early

as 1602, the present title of Henry the Sixth had superseded the older one. It may be worth notice that a play called Duke Humphrey, attributed to Shakespeare, and probably the Second Part of Henry the Sixth, was amongst the dramatic manuscripts that perished through the carelessness of Warburton's servant in the early part of the last century. The list is preserved in the British Museum, MS. Lansd. 849.

*Page 65, line 22. The earliest record.*—Taking Greene's words in their contextual and natural sense, he first alludes to Shakespeare as an actor, one "beautified with our feathers," that is, one who acts in their plays, then to the poet as a writer just commencing to try his hand at blank verse, and, finally, to him as not only engaged in both those capacities, but in any other in which he might be useful to the company. If Greene had intended, as some think, to accuse Shakespeare of pilfering from his works, or from those of other contemporaries, it may be assumed that he would have made the charge in far more direct terms. *Moreover, the particular satire, which was evidently aimed at Shakespeare, would have lost its significance if the words of any other writer had been travestied.* The attack of Greene's, plainly interpreted, is a decisive proof of Shakespeare's authorship of the line, and hence, by fair inference, of the speech in which it occurs.

*Page 66, line 10. A surreptitious and tinkered version of the Third Part.*—There is almost conclusive evidence that the first folio text of the Third Part of Henry the Sixth was in existence at least as early as the year 1594, and, therefore, before the publication of the True Tragedie, Gabriel and Humphrey, therein mentioned as two of its subordinate actors, having continued in the Lord Admiral's Company after that period. It is obviously most unlikely that the manuscript of the play should have been left with that company after Shakespeare had joined the Lord Chamberlain's, there being every reason for believing that those two companies acted altogether independently of each other after the year 1594. Gabriel acted the Messenger in the second scene of the first act, as appears from the text of ed. 1623. It seems that he was

popularly known by his Christian name, being so noticed in a list of the Lord Admiral's Company in October, 1597, and again in the complimentary reminiscences of deceased players in Heywood's *Apology for Actors*, 1612. On October the 2nd, 1597, a warrant was issued "to the keeper of the Marshalsea, to release Gabriell Spencer and Robert Shaa, stage players, out of prison, who were of late committed to his custodie," most probably for debts. Although Gabriel had an interest in the profits of the company to which he belonged, it appears, from Henslowe's *Diary*, that in the later part of his career he was in pecuniary difficulties, being compelled to be constantly borrowing money on his promissory notes, and once at least on the pawn of a jewel. He met with an untimely death in September, 1598, his burial being thus recorded in the register of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch,—“Gabriell Spencer, being slayne, was buried the xxiiiith of September,” a note adding that his residence was in Hog Lane, a street in the vicinity of the northern theatres. Two other actors, Humphrey and Sinklow, undertook the parts of the two Keepers in the first scene of the third act of the *Third Part of Henry the Sixth*, their names being attached to the speeches of those characters in the edition of 1623. Humphrey Jeffes, the person here alluded to, acted in or before the year 1592, in a drama called the first part of *Tamber Can*, and he was one of the Lord Admiral's Company acting in Peele's *Battle of Alcazar* about the year 1594. Henslowe mentions him as a half-sharer in the same company in 1598, he and his brother Anthony having one share between them. He was one of the actors in the play of the *Six Yeomen of the West* in 1601, and in that year he appears to have been residing in Southwark,—“Marye Jeffes, d. of Humphrey, a player,” Baptisms, St. Saviour's, Southwark, 25 Jan. 1600-1. When most of the Lord Admiral's actors transferred their services to Prince Henry in 1603, Humphrey Jeffes and his brother were members of the new company, and they joined in the procession of James the First through London in March, 1604; Lord Chamberlain's MS. Early in the year 1613, a few weeks after the death of the Prince, whose funeral he attended, Humphrey and his then col-

leagues became the servants of the Elector Palatine, in which company he probably remained until his death in 1618. "Humphrie Jeffes, plaier," Burials at St. Giles's, Cripplegate, 21 August, 1618. It may be just worth a note to add that he was one of the players summoned before the Privy Council in March, 1616, for joining in stage performances during Lent. Little, however, as there is known of the history of this actor, still less has been discovered respecting his fellow-player, Sinklow, who is generally, and perhaps rightly, presumed to be the John Sincler, one of the performers with Burbage and others in the second part of the *Seven Deadly Sins*, a drama originally produced in or before the year 1588. Sinklow was a subordinate member of the Lord Chamberlain's Company at least as early as 1600, for he enacted the part of one of the Beadles in the *Second Part of Henry the Fourth*, act v. sc. 4; stage direction and prefix in ed. 1600. He was also one of the company of itinerant players in the *Induction to the Taming of the Shrew*, and no doubt acted in the comedy itself. Sinklow is last heard of in the *Induction to the Malcontent*, 1604, where he is introduced with several of the King's Players, and takes the part of a rich gallant who wishes to indulge in the dignity of having a stool on the stage. With respect to his capabilities as an actor, nothing can safely be inferred from the graceful compliment paid by the Lord to the Second Player in the *Induction to the Taming of the Shrew*, for it is of course possible that Shakespeare had written that episode before he knew the distribution of the parts. The character of Soto, therein alluded to, was probably one in an early drama no longer in existence, certainly not the personage so named who is introduced in Fletcher's *Women Pleased*.

*Page 66, line 16. The Earl of Pembroke's Servants.*—And no doubt produced by that company. It is be observed that, however occasionally mendacious in other respects, the title-pages of the earliest impressions of old quartos are generally excellent authorities for the names of the companies by whom the plays were first acted.

*Page 66, line 24. Had outlived the possibility.*—Mr. Swin-

burne, in an eloquent criticism, is of opinion that the lines which open the fourth act of the Second Part, and are not to be found in the version of 1594, are indisputably by Marlowe. "It is inconceivable," he observes, "that any imitator but one should have had the power so to catch the very trick of his hand, the very note of his voice, and incredible that the one who might would have set himself to do so," *A Study of Shakespeare*, 1880, p. 52. But if Shakespeare, as is most probable, wrote those lines in the year 1592, he may not at that time have outlived the possibility referred to in the text. It is worth notice that there are a few striking coincidences of language, especially in the passage respecting the wild Oneil, to be traced in Marlowe's *Edward the Second* and the *Contention* plays of 1594 and 1595; and also that a line from the *Jew of Malta* is found in the *Third Part of Henry the Sixth*, but not in the *True Tragedie*. The transference of occasional lines from one writer by another was, however, too common a practice of the day to prove much in the way of authorship, or to involve a serious charge of plagiarism.

*Page 67, line 10. The quarto editions.*—"The old copies," observes Dr. Johnson, "are so apparently imperfect and mutilated, that there is no reason for supposing them the first draughts of Shakespeare; I am inclined to believe them copies taken by some auditor who wrote down, during the representation, what the time would permit, then perhaps filled up some of his omissions at a second or third hearing, and, when he had, by this method, formed something like a play, sent it to the printer." This auditor would have taken down his notes in short-hand. In plain words, the quartos are jumbles composed of parts of the original plays made up with other matter supplied by some wretched hack, the whole abounding in obvious inaccuracies. An endeavour to unravel the precise history of such relics, printed in those days of commonplace books compiled from short-hand notes taken at the theatres, must necessarily be futile. Some of the trifling additions to and variations from the texts of 1594 and 1595 found in the editions of 1600 and 1619 may perhaps be attributed to the use of such

materials. These additions appear for the most part to be such as might be the work of the poorest of botchers, but there is one line, peculiar to ed. 1619,—‘ Under pretence of outward seeming ill,’—which is greatly in Shakespeare’s manner.

*Page 67, line 12. Blundering.*—Some of the evidences which have been adduced to show that the quartos were either very early productions of Shakespeare, or the works of elder writers, are really instances of unskilful and obtuse attempts to supply the place of imperfect notes or recollections.

*Page 69, line 1. By the higher classes of Society.*—So Chettle would appear to imply by using the expression, “divers of worship.”

*Page 69, line 4. Was soon forgotten.*—Otherwise he would have been at the pains to have made arrangements for having the offensive allusions in the Groatsworth of Wit cancelled in the second edition of that work in 1596. Unfortunately, no copy of the first edition is now known to exist, and we can only infer, from Chettle’s apology and from the subsequent impressions containing invidious references to Shakespeare and others, that there is a high probability of Greene’s tract having been reprinted without alteration.

*Page 70, line 12. Offered for sale.*—It was issued to the public some time previously to June the 12th, the following entry occurring in a manuscript diary quoted in Malone’s Inquiry, 1796, p. 67,—“12th of June, 1593. For the Survey of Fraunce, with the Venus and Athonay, p<sup>r</sup> Shakspeare, xii.d.”

*Page 70, line 22. Its voluptuous character.*—“I have convey’d away all her wanton pamphlets, as Hero and Leander, Venus and Adonis,” A Mad World my Masters, 1608. Davies, in his Papers Complaint, which will be found in his Scourge of Folly, 1610, makes Paper admit the superlative excellence of Shakespeare’s poem, but at the same time censure its being “attired in such bawdy geare.” It is also stated that “the coyest dames in private read it for their closset-games.” In the Dumble Knight, 1608, the lawyer’s clerk is represented as terming it “maides philosophie.” The stanza commencing with the word *fondling*, ll. 229-234, is quoted in the play last named and also in Heywood’s Fayre Mayde of the Exchange, 1607.

*Page 70, line 24. Favourably received.*—The second edition appeared before June the 25th, 1594, on which day Field assigned the copyright to Harrison. It was reprinted oftener in Shakespeare's life-time than any one of the plays, but there was no such edition as that of 1600 registered at p. 538. This is a blunder I should not have committed, the following note occurring in a work of my own published in 1865, "Dr. Farmer possessed an early edition of *Venus and Adonis*, wanting the title, bound up with the *Lucrece* and another piece, the two latter being *printed by I. H. for John Harrison, 1600*;—owing to this circumstance, it was too hastily assumed that the *Venus and Adonis* issued from the same press at the same time, and the copy alluded to, now in the Bodleian Library, received a manuscript title-page with a copy of that imprint; it is, however, certain that no edition of 1600 with such an imprint ever existed, for Harrison had assigned the copyright to Leake four years previously." It was for many years believed that one edition only appeared in 1602, but Mr. Aldis Wright discovered that there were two, and there is said to be a copy of a third at Shirburn Castle. There are numerous early allusions to *Venus and Adonis*, as well as occasional quotations from it, but the most considerable number of the latter will be found in Bodenham's *Belvedere*, 1600, and in the *Englands Parnassus* of the same year.

*Page 71, line 16. A ready and natural defence.*—As in Spenser's dedication of *Mother Hubberds Tale* to the Lady Compton in 1591, probably the most analogous to Shakespeare's of all compositions of the kind,—“having often sought opportunitie by some good meanes to make knowen to your ladiship the humble affection and faithfull duetie which I have alwaies professed, and am bound to beare, to that house from whence yee spring, I have at length found occasion to remember the same by making a simple present to you of these my idle labours; which, having long sithens composed in the raw concept of my youth, I lately amongst other papers lighted upon, and was by others, which liked the same, mooved to set them forth. Simple is the device, and the com-

position meane, yet carrieth some delight, even the rather because of the simplicitie and meannesse thus personated. The same I beseech your ladiship take in good part, as a pledge of that profession which I have made to you, and keepe with you until with some other more worthie labour I do redeeme it out of your hands, and discharge my utmost dutie."

*Page 72, line 25. Shakespeare's earliest tragedy.*—Edward Ravenscroft, who published an alteration of *Titus Andronicus* in the year 1687, says, in his preface, "I have been told by some anciently conversant with the stage that it was not originally his, but brought by a private author to be acted, and he only gave some master touches to one or two of the principal parts or characters." The severe animadversions on Ravenscroft's work that are found in Langbaine's *Account of the English Dramatick Poets*, ed. 1691, p. 465, do not appear, on a careful reading, to throw a valid doubt on the writer's sincerity in making this explicit statement, but a tradition of so late a date cannot be fairly held to prevail against the evidences of Meres and the editors of the first folio.

*Page 73, line 7. The only new play introduced.*—Nearly all the other dramas, that were selected for representation at Newington Butts by the company of the Earl of Sussex during this season, have long since perished. With the exception of *Titus Andronicus*, the only ones now known to exist are *George a Greene*, the *Pinner of Wakefield*, first printed in 1599, and Marlowe's *Jew of Malta*. Some account, however, of one of the other pieces has been preserved in a curious anecdote thus related in Heywood's *Apology for Actors*, 1612,—“at Lin in Norfolke, the then Earl of Sussex players acting the old *History of Fryer Francis*, and presenting a woman who, insatiately doting on a yong gentleman, the more securely to enjoy his affection, mischievously and secretly murdered her husband, whose ghost haunted her; and, at divers times, in her most solitary and private contemplation, in most horrid and fearful shapes appeared and stood before her. As this was acted, a towne's-woman, till then of good estimation and report,



finding her conscience at this presentment extremely troubled, suddenly skritch'd and cry'd out, Oh ! my husband, my husband ! I see the ghost of my husband fiercely threatning and menacing me ! At which shrill and unexpected outcry, the people about her, moov'd to a strange amazement, inquired the reason of her clamour, when presently, un-urged, she told them that seven yeares ago she, to be possest of such a gentleman, meaning him, had poysoned her husband, whose fearefull iſſage personated it selfe in the shape of that ghost. Whereupon the murdresse was apprehended, before the justices further examined, and by her voluntary confession after condemned. That this is true, as well by the report of the actors as the records of the towne, there are many eyewitnesses of this accident yet living vocally to confirme it." If this is a true narrative, the event must have occurred in or before 1599, there being an allusion to it in the *Warning for Fair Women*, a tragedy published towards the close of that year. Shakespeare, in his *Hamlet*, alludes to a similar occurrence.

*Page 73, line 8. Having been successfully produced.*—This may be inferred from the number of representations, its timely publication, and from several early notices. Ben Jonson, writing in 1614, thus refers to its popularity,—“hee that will sweare Jeronimo or Andronicus are the best playes, yet shall passe unexcepted at heere as a man whose judgement shewes it is constant and hath stood still these five and twentie or thirty yeeres.—though it be an ignorance, it is a vertuous and stay'd ignorance ; and next to truth, a confirmed errorr does well ; such a one the author knowes where to finde him,” *Induction to Bartholomew Fair*, 1614. Jonson hardly means here to convey the idea of a precise date, but merely that both the dramas to which he alludes were then very old plays. Titus is again mentioned in *Father Hubbard's Tales*, 1604,—“ Nevertheless, for all my lamentable action of one arm, like old Titus Andronicus, I could purchase no more than one month's pay for a ten months' pain and peril, nor that neither, but to convey away my miserable clamours, that lay roaring against the arches of their ears, marry, their bountifull favours were extended thus far,—I

had a passport to beg in all countries." In an inventory of the theatrical costume at the Rose Theatre in March, 1598-9, mention is made of "the Mores lymes," which Malone suspects "were the limbs of Aaron the Moor in Titus Andronicus," who in the original play was probably tortured on the stage.

*Page 73, line 10. Shortly afterwards.*—No copy of the edition of 1594 is now known to exist, the only notice of one, excepting that in the Stationers' Registers, being found in Langbaine's Account, 1691. The editions of 1600 and 1611 were published by Edward White. Neither Danter nor White had aught to do with any of the subsequent productions of Shakespeare, while the entry of assignment from Millington to Pavier in 1602 may refer to a prose history, in the same way that the "book called Thomas of Reading," named in the same entry, certainly does. In the entry of assignment from Mrs. Pavier to Brewster and Bird, in 1626, "Tytus and Andronicus" is not included in the "right in Shakesperes plaies or any of them," but is inserted in company with the prose Hamlet, and they are the only two works in the entry not specifically recorded as plays. In 1624, Pavier is mentioned, in the registers of the Stationers' Company, as the owner of the copyright of a ballad of Titus Andronicus.

*Page 73, line 12. Published by Danter.*—At the same time that Danter published the tragedy of Titus Andronicus, 1594, he issued a ballad on the same subject, which was often reprinted. An early copy of it is entitled,—“The Lamentable and Tragicall History of Titus Andronicus, with the fall of his five and twenty sons in the wars of the Goaths, with the ravishment of his daughter Lavinia by the Empresse two sons through the means of a bloody Moor taken by the sword of Titus in the war, with his revenge upon them for their cruell and inhumane Act: to the tune of Fortune my Foe.” This seems to be merely a ballad founded on the story of the play.

*Page 73, line 14. By the servants of.*—This appears from the earlier issue of 1594, recorded in Langbaine's Account of the English Dramatick Poets, 1691, p. 464, as "acted by the Earls of Derby, Pembroke and Essex, their servants." That Lang-

baine has written Essex, by error for Sussex, is evident from the title-page of the edition of 1600 and from the half-title on the first page of that of 1611.

*Page 74, line 20. To live another age.*—In a subsequent line Lucrece is represented as “acting her passions on our stately stage,” so that it may be that Drayton is referring to some drama on the subject, although both previously and afterwards he is speaking exclusively of poems. Heywood, in his *Apology for Actors*, 1612, sig. G, most likely refers to a play older than his own time on the Rape of Lucrece. Drayton’s lines are not found in any copies of the *Matilda* published after the year 1596, a circumstance which has been the occasion of several conjectures: but no inference can be safely deduced from the omission, that writer having been in the constant habit of making extensive alterations in his texts for new editions.

*Page 74, line 28. It was received.*—“Who loves chaste life, there’s Lucrece for a teacher; = Who lis’t read lust there’s Venus and Adonis,” Freeman’s Runne and a great cast, 1614. There are numerous quotations from Lucrece in Bodenham’s *Belvedere* and the *England’s Parnassus* in 1600. Notices of the poem occur in Barnfield’s *Poems in Divers Humors*, 1598; *Palladis Tamia*, 1598; Weever’s *Epigrammes*, 1599; *England’s Mourning Garment*, 1603; and in the *Return from Parnassus*, 1606. That which Sir John Suckling, in the time of Charles the First, calls his “Supplement of an imperfect Copy of Verses of Mr. Wil. Shakespears,” appears to commence with his own alterations of two stanzas in Lucrece, the rest being stated by himself to be entirely new compositions. There is an early transcript of this Supplement in MS. Thirlestane 9500.

*Page 76, line 12. In the following December.*—This appears from the following interesting memorandum which I had the pleasure of discovering some years ago in the accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber,—“to William Kempe, William Shakespeare and Richard Burbage, servauntes to the Lord Chamberleyne, upon the Councelles warrant dated at Whitehall xv. to Marcij, 1594, for twoe severall comedies or enterludes shewed by them before her Majestie in Christmas tyme laste

paste, viz., upon St. Stephens daye and Innocentes daye xij.*li.* vj.*s.* viij.*d.*, and by waye of her Majesties rewarde vj.*li.* xij.*s.* iij.*d.*, in all xx.*li.*"

*Page 77, line 8. If this view.*—It is well supported by the few accessible evidences. The poet was not a member of Lord Strange's company in May, 1593, or his name would assuredly have been included in the list of that date. If he was then one of Lord Pembroke's actors, there were ample reasons for his leaving them in the following autumn, when they are mentioned as having been in such deplorable straits that they were compelled to pawn their theatrical apparel. The company of the Earl of Sussex was disbanded in the spring of 1594, its actors in all probability joining those of the Lord Chamberlain. There is, moreover, the corroborative fact that Shakespeare, throughout his subsequent career, was never known to write for any other managers but those with whom he was theatrically connected.

*Page 77, line 13. There were rare doings.*—The particulars of these revels, given in the text, are derived from a rare contemporary account which was printed many years afterwards, 1688, under the title of the *Gesta Grayorum*. It appears, from the dedication, that this tract was printed exactly from the original manuscript, from which, observes the editor, it was "thought necessary not to clip anything, which, though it may seem odd, yet naturally begets a veneration upon account of its antiquity;" nor is there, indeed, the slightest reason for suspecting its authenticity.

*Page 79, line 12. This is the earliest notice.*—The comedy is alluded to by Meres in 1598 under the short title of *Errors*, and there was a *Historie of Error* which was performed by the children of Paul's in 1577, and which has been generally considered, on the merest conjecture, to have been the play from which Shakespeare derived his knowledge of the incidents. The *Historie of Ferrar*, acted in 1583, belonged to a different Company, and was doubtlessly another piece.

*Page 80, line 20. Before James the First.*—In the record of this performance, as well as in the previous notice of the comedy by Meres, the play is simply termed *Errors*, the title by which

it was probably then generally known. "1604 and 1605—Edmund Tylney—on Innocents Night, Errors by Shaxberd performed by the Kings players," old MS. notes of the Audit Accounts compiled for Malone about the year 1800.

*Page 81, line 19. And popular.*—This may be gathered from an allusion in Heywood's *Apology for Actors*, 1612, where it is classed with *Henry the Fifth* amongst the stirring dramatic histories of that period. Capell, who was the first to print *Edward the Third* as the work of Shakespeare, mentions its attribution to him in a list of plays at the end of the *Careless Shepherdess*, 1656, and in an "Exact and Perfect Catalogue of all Playes that are Printed"; perhaps the same list or another edition of it, appended to some copies of *Tom Tyler and his Wife*, 1661, not only *Edward the Third*, but also *Edward the Second* and *Edward the Fourth* are ascribed to the great dramatist. It is scarcely necessary to observe that late catalogues of this kind are of no value in questions of authorship.

*Page 81, line 20. In or before the year 1595.*—It was entered at Stationers' Hall by Cuthbert Burby on December the 1st, 1595, and printed in the following year, "as it hath bin sundrie times plaid about the Citie of London." Another edition, with merely a few trivial variations, appeared in the year 1599. Burby's widow in 1609 assigned the copyright to Welby, who parted with it to Snodham in 1618, but no seventeenth century edition of the play is known to exist.

*Page 85, line 3. One of the first dramas.*—The first appearance of a "new ballad" on the subject of a popular drama is a probable indication of its following shortly after the production of the latter on the stage. Edward White entered "a newe ballad of Romeo and Juliett" on the books of the Stationers' Company on August the 5th, 1596, the ballad having in all probability been written and published in consequence of the success of Shakespeare's drama produced in the early summer of that year. No copy of the former is now known to exist, but it seems that one came under the notice of Warton about the middle of the last century, as appears from the following note by that critic in the Appendix to the first volume of Johnson's

edition of Shakespeare, 1765,—“a ballad is still remaining on the subject of Romeo and Juliet, which, by the date, appears to be much older than Shakespeare's time. It is remarkable that all the particulars in which that play differs from the story in *Bandello* are found in this ballad.”

*Page 85, line 6. Which was produced at the Curtain Theatre.*—With respect to the evidences for the date of the production of *Romeo and Juliet*, it is important to exclude that which has been supposed to be gathered from a notice of the tragedy in *Weever's Epigrammes*, 1599. It is stated by the author that these poems were written before he had attained the age of twenty,—“that twenty twelve months yet did never know,”—that is to say, before 1596 or 1597, as may be gathered from a note in *Stow's Survey of London*, ed. 1633, p. 900. This statement of early authorship must, however, be taken with some qualification, for one of the pieces, an elegy on the death of *Spenser*, could not possibly have been composed before the date of publication, 1599. As *Weever* does not particularize which of the poems were written at the earlier period to which he refers, it is obvious that the elegy on *Spenser* may not be the only one of a later date, and that it would be unsafe to conclude that the verses addressed to Shakespeare were amongst the former.

*Page 85, line 10. The play of the season.*—It is scarcely necessary to observe that this statement is chiefly founded upon the well-known lines of *Marston* in the *Scourge of Villanie*, 1598, but those writers are in error who assert that there is a parody of the words of Shakespeare in the then common exclamation of,—“a hall, a hall!” Then there is also the direct assertion of *Danter* in 1597, that the tragedy had then been often played “with great applause,” a statement which may be readily trusted, for otherwise that shifty publisher would not have incurred the risk and trouble attendant on the production of a surreptitious copy.

*Page 85, line 13. Cuthbert Burby.*—This publisher retained the copyright in his hands until the 22nd of January, 1606-7, when he assigned it to *Nicholas Linge*, who kept possession of

it only until the following November, then parting with his interest to John Smethwick, the latter holding the copyright until his death in 1642. During the time that Smethwick owned the play, he issued three editions, one in 1609, another without date, and a third in 1637. The undated edition was evidently printed, as appears from the character of the type and the orthography, within a few years at the utmost after Smethwick obtained the copyright, but no doubt after the publication of the impression of 1609. The earlier printed copies of the undated edition appeared without the author's name on the title-page, but in subsequent impressions of it the tragedy is for the first time announced to the public as "written by W. Shake-speare."

*Page 85, line 23. Several early allusions.*—One telling line in the tragedy is quoted nearly literally by Porter in a drama acted in the same year,—“He rather have her married to her grave,” *Two Angrie Women of Abington*, 1599. Allot, in his *Englands Parnassus*, 1600, quotes *Romeo and Juliet* much oftener than he does any other of Shakespeare's plays; but it may be worth observing that there are sophistications of the text in some of his extracts. Bodenheim, in his *Bel-vedere*, also published in 1600, gives several quotations, and Nicholson, in the same year, in his *Acolastus* his *After-Witte*, 1600, garbles a line as follows,—“Thrust in a frozen corner of the North.” The notion of Jove laughing at lovers' perjuries became a favourite idea. It is quoted in the comedy of *How a Man may Choose a Good Wife from a Bad*, 1602, and again by Day, in his *Humour out of Breath*, 1608. *Romeo and Juliet* is cited more than once in Decker's *Satiro-Mastix*, 1602, and other quotations from the tragedy are to be found in *Blurt Master Constable*, 1602, Achelley's *Massacre of Money*, 1602, and in Marston's *Mal-content*, 1604. It is worth notice that the tragedy of *Romeo and Juliet* is mentioned in a list of “some of the most ancient plays that were played at Blackfriars,” a manuscript written in 1660.

*Page 87, line 25. October, 1596.*—The regnal year in this document, indicating 1597, may be considered to be overruled by the repetition of the earlier year in the same paper.

*Page 89, line 3. It was renovated.*—Theobald, who was

acquainted with Sir Hugh Clopton, and furnished by that gentleman with some traditional particulars respecting New Place, writing in 1733, states that when Shakespeare purchased it, he, "having repair'd and modell'd it to his own mind, chang'd the name to New Place, which the mansion-house, since erected on the same spot, at this day retains." With respect to this account of the origin of the name, although it is known that the house was so called long before Shakespeare's time, considering that Theobald derived his information from Sir Hugh Clopton, credence may be given to it so far as to believe that the poet made very extensive alterations, perhaps nearly rebuilding it. It was probably altered or rebuilt by him in 1598, for in that year the Corporation, when engaged in repairing "the great stone bridge" over the Avon, "paid to Mr. Shakspeare for on lod of ston, x. *℥.*," which stone was perhaps part of the old materials of the house, for there seems no other plausible explanation of his having such an article to dispose of, the subsoil of the land at New Place being gravelly.

*Page 93, line 10. Successful and popular.*—It is scarcely necessary to observe that these epithets are warranted by the successive editions of 1597, 1598, 1608, and 1615. The play is in the list of Shakespearean dramas given by Meres in 1598, but other early notices, where the authorship is not distinctly to be inferred, may relate to some of the plays on the same reign which were not the composition of the great dramatist.

*Page 93, line 15. Was omitted.*—The general context shows that the deposition scene belongs to the play as it was originally written by Shakespeare, and that it could not have been a subsequent addition.

*Page 93, line 16. Objections having been made.*—That this was the case may be inferred from the words of the title-pages of some copies of the edition of 1608, which imply that the deposition scene was a novelty on the stage, and that the play had then been recently introduced with that addition at the Globe Theatre. Without placing too much reliance on the title-pages of the old quartos, the word *lately* is so rarely to be found in them, that special credit may be fairly claimed for its accuracy.



The repetitions of the term in subsequent titles do not affect this position, for the reprinted ones all throughout the series of quarto editions are obviously valueless as authorities. In fact, in all cases in which statements respecting performances and authorship are verbally repeated in the title-pages of different editions of the same old play, those in the earliest are alone worth consideration.

*Page 94, line 3. Most popular.*—A Latin drama on the subject of Richard the Third, written by Dr. Thomas Legge, was acted at St. John's College, Cambridge, as early as the year 1579, and long continued in favour with scholastic audiences. "For tragedies," observes Sir John Harington, in his *Apologie of Poetrie*, 1591, "to omit other famous tragedies, that which was played at St. John's in Cambridge, of Richard the Third, would move, I thinke, Phalaris the tyraunt, and terrifie all tyrannous minded men from following their foolish ambitious humours, seeing how his ambition made him kill his brother, his nephews, his wife, beside infinit others; and last of all, after a short and troublesome raigne, to end his miserable life, and to have his body harried after his death." Nash also alludes to this play in his *Have With You to Saffron Walden*, 1596, in reference to an ignorant fellow, who, "in the Latine Tragedie of Richard the Third, cried, *Ad urbs, ad urbs, ad urbs*, when his whole part was, no more than, *Urbs, urbs, ad arma, ad arma*." Several old manuscript copies of Legge's drama have been preserved, but there is no reason for supposing that it was known to Shakespeare. There is preserved at Dulwich College an undated scrap of paper containing a list of the characters introduced into the play of Henry Richmond, 1599. See Mr. G. F. Warner's *Catalogue*, p. 16. "I will not omit that which is yet fresh in our late chronicles, *and hath been many times represented unto the vulgar upon our English theatres*, of Richard Plantaginet, third sonne to Richard Duke of Yorke, who, being eldest brother next surviving to King Edward the Fourth, after hee had unnaturally made away his elder brother, George Duke of Clarence, whom he

thought a grievous eye-sore betwixt him and the mark, at which he levelled, did, upon death of the King his brother, take upon him protection of this realme under his two nephewes left in his butcherly tuition," *Four Bookes of Office* by Barnabe Barnes, 1606. Breton, in his *Good and the Badde*, 1616, mentions an ignorant solicitor, who was "better read in *Pierce Plowman* than in *Ploydon*, and in the play of *Richard the Third* then in the pleas of *Edward the Fourth*." There are other allusions to plays of *Richard the Third* in *Cornwallis's Essayes*, 1616; *Herbert's MS. Diary*, November, 1633; *Heywood's Pleasant Dialogues*, 1637; and in *Gayton's Festivous Notes on Don Quixot*, 1654.

*Page 94, line 5. A piece on the events.*—It was entered on the registers of the Stationers' Company, June 19th, 1594, by Thomas Creede, as "an enterlude intituled the Tragedie of *Richard the Third* wherein is shoven the death of *Edward the Fourthe*, with the smotheringe of the twoo princes in the tower, with a lamentable end of *Shores Wife*, and the Conjunction of the twoo houses of *Lancaster* and *Yorke*;" and published the same year under the title of, "The True Tragedie of *Richard the Third*: Wherein is showne the death of *Edward the Fourth*, with the smothering of the twoo yong Princes in the Tower: With a lamentable ende of *Shores wife*, an example for all wicked women. And lastly the coniunction and ioyning of the twoo noble Houses, *Lancaster* and *Yorke*. As it was playd by the *Queenes Maiesties Players*. London Printed by *Thomas Creede*, and are to be sold by *William Barley* at his shop in *Newgate Market*, neare *Christ Church doore*. 1594."

*Page 94, line 8. No evidence.*—There is only one line in this play,—“a horse, a horse, a fresh horse,”—which bears a great resemblance to any in *Shakespeare's*, but, if the latter adapted his from a previous work, it is possible that he remembered what the *Moor* says in *Peele's Battle of Alcazar*, 1594,—“a horse, a horse, villaine, a horse !”

*Page 94, line 10. The earliest notice.*—*Richard the Third* was most likely produced in 1597, for, according to the title-page of the first quarto, it had then been “*lately* acted by the Right

Honourable the Lord Chamberlain his servants," and the company did not re-assume the title until the April of that year. The first edition is without the author's name, but the second, issued in 1598, is published as a drama written "by William Shakespeare."

*Page 94, line 13. By Wise.*—Wise issued other editions in 1598 and 1602, and the copyright remained in his hands until June, 1603, when it was transferred to Matthew Law, who published the subsequent quartos of 1605, 1612, 1622, 1629 and 1634. These editions are copied successively from each other, but in the folio of 1623 are found various additions to the older printed text, the drama as it is given in the latter work having been most likely taken from an irregularly noted play-house copy of the edition of 1602. It should be mentioned that the words, "newly augmented," which are found in the title-pages of the later quartos, are fanciful additions by the first publisher. His successor, Law, merely followed suit, and did not even take the trouble to alter the name of the Chamberlain's Company to that of the King's until 1612.

*Page 95, line 4. Accidentally preserved.*—They occur in an anecdote in a little volume of excessive rarity entitled, *A New Booke of Mistakes, or Bulls with Tales and Bulls without Tales*, but no lyes by any meanes, 1637,—“In the play of Richard the Third, the Duke of Buckingham, being betraid by his servant Banister, a Messenger, comming hastily into the presence of the King to bring him word of the Duke's surprizall, Richard asking him, what newes?, he replied,—My leige, the Duke of *Banister* is tane,=And *Buckingham* is come for his reward ”

*Page 95, line 12. Great popularity.*—The number of early editions testify to the popularity of Shakespeare's play, which is alluded to by Meres in 1598 and by Weever in 1599, in notices that indicate its being considered one of our author's most important productions. In the *Return from Parnassus*, printed in 1606, but written about the year 1602, Burbage is introduced as selecting it for an exercise to enable him to test the tragic powers of a Cambridge student.

*Page 95, line 26.—Not merely in its authentic form.*—As in

his *What You Will*, 1607. It is also quoted literally by Braithwait, in his *Strappado* for the *Divell*, 1615.

*Page 95, line 27. Satirized.*—That this was his intention would appear from an allusion in the *Whipping of the Satyre*, 1601,—“But harke, I heare the cynicke satyre crie,=A man, a man, a kingdome for a man.” In *Parasitaster*, 1606, Marston introduces, with slight variations, the line,—“Plots have I laid, inductions dangerous,”—evidently with an intention of ridiculing it.

*Page 96, line 28. At Whitehall.*—We learn, from the title-page of the first edition, that *Love's Labour's Lost* was acted before Queen Elizabeth in the Christmas holidays of 1597, and the locality of the performance is ascertained from the following interesting entry in the accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber for that year,—“to Richard Brakenburie, for altering and making readie of soundrie chambers at Whitehall against Christmas, and for the plaies, and for making readie in the hall for her Majestie, and for altering and hanging of the chambers after Christmas daie, by the space of three daies, mense Decembris, 1597, viij.*l.* xij.*s.* iij.*d.*” *Love's Labour's Lost* is not a favourite play with the general reader, but the cause of its modern unpopularity is to be sought for in the circumstance of its satire having been principally directed to fashions of language that have long passed away, and consequently little understood, rather than in any great deficiency of invention. When it has been deeply studied, there are few comedies that will afford more gratification. It abounds with touches of the highest humour; and the playful tricks and discoveries are conducted with so much dexterity, that, when we arrive at the conclusion, the chief wonder is how the interest could have been preserved in the development of so extremely meagre a plot. Rightly considered, this drama, being a satire on the humour of conversation, could not have been woven from a story involving much situation other than the merely amusing, or from any plot which invited the admission of the language of passion; for the free use of the latter would have been evidently inconsistent with the unity of the author's satirical design.

*Page 96, line 28. Love's Labour's Lost.*—The mode in which the title of this comedy should be printed has been the subject of discussion. In the title-page of the quarto edition of 1598, it is called, "Loues labors lost," but in the Palladis Tamia of Meres, published in the same year, it appears as, "Loue labors lost," and in Tofte's Alba, 1598, "Loves Labor Lost," the latter form being also found in the Stationers' Registers for 1607, and in the preliminary list of ed. 1623. The running title of the first edition is, "A pleasant conceited Comedie called Loues Labor's lost," and, in the text of the play in the first folio the title occurs twenty-three times, in each instance, "Loues Labour's lost." "I can't well see," observes Gildon, in his Remarks, 1710, p. 308, "why the author gave this play this name." He was perhaps thinking of the estimate of Love, as he had expressed it in the Two Gentlemen of Verona,—“If haply *won*, perhaps a *hapless gain* :” and, on the other hand,—“If *lost*, why then a grievous *labour won*.” In real truth, Love's labour is not lost, for the gentlemen are all ensnared in his meshes, and they obtain the hands of the ladies on certain conditions, which are rather whimsical in their nature than impossible of performance.

*Page 96, line 28. Printed in the following year.*—The edition of 1598 is not mentioned in the registers of the Stationers' Company, the earliest notice of the play in those records appearing under the date of January, 1607, when it was transferred by Burby, with Romeo and Juliet and the Taming of a Shrew, to Linge, who, in the November of the same year, parted with the copyright to Smethwick, one of the proprietors of the first folio. The last-named publisher, however, seems to have preserved an independent interest in the comedy, for it was published separately, under his auspices, in the year 1631. This edition was reprinted from the copy of the play in the first folio, and the latter was certainly reprinted from a playhouse copy of the first quarto edition of 1598. On the title-page of the edition of 1631, it is stated to have been “acted by his Majesties Servants at the Blackefriers and the Globe.”

*Page 97, line 9. Had not been re-written.* If it had been, the fragments of the earlier drama could not be found in the

edition of 1598, which was evidently printed from a corrected manuscript of the first version, a copy in which altered lines might have been written on the margins and the additions inserted on paper slips. A few old manuscript plays of the time, similarly revised, are still in existence. The dramatists of the Shakespearean period frequently amended their plays for special occasions, but with rare exceptions it was not their custom to re-write them. *Love's Labour's Lost* was probably revised in anticipation of its performance before Queen Elizabeth in 1597. In the following year Chettle was engaged in "mending" his play of *Robin Hood* "for the Court."

*Page 97, line 27. Mentioned by Tofte.*—"I *once* did see a play ycleped so," Tofte's *Alba*, 1598. The term *once*, employed by Tofte, does not mean *formerly*, but merely, as usual in his day, at some time or other. It does, nevertheless, imply that the representation of *Love's Labour's Lost* had been witnessed some little time before the publication of his *Alba* in 1598, but the notice, however curious, is of no value in the question of the chronology, as we are left in doubt whether it was the original or the amended play that was seen by him. The poor fellow had escorted his lady-love to the theatre, and, for some unexplained reason, she had taken an opportunity during their visit to reject his addresses; and hence the reference to the comedy.

*Page 98, line 6. Early in the year 1605.*—This appears to be the real date of the interesting letter of Sir Walter Cope, first printed by Dr. Ingleby from a facsimile made for me from the original at Hatfield House. The Queen was entertained by Lord Southampton in January, 1604-5. My old friend, Mr. E. W. Ashbee, the eminent palæographical artist, tells me that the date of 1604 is in an endorsement which is situated so far back into the volume that he could not make an absolute tracing of that portion of the document.

*Page 98, line 11. About the same time.*—Although the manuscript Shaksperian entries in the Revels' Book of 1605, now preserved in the Record Office, are unquestionably very modern forgeries, the authentic fact that *Love's Labour's Lost* was twice

performed before James the First, early in that year, is ascertained from the following note taken from a modernized transcript of the audit accounts made for Malone, who died in the year 1812,—“Ed. Tylney—on New Year’s Day and Twelfth Day, Loves Labour Lost performed by the King’s players.” This note appears to have been carelessly made, for the forged entry, no doubt taken from a more accurate transcript, runs as follows—“By his Majesties plaiers ; Betwin Newers Day and Twelwe Day a play of Loves Labours Lost.”

*Page 98, line 13. On the stage.*—The First Part of Henry the Fourth had been exhibited on the public stage before the name of Oldcastle had been altered to that of Falstaff. There is distinct evidence of this in the well-known allusion to the Honour speech in Field’s Amends for Ladies, 1618, a piece which appears to be referred to in Stafford’s Niobe Dissolv’d, 1611. Field must have written that comedy before he joined Shakespeare’s company, and the only plausible explanation of the passage referring to Oldcastle is that the different names of the character long continued to be indiscriminately referred to by those who had witnessed the earliest representations of the play. At all events, it is certain that, after 1597, the name of the character was Falstaff on the public stage, as is clear from the title-pages of the early quarto editions of Shakespeare’s play, and from there being allusions to him under that appellation in Every Man Out of his Humour, acted in 1599, printed in 1600; the First Part of Sir John Oldcastle, written in 1599, printed in 1600; the Whipping of the Satyre, 1601; Sharpe’s More Fooles Yet, 1610; New and Choise Characters of Severall Authors, 1615; and in numerous later works of the seventeenth century. It may be worth notice that the letter, in which Sir Toby Matthews curiously refers to Falstaff as the author of a speech he quotes, was certainly not written until after the death of Shakespeare. When the First Part of Henry the Fourth was acted at Court in 1613, it is mentioned under the titles of Sir John Falstaff and Hotspur, and, in 1624, as the First Part of Sir John Falstaff.

*Page 98, line 14. The spring of the year.*—Certainly not long

before March the 5th, 1597, on which day Lord Cobham, who had been the Lord Chamberlain of the Household since the previous August, expired. Even if the name of Oldcastle had been thoughtlessly introduced into the comedy before that period, it is obvious that Lord Cobham, under whom the poet then served, would not have required the Queen's authority for its suppression. It was probably his son, Henry, Constable of Dover Castle, who brought the subject before Elizabeth.

*Page 98, line 16. By the composition of the Second Part.—*

The date is not known, but the name of Oldcastle was changed to that of Falstaff in or before February, 1598, as appears from the Stationers' Registers, and, in the printed edition of the Second Part, the prefix *Old* is erroneously left standing to one of Falstaff's speeches. In the third act, Sir John is spoken of as Page to Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, a fact which applies to Oldcastle, not to Falstaff. These circumstances appear to show decisively that the name of Shakespeare's character was at first Oldcastle in the Second as well as in the First Part, and that the former play was *written* before the month above mentioned. The time of its production is unknown the earliest allusion to it as an acting play being in a reference to Justice Silence by Ben Jonson in 1599. It may be assumed from the words of Meres, supported perhaps by the quotation from him hereafter mentioned, that the Second Part was unknown to that writer at some brief period before September, 1598. It is worthy of remark that some portion at least of the Epilogue, if not the whole, must have been written after the suppression of the name of Oldcastle, and, very likely, in consequence of that proceeding. The suggestion that this Epilogue was not composed by Shakespeare, is unsupported by any kind of evidence. That it was written before the death of Elizabeth is proved by the concluding words.

*Page 98, line 17. Both these plays.—*The Second Part never attained the height of popularity accorded to the First, but still it must have been very successful. That the "humours of swaggering Pistol," as well as those of Falstaff, were specially appreciated, would appear from the title-page of the edition of



1600. There are references to, or quotations from, the Second Part, in the Poetaster, 1601 ; Eastward Hoe, 1605, ; the Merry Devil of Edmonton, 1608 ; and in Ben Jonson's Silent Woman, ed. 1616, p. 550, first acted in 1609. Justices Silence and Shallow rapidly became typical characters. "No, ladie, this is a kinsman of Justice Silence," Every Man out of his Humour, ed. 1600, acted in 1599. "We must have false fiers to amaze these spangle babies, these true heires of Ma. Justice Shallow," Satiro-Mastix, 1602. "When thou sittest to consult about any weighty matter, let either Justice Shallowe, or his cousen, Mr. Weathercocke be foreman of the jurie," Woodhouse's Flea, 1605. One of the most curious notices of these personages occurs in a letter from Sir Charles Percy to a Mr. Carlington, dated from "Dumbleton in Glocestshire this 27 of December," and endorsed 1600,— "Mr. Carlington,—I am heere so pestred with contrie businesse that I shall not bee able as yet to come to London ; if I stay heere long in this fashion, at my return I think you will find mee so dull that I shall bee taken for Justice Silence or Justice Shallow ; wherefore I am to entreat you that you will take pittie of mee, and, as occurrences shall searve, to send mee such news from time to time as shall happen, the knowledge of the which, thoutgh perhaps thee will not exempt mee from the opinion of a Justice Shallow at London, yet, I will assure you, thee will make mee passe for a very sufficient gentleman in Glocestrshire." Allusions of this kind in a private letter assume the familiarity, both of the writer and his correspondent, with Shakespeare's play, and are interesting evidences of its popularity.

*Page 98, line 24. The Boar's Head Tavern.*—It is a singular circumstance that there is no mention of this celebrated tavern in any edition of Shakespeare previously to the appearance of Theobald's in 1733, but that the locality is there accurately given from an old and genuine stage-tradition is rendered certain by an allusion to "Sir John of the Boares-Head in Eastcheap" in Gayton's Festivous Notes, 1654, p. 277. Shakespeare never mentions that tavern at all, and the only possible allusion to it is in the Second Part of Henry the Fourth, where the Prince asks, speaking of Falstaff,— "doth

the old boar feed in the old frank?" A suggestion of the locality may also be possibly intended in Richard the Second, where the Prince is mentioned as frequenting taverns that "stand in narrow lanes." In the play of the Famous Victories, the Castle Tavern is the inn which is mentioned as the place of meeting in Eastcheap. The earliest notice of the Boar's Head occurs in the testament of William Warden, who, in the reign of Richard II., gave "all that his tenement, called the Boar's Head, Eastcheap, to a college of priests or chaplains, founded by Sir William Walworth, lord mayor, in the adjoining Church of St. Michael, Crooked-lane." The endowments of this college were forfeited to the Crown in 1549, in which year the tenement above alluded to is described as "all his the said Walter Morden's tenement, called the Boar's Head in Eastcheap, worth by year £4." Stowe, mentioning the affray of the King's sons in Eastcheap, adds, in a marginal note, "There was no taverne then in Eastcheape." The Boar's Head is first mentioned as a tavern in the year 1537, when it is expressly demised in a lease as "all that tavern called the Bores Hedde cum cellariis sollariis et aliis suis pertinentiis in Estchepe, in parochia Sancti Michaelis prædicti, in tenura Johannæ Broke, viduæ." About the year 1588, the inn was kept by one Thomas Wright, a native of Shrewsbury. "Thear was chosen withe me, at that time, out of the school, George Wrighte, sun of Thomas Wrighte of London, vintener, that dwelt at the Bore's Hed in Estcheap, who sithence, having good enheritance descended to him, is now clerk of the king's stable and a knighte, a verye discreet and honest gentleman," *Liber Famelicus* of Sir James Whitelocke, sub anno 1588. In 1602, the Lords of the Council gave permission for the servants of the Earls of Oxford and Worcester to play at this tavern. There were numerous other tenements in London, including five taverns in the City, known by the name of the Boar's Head, nor was it a very unusual title for country inns. Curiously enough, by an accidental coincidence, Sir John Fastolf devised to Magdalen College, Oxford, a house so called in the borough of Southwark. See Mr. William Rendle's able and valuable work on Old Southwark, 1878, p. 59.

*Page 98, line 25. Had been introduced as Sir John Oldcastle.*—See the Prince's allusion to him under this name in the First Part of Henry the Fourth, i. 2,—“as the honey of Hybla, my old lad of the castle.” Although the authors of the First Part of Sir John Oldcastle, 1600, mention Falstaff, they almost unconsciously identify the personality of their hero with Shakespeare's fat Knight by making him refer to his exploits at Shrewsbury.

*Page 98, line 26. Ordered Shakespeare to alter the name.*—According to Rowe, in his life of Shakespeare, 1709, the “part of Falstaff is said to have been originally written under the name of Oldcastle ; some of that family being then remaining, the Queen was pleas'd to command him to alter it ; upon which he made use of Falstaff.” This account is partially confirmed by a much earlier one which occurs in a very curious dedicatory epistle addressed to Sir Henry Bouchier by Dr. Richard James, who died in 1638. It is annexed to an unpublished manuscript entitled, the Legend and Defence of the noble Knight and Martyr, Sir John Oldcastel, several copies of which, in the handwriting of Dr. James, varying slightly from each other, are still preserved. In the course of this epistle, Dr. James relates that “in Shakespeare's first shew of Harrie the Fift, the person with which he undertook to play a buffone was not Falstaffe, but Sir Jhon Oldcastle ; and that offence beinge worthily taken by personages descended from his title, as peradventure by manie others allso whoe ought to have him in honourable memorie, the poet was putt to make an ignorant shifte of abusing Sir Jhon Fastolphe, a man not inferior of vertue, though not so famous in pietie as the other.” The writer no doubt intended to put “first shewe of Harrie the Fourth,” it being clear, from the epilogue to the Second Part of Henry the Fourth, that Shakespeare had altered the name of Oldcastle to that of Falstaff before he wrote Henry the Fifth. The Doctor's suggestion,—“as peradventure by manie others allso whoe ought to have him in honourable memorie,” may be said to be confirmed by the authors of the drama of Sir John Oldcastle, published in 1600, who, in their Prologue, are careful to notice the apprehensions that might be

raised in the minds of the audience by the "doubtful title," and to remove suspicion by the announcement that the delineation of the martyr's character was a "tribute of love" to his faith and loyalty. That the Famous Victories, however, gave offence to zealous Protestants, from the manner in which Oldcastle is therein introduced, is almost certain ; but, in respect to several of the early allusions to that personage as a stage character, it is impossible to decide with certainty that they refer to him as represented in that particular drama. Stage-poets, says Fuller, in his Church History, ed. 1655, p. 168,— "have themselves been very bold with, and others very merry at, the memory of Sir John Oldcastle, whom they have fancied a boon companion, a jovial royster, and yet a coward to boot ; the best is Sir John Falstaffe hath relieved the memory of Sir John Oldcastle, and of late is substituted buffoone in his place."

*Page 99, line 3. Sir John Oldcastle.*—There was a play so called which was acted by Shakespeare's company at Somerset House on March the 6th, 1600, before Lord Hunsdon and his guests, the latter being the Ambassadors from the Spanish Low Countries. "All this weeke the lords have beene in London, and past away the tyme in feasting and plaies ; for Vereiken dined upon Wednesday with my Lord Treasurer, who made hym a roiall dinner ; upon Thursday my Lord Chamberlain feasted hym, and made hym very great, and a delicate dinner, and there in the afternoone his plaiers acted before Vereiken, *Sir John Old Castell*, to his great contentment,"—Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sydney, dated from Baynards Castell, Saturday, 8 March, 1599-1600, ap. Sydney Letters, ed. 1746, ii. 175. It is possible, certainly, but very unlikely that the play acted on this occasion was the one that was printed in 1600, and which belonged to another company ; and still more improbable that a drama so conspicuously announced as written in the Protestant cause should have been selected for representation before the ambassadors of a late Cardinal, the Archduke of Austria. There was, in all probability, another play on the subject of Sir John Oldcastle, now lost, that belonged to the Lord Chamberlain's Company. Fuller, in his Worthies, 1662, speaks of Sir John

Oldcastle as "being made the make-sport *in all plays* for a coward ;" and there are several other general allusions, some of an earlier date, which would indicate the former existence of more dramas on the subject than are now known to us. That there was, in the seventeenth century, a stage-character of Oldcastle other than the one exhibited in the Famous Victories, in Henry the Fourth and in the printed drama of 1600, admits, indeed, of proof. This fourth Sir John was as fond of ale as Goodman Smug of Edmónton ; his nose was red and carbuncled ; and he was as fat as the hero of Eastcheap. "Ale is thought to be much adulterated, and nothing so good as Sir John Oldcastle and Smug the Smith was us'd to drink," Howell's Familiar Letters, ii. 71. The appearance of the Knight's nose is thus alluded to in the play of Hey for Honesty, 1651,—“the sinke is paved with the rich rubies and incomparable carbuncles of Sir John Oldcastle's nose,” reference to which is also made in Gayton's Festivous Notes upon Don Quixote, 1654, p. 49. It appears from a passage in the Meeting of Gallants at an Ordinarie, or the Walkes in Powles, 1604, that Sir John Oldcastle was represented on the stage as a very fat man, which is certainly not the case in the play printed under that title in 1600 :—“Now, signiors, how like you mine host ? did I not tell you he was a madde round Knave and a merrie one too ? and if you chaunce to talke of *fatte* Sir John Oldcastle, he will tell you, he was his great grandfather, and not much unlike him in *paunch*, if you marke him well by all descriptions.” The host, who is here described, returns to the gallants, and entertains them with telling them stories. After his first tale, he says,—“Nay, gallants, I'll fit you, and now I will serve in another, as good as vinegar and pepper to your roast beefe.” Signor Kickshawe replies ;—“Let's have it, let's taste on it, mine host, my noble *fat actor*.” There is another passage to the same effect in a pamphlet entitled the Wandering Jew telling Fortunes to Englishmen, 4to. Lond., 1640, p. 38, in which a character named Glutton is made to say,—“A chaire, a chaire, sweet Master Jew, a chaire ; all that I say, is this : I'me a fat man, it has been a West-Indian voyage for me

to come reeking hither ; a kitchin stuffe-wench might pick up a living by following me, for the fat which I loose in stradling ; I doe not live by the sweat of my brows, but am almost dead with sweating ; I eate much, but can talke little : Sir John Old-castle was my great grandfathers fathers uncle ; I come of a huge kindred." It may fairly be assumed that the preceding notices do not refer to the Oldcastle of the first manuscript of Henry the Fourth. In two of the instances they certainly do not, Shakespeare's Falstaff being also alluded to in *Hey for Honesty*, 1651, and in *Gayton's Notes*, 1654. There is more uncertainty in the attribution of a reference by Bagwell, who in his poem entitled the *Merchant Distressed*, 1644, speaking of idle cowardly captains, observes that, although they "have no skill in martiall discipline, yet they'le brag, as if they durst to fight,—with Sir John Oldcastle, that high-flowne knight."

*Page 99, line 8. One of the few names invented by Shakespeare.*—A general absence of sincerity, rather than insincerity, is one of the leading characteristics of Falstaff, but the selection of a name suggestive of duplicity was probably the result more of accident than of design. At all events, it is in the highest degree unlikely that Shakespeare meditated in the choice any reference whatever to the historic character of Fastolf, the warrior he had previously introduced into the First Part of Henry the Sixth, although the printer of the first folio edition of Henry the Fourth naturally enough adopted the orthography of the then better known name. It is clear from Oldcastle having been the original appellation of Falstaff, that the cowardice of the latter was not suggested by that attributed to the Fastolf of the earlier play. Fastolf was, however, sometimes called Falstaff even in strictly historical works, as in Trussell's *Continuation of the History of England*, ed. 1685, p. 126. The confusion between the real and fictitious characters is lamented in Daniel's manuscript poem called *Trinarchodia*, 1649, and also by Fuller, in his *Worthies*, 1662. The error continued to be made by later writers, and may occasionally be detected in works of the present century. "Sir John Fastoff

gave to the seven senior demies of Magdalen College a penny a week for augmentation of their vests, which being nowadays but a small pittance, those that have it are call'd, by such as have it not, Fastoff's buckram men," Hearne's Diary, 1721. In a Short View of English History by Bevil Higgons, 1748, the warrior of Henry the Sixth's time is stated to have "been ridiculed and misrepresented by the pen of a certain poet for an original of buffoonery and cowardice for no other reason but that some of his posterity had disobliged Mr. Shakespear." This tradition apparently belongs to the number of those which are either incorrectly recorded or are mere fabrications.

*Page 100, line 5. Two editions.*—Four leaves only of the first edition, discovered many years ago at Bristol concealed in the recesses of an old book-cover, are known to exist. This precious fragment, which I would not exchange for its surface in pearls, is the most cherished gem in the library at Hollingbury Copse. Both editions were no doubt published by Wise in 1598, and might be distinguished by the circumstance of the word *hystoric* in the head-line of the first being *historic* in that of the second. Such was the unsettled orthography of the period that this variation is no evidence in the question of priority, but that the fragment belongs to the first edition may be safely inferred from its containing a word found in no other impression, omission being the commonest error in early reprints. It is something, at this late day, to recover even a single lost word that was written by Shakespeare, Poins therein exclaiming,—“How the *fat* rogue roared!” When Wise entered the play on the registers of the Stationers' Company in February, 1598, the title there given varies considerably from that of the complete edition of 1598, so that the one belonging to the fragment, if ever discovered, might possibly agree with the wording of the copyright entry. There were thus no fewer than six editions published in the author's lifetime, a fact that testifies to the great popularity of this drama. There are quotations from it in Allot's England's Parnassus, 1600, and in the Knight of the Burning Pestle, 1611. It is rather singular that, notwithstanding the publication of the

continuation as the Second Part in 1600, the other should not have appeared as the First Part until it was so termed in the collective edition of 1623.

*Page 100, line 8. Familiar household words.*—Thus Meres is found quoting one of the Falstaff's sayings, without considering it necessary to mention whence it was derived,—“As Aulus Persius Flaccus is reported among al writers to be of an honest life and upright conversation, so Michael Drayton among schollers, souldiers, poets, and all sorts of people, is helde for a man of vertuous disposition, honest conversation, and well governed cariage, which is almost meraculous among good wits in these declining and corrupt times, *when there is nothing but rogerie in villanous man*, and when cheating and craftines is counted the cleanest wit and soundest wisdome,” Palladis Tamia, 1598. This is from a literary work, written by one of Shakespeare's friends, but there is a similar testimony to the early popularity of the First Part of Henry the Fourth in a private familiar letter from Toby Matthew to Dudley Carleton, written in September, 1598, wherein he observes, speaking of some military officers, and with the evident notion that the quotation would be recognized,—“Well, honour prickes them on, and the world thinckes that honour will quickly prick them of againe.”

*Page 100, line 28. His intention.*—It is scarcely necessary to observe that the Epilogue to the Second Part of Henry the Fourth is the authority for this statement.

*Page 101, line 11. Merely out of deference.*—There seems to be no other solution of the problem at all feasible. The trivial historical allusions, if they are to be seriously received as evidences of the date of action, would place the comedy between the two parts of Henry the Fourth and the drama of Henry the Fifth; but its complete isolation from those plays offers the best means of deliverance from the perplexity created by those references. Arguments on any other basis will only land us, to use the words of Mrs. Quickly, “into such a canaries as 'tis wonderful.” This Mrs. Quickly, she of the Merry Wives of Windsor, is an essentially different character from her name-



sake of the historical plays, and is positively introduced into the former as a stranger to Sir John, without the slightest reference to the memories of the Boar's Head tavern. All this leads to the inference that the small connexion to be traced between the comedy and the historical plays is to be attributed to the necessity of at least a specious compliance with the wishes of the Queen, and this is as much as can fairly be said even in regard to the love-adventures of Falstaff.

*Page 101, line 20. There is an old tradition.*—Whenever a tradition includes an incident that was probably unknown at the time of its circulation, and when that incident is proved to be a fact by the subsequent discovery of contemporary evidence, the whole story should be favourably if not implicitly received. There is no reason to believe that the first edition of the *Merry Wives* was known to any of the earlier writers who recorded the present tradition, until a copy of it came into the hands of Theobald about the year 1731. See a letter from that critic to Warburton in MS. Egerton 1956. According to the title-page of that edition, the comedy, in 1602, had “been divers times acted by the Right Honorable my Lord Chamberlain’s Servants, both before her Majestie and elsewhere.” This is the only contemporary evidence we possess that the *Merry Wives of Windsor* was ever performed before Queen Elizabeth, although the references in it to Windsor Castle in connexion with that Sovereign would suggest the probability of its having been written with a view to its performance before the Court. According to another early notice, the comedy was selected for representation before James the First on Sunday, November the 4th, 1604. “Edmund Tylney—1604 and 1605—Sunday after Hallowmas; Merry Wyves of Windsor performed by the King’s Players,” notes from the Audit Records compiled for Malone about the year 1800.

*Page 101, line 22. In the brief space of a fortnight.*—This tradition was first recorded by Dennis in the dedication to the *Comical Gallant*, 1702, in which he says, referring to the *Merry Wives of Windsor* and Queen Elizabeth—“this comedy was written at her command, and by her direction, and she was so

eager to see it acted that she commanded it to be finished in fourteen days ; and was afterwards, as tradition tells us, very well pleas'd at the representation." In the prologue to his play, Dennis repeats the assertion that Shakespeare's comedy was written in the short space of fourteen days. Rowe, in 1709, speaking of Queen Elizabeth, says,—Life of Shakespeare, pp. 8, 9,—“ she was so well pleased with that admirable character of Falstaff in the two parts of Henry the Fourth, that she commanded him to continue it for one play more, and to show him in love ; this is said to be the occasion of his writing the Merry Wives of Windsor.” This evidence was followed by that of Gildon, who, in 1710, Remarks, etc., p. 291, observes that “ The fairys in the Fifth Act makes a handsome complement to the Queen, in her palace of Windsor, who had oblig'd him to write a play of Sir John Falstaff in love, and which *I am very well assured* he perform'd in a fortnight ; a prodigious thing, when all is so well contriv'd and carry'd on without the least confusion.” It will be perceived that, although the statements of Dennis and Gildon are in some respects less circumstantial than those of Rowe, yet Elizabeth could not very well have commanded Shakespeare to exhibit the fat knight in love if she had not been previously introduced to him in another character. Pope, Theobald, and later editors, appear to have taken their versions of the tradition second-hand from their predecessors. Rowe's version of the anecdote is, as usual with him, the one most cautiously written, and therefore that to be preferred ; but still there is no reason for disbelieving the assertions of the others to the extent that the play was written with great celerity. So much can be accepted, without absolutely crediting the asserted short limit of the fortnight ; and Dennis's authority on that point must be considered to be weakened by the fact that, in his Letters, ed. 1721, p. 232, he reduces the period to ten days.

*Page 101, line 25. Brevity of time.*—The wording of the entries is somewhat obscure, but it would seem from two in Henslowe's Diary that in August, 1598, Munday undertook to write a play for the Court, and Drayton gave “ his worde for the

boocke to be done within one fortnight." On the third of December, 1597, Ben Jonson apparently had only the plot of one of his dramas ready, and yet he engaged to complete it before the following Christmas, that is, in three weeks. See Henslowe's Diary, ap. Collier, pp. 106, 116.

*Page 103, line 4. A catchpenny publisher.*—It is worthy of remark that, in the title-page of the quarto, Parson Evans is termed in error *the Welch Knight*, a mistake which could hardly have emanated from any one acquainted with the play, and shows that the title was probably compiled, in all its attractive dignity, by the publisher. There is no other contemporary edition of any of the plays of Shakespeare in the title-page of which so many flattering notices of character are introduced.

*Page 103, line 5. A very defective copy.*—The first edition, in every respect an irregular performance, is considered by some critics to be an imperfect copy of a very hastily written original sketch of the comedy. Were this the case, surely there would be found passages unmistakably derived from Shakespeare's pen, adapted solely to that original, and intentionally omitted in a reconstruction of the play; but, instead of this, the quarto consists for the most part of merely imperfect transcripts, not sketches, of speeches to be found in the authentic drama. The few re-written portions are of a very inferior power, and it would be difficult to imagine that they could not have been the work of some other hand. One of these, where Falstaff is tormented by the pretended fairies in Windsor Park, the most favourable of the pieces which are clearly derived from another source, exhibits few, if any, traces of genius. As for the other original fragments in the quarto, they are hardly worthy of serious consideration, and some of the lines in them are poor and despicable. There are indications that the botcher, whoever he might have been, was fully acquainted with Shakespeare's play of Henry the Fourth, several phrases being evidently borrowed from it. "When Pistol lies, do this," is a line found in Johnson's quarto and in the Second Part of Henry the Fourth, but not in the perfect copy of the Merry Wives. The same may also be said of such expressions as

*woolsack* and *iniquity*, as applied to Falstaff, neither of which are to be traced in the first folio. Sometimes, also, Shakespeare's own expressions are employed in wrong places, to suit the editor's purpose; and oversights, some of the greatest magnitude, occur in nearly every page. The succession of scenes, however, is exactly the same as in the amended play, although not so divided, with the exception of the fourth and fifth scenes of the third act, which are transposed. The first scene of the fourth act, and the first four scenes of the fifth act in the amended play, are entirely omitted in the quarto. Amongst the numerous other indications of an imperfect publication, the reader's attention may be drawn to the second stage direction, in which Bardolph is introduced, as in the amended play, whereas he is there entirely omitted in the business of the scene; and to the incident of the Doctor's sending a challenge to Evans being altogether inexplicable without the assistance derived from the more perfect version. Several other speeches and devices are of so extremely an inartificial and trivial a character, it can scarcely be imagined but that some poetaster of the time was concerned with the publication.

*Page 105, line 21. The month of July.*—See the entry of July the 22nd, 1598, in the registers of the Stationers' Company. The Rev. H. P. Stokes in an able essay on the subject in the best work that has hitherto appeared on the chronological question, assigns the date of this play to 1597-8, and there is no good evidence for attributing an earlier period to its composition. There are passages in *Wily Beguiled*, a comedy written, as Professor Hales has shown, in the autumn of the year 1596, which bear considerable similarity to others in the *Merchant of Venice*, but here arises the usual difficulty, in those instances at least in which resemblances can hardly be accidental, of determining the priority of composition. There is not in *Wily Beguiled* a thought or expression of such peculiar excellence that any dramatist of the time could not have adopted it from recollection, unconsciously or otherwise, without incurring the smallest risk of a plagiarical imputation. The most remarkable coincidences are found in the lines beginning, "in such a

night," but similar iterations of a precisely like kind are met with in earlier plays.

*Page 105, line 27. The earliest editions.*—First printed for Roberts in 1600, and later in the same year, with that publisher's sanction, by Thomas Heyes. There is a curious misreading of *coster* for *coffer* in most copies, *but not in all*, of the edition printed by Roberts. In my copy of Heyes it is also *coster*, and so it appears, but with less certainty, in one of the three copies of that edition in the British Museum. Mr. Aldis Wright says that there is reason to think that both editions were printed from the same manuscript, and this little circumstance may perhaps tend to confirm that opinion.

*Page 106, line 5. A repetition of it.*—In the old transcripts of the Audit Accounts, made for Malone, the entries of the performances of the Merchant of Venice are thus noted :—"1604 and 1605—Edmund Tylney—on Shrove Sunday, the Marchant of Venis, by Shaxberd, performed by the King's players ;—the same repeated on Shrove Tuesday by the King's command."

*Page 108, line 2. The Two Gentlemen of Verona.*—In the list of Shakespeare's plays given by Meres in his Palladis Tamia, 1598, this one is mentioned as the Gentlemen of Verona. It is not impossible that the latter title was the original designation of the comedy, one by which it was generally known in the profession ; and, at a later period, Kirkman, who was intimately connected with the stage, inserts it in his list of plays, which first appeared in 1661, as the Gentlemen of Verona.

*Page 108, line 3. The Midsummer Night's Dream.*—It has been suggested that this title was derived from the circumstance of its having been originally produced at Midsummer, as otherwise the name would be inappropriate ; but the graceful compliment paid in it to Queen Elizabeth would appear to indicate that the comedy was written with a view to its representation before that sovereign, while the Lord Chamberlain's Company were not in the habit of acting plays before the Court in the summer time. There seems to be a probability that Shakespeare, in the composition of the Midsummer Night's Dream, had in one

place a recollection of the sixth book of the *Faerie Queene*, published in 1596, for he all but literally quotes the following line from the eighth canto of that book,—“*Through hills and dales, through bushes and through breres,*” *Faerie Queene*, ed. 1596, p. 640. As the *Midsummer Night's Dream* was not printed until the year 1600, and it is impossible that Spenser could have been present at any representation of the comedy before he had written the sixth book of the *Faerie Queene*, it may fairly be concluded that Shakespeare's play was not composed at the earliest before the year 1596, in fact, not until some time after January the 20th, 1595-6, on which day day the *Second Parte of the Faerie Queene* was entered on the books of the Stationers' Company. The sixth book of that poem was probably written as early as 1592 or 1593, certainly in Ireland and at some considerable time before the month of November, 1594, the date of the entry of publication of the *Amoretti*, in the eightieth sonnet of which it is distinctly alluded to as having been completed previously to the composition of the latter work.

*Page 108, line 6. Some years previously.*—As a rule it is unsafe to pronounce a judgment on the period of the composition of any of Shakespeare's dramas from internal evidence, but the general opinion that the *Two Gentlemen of Verona* is one of the author's earliest complete dramatic efforts may be followed without much risk of error. Admitting its lyrical beauty, its pathos, its humour, and its infinite superiority to the dramas of contemporary writers, there is nevertheless a crudity in parts of the action, one at least being especially unskilful and abrupt, which would probably have been avoided at a later period of composition.

*Page 108, line 12. King John.*—This drama was not printed until 1623, when it appeared with the other histories in the first folio edition, and it is worthy of remark that it is the only authentic play of Shakespeare that is not named in any way in the Registers of the Stationers' Company. It is not even mentioned in the long list of his plays, amongst “soe manie of the said copies as are not formerly entred to other men,” which

is inserted in the registers under the date of November, 1623. Unless, as was probably the case, the omission was accidental, there may either have been a previous entry of the play to some other publisher, although such entry is not now to be found in the register, or the copyright of King John belonged to one of the publishers whose general rights had been purchased by Blount and Jaggard. The play, in the folio editions, is entitled *The Life and Death of King John*, the term *life* referring to his life as a sovereign, as there is no portion of the tragedy which refers to his history previously to his accession to the throne of England, which took place in May, 1199.

*Page 108, line 20. One little fragment.*—This is preserved in a curious allusion in Sharpham's comedy of the *Fleire*, published in 1607,—" *Kni.* And how lives he with 'am?—*Fle.* Faith, like Thisbe in the play, 'a has almost kil'd himselfe with the scabberd." The *Midsummer Night's Dream* is again noticed in an interesting passage in the *Sir Gregory Nonsense* of John Taylor, first published in 1622, a ridiculous medley in which, says the author,—“if the printer hath placed any line, letter or sillable, whereby this large volume may be made guilty to be understood by any man, I would have the reader not to impute the fault to the author, for it was farre from his purpose to write to any purpose, so ending at the beginning, I say, as it is applawsefully written and commended to posterity in the *Midsummer. Nights Dreame*,—If we offend, it is with our good will, we came with no intent, but to offend and show our simple skill." The honest *Water-Poet*, probably quoting from memory, has not followed the text of the play very correctly, but the notice is valuable as an additional evidence of the popularity of the comedy, and especially of that portion of it represented by the clowns. The latter may have been separately performed at a very early period. This at least may perhaps be inferred from the following curious notice in *Gee's New Shreds of the Old Snare*, 1624,—“as for flashes of light, we might see very cheape in the *Comedie of Piramus and Thisbe*, where one comes in with a lanthorne and acts *Mooneshine*." Charles the First, in his

copy of the second folio of 1632, preserved at Windsor Castle, writes "Piramus and Thisby" as if it were a second title to Shakespeare's comedy. It may be just worth notice that it appears, from a stage-direction in the first folio, that a player named Tawyer, who was a subordinate actor in the Globe Theatre in the pay of Heminge's, headed the procession of the actors in the interlude as trumpeter.

*Page 109, line 15. The words of Meres.*—Those who believe that the Sonnets, as we now have them, comprise two long poems addressed to separate individuals, must perforce admit that they are the "sugared" ones alluded to by Meres, for the celebrated lines on the loves of Comfort and Despair are found in the *Passionate Pilgrim* of 1599. But copies of specially dedicated poems would most likely have been forwarded solely to the addressees, or, at all events, would not have been made subjects of literary notoriety through the adopted course recorded by Meres. That writer, in all probability, would have used the words, *to his private friends*, if he had entertained the views now adopted by the personality theorists.

*Page 109, line 17. Separate contributions.*—Here and there is to be distinctly observed an absolute continuity, but a long uninterrupted sequence after the first seventeen can be traced only by those who rely on strained inferences, or are too intent on the establishment of favourite theories to condescend to notice glaring difficulties and inconsistencies. The opinion that the address to the "lovely boy" in 126 is the termination of a series, dedicated to one and the same youth, is, indeed, absolutely disproved by the language of No. 57. There are several other sonnets antecedent to 126 that bear no internal evidence of being addressed to the male sex, and it is difficult to understand the temerity that would gratuitously represent the great dramatist as yet further narrowing the too slender barriers which then divided the protestations of love and friendship.

*Page 109, line 23. Their fragmentary character.*—Two of the sonnets, those referring to Cupid's brand, are obviously nothing more than poetical exercises, and these lead to the sus-



picion that there may be amongst them other examples of iterative fancies. Here and there are some which have the appearance of being mere imitations from the Classics or the Italian, although of course it is not necessary to assume that either were consulted in the original languages. It is difficult on any other hypothesis to reconcile the inflated egotism of such a one as 55 with the unassuming dedications to the Venus and Lucrece, 1593 and 1594, or with the expressions of humility found in the Sonnets themselves, e.g., 32 and 38.

*Page 109, line 23. In the generation immediately following.*—In MS. Bright 190, now MS. Addit. 15, 226, a volume of the time of Charles the First, or perhaps of a little earlier date, there is a copy of the eighth sonnet, there ascribed to Shakespeare, and entitled,—*In laudem musice et opprobrium contemptorii ejusdem.*

*Page 109, line 25. From the arrangement.*—And not only from the classification of titles given by Benson in his edition of 1640, but from the terms in which he writes of the Sonnets themselves. "In your perusall," he observes in his address to the reader, "you shall finde them seren, cleere, and elegantly plaine; such gentle strains as shall recreate and not perplex your braine; no intricate or cloudy stuffe to puzzell intellect, but perfect eloquence such as will raise your admiration to his praise." These words could not have been penned had he regarded the Sonnets in any light other than that of poetical fancies.

*Page 111, line 25. The immense majority.*—The estimation in which the drama was held by the reigning sovereigns did not elevate the social position of actors, who were regarded at Court in the light of menials, and classed by the public with jugglers and buffoons.

*Page 115, line 27. At the Globe Theatre.*—The surreptitious editions may be fairly said to be evidences of the popularity of Henry the Fifth. It was performed at Court by the King's Players early in the year 1606. "Edmund Tylney—1604 and 1605—on the seventh Jan. King Hen. the fifth performed by the King's players," Notes of the Audit Records

taken for Malone about the year 1800. Heywood, in his *Apology for Actors*, 1612, refers more than once to the patriotic influence of this drama.

*Page 116, line 3. Specially relished.*—This may be gathered from the title-page of ed. 1600, but there are other testimonies to the same effect. In the reply of a decisive young lady to a boisterous lover, he is told,—“It is not your hustie rustie can make me afraid of your bigge lookes, for I saw the plaie of Ancient Pistoll, where a craking coward was well cudgeled for his knavery ; your railing is so neere the rascall that I am almost ashamed to bestow so good a name as the rogue uppon you,”—Breton’s *Poste with a Packet of Madde Letters*, 1603, “newly enlarged,” the tract having originally appeared in the preceding year. In the *Scornful Lady*, a comedy written before 1616, Beaumont introduces a character who is a poor imitation of Pistol.

*Page 116, line 10. By Millington and Busby.*—Perhaps really by only one of these publishers, he who sold the play “at his house in Carter Lane, next the Powle Head, 1600.” This point will no doubt be easily determined when there appears the large work so ardently desired by students, the *Catalogue of early English Literature* in the British Museum, now in progress under the care of Mr. George Bullen, the keeper of the Printed Books.

*Page 116, line 17. Of any of these.*—These editions do not contain the choruses, and, as the latter were written as early as 1599, it is next to impossible that the quartos represent the author’s imperfect sketch. The fact that Shakespeare wrote the play after he had completed the *Second Part of Henry the Fourth*, as appears from the epilogue to the latter, precludes the supposition that *Henry the Fifth* could have been a very early production ; and especially such a piece as would be suggested by the edition of 1600.

*Page 117, line 15. A tiny volume.*—The following notes on the contents of the *Passionate Pilgrim* may be found useful for reference,—1. This, with verbal variations, is the same with the 138th Sonnet in the collective edition of 1609.—2. This,

with verbal variations, is the same with the 144th Sonnet in the collective edition of 1609. —3. A sonnet occurring also in Love's Labour's Lost, ed. 1598, with, however, a few trifling variations. —4. The only early printed copy is in the *Passionate Pilgrim*. —5. This occurs in Love's Labour's Lost, 1598, with a few trifling verbal variations. —6 and 7. Found only in the *Passionate Pilgrim*. —8. This sonnet is taken from the latter part of Barnfield's *Encomion of Lady Pecunia*, 1598, a small collection of poems with a separate title-page,—"Poems : in Divers Humors. London, Printed by G. S. for John Jaggard, and are to be solde at his shoppe neere Temple-barre, at the Signe of the Hand and starre. 1598." Barnfield terms these poems "fruits of unriper yeares," and expressly claims their authorship. The sonnet in question is the first in the collection, and is inscribed "to his friend Maister R. L. in praise of musique and poetrie." It is true that this and other pieces are omitted in the second edition of *Lady Pecunia*, 1605, but so also is nearly the whole of the collection entitled *Poems in Divers Humors*, so that no substantial argument can rest upon the absence of the two Pilgrim sonnets from that edition. —9. Found only in the *Passionate Pilgrim*. —10. Found only in the *Passionate Pilgrim*. —11. This sonnet, with some important variations, is found in B. Griffin's *Fidessa more Chaste than Kinde*, 16mo, 1596. It also occurs with No. 4 in a manuscript, written about the year 1625, preserved at Warwick Castle, the latter poem being there given as the Second Part of the one in *Fidessa*. —12. This is the earliest known version of a popular ditty frequently noticed by writers of the seventeenth century. Few persons would dream of assigning it to the pen of Shakespeare. —13, 14, and 15. Found only in the *Passionate Pilgrim*. After this, in the original edition of 1599, a separate part commences with another title-page,—"Sonnets to sundry notes of Musicke. At London —Printed for W. Iaggard, and are to be sold by W. Leake, at the Greyhound in Paules Churchyard." —16. Found only in the *Passionate Pilgrim*. —17. This, with two additional lines, occurs in Love's Labour's Lost, 1598. It is introduced also in England's *Helicon*, 1600 and 1614, with Shakespeare's name attached to

it.—18. There is a somewhat brief version of this song in the collection of Madrigals, &c., of Thomas Weelkes, 1597, this person being the composer of the music, but not necessarily the author of the words. A copy of it, as it is seen in the *Passionate Pilgrim*, also occurs in England's Helicon, 1600, entitled, "The Unknown Sheepeheard's Complaint," and there subscribed *Ignoto*, so that it is clear that Bodenham was unacquainted with the name of its author. There is an early version of the song in MS. Harl. 6910.—19. A very early manuscript copy of this poem, with many variations, is preserved in a poetical miscellany compiled, there is reason to believe, some years before the appearance of the *Passionate Pilgrim*.—20. The first of these very pretty songs is incomplete, and the second, called *Love's Answer*, still more so. In England's Helicon, 1600, the first of them is given to Marlowe, the second to Ignoto; and there is good reason to believe that Christopher Marlowe wrote the song, and Sir Walter Raleigh the Nymph's Reply; for so we are positively assured by Isaac Walton, who has inserted them both in his *Compleat Angler*, under the character of "that smooth song which was made by Kit Marlowe, now at least fifty years ago; and an *answer* to it, which was made by Sir Walter Raleigh in his younger days;—old fashioned poetry, but choicely good." Both these songs were exceedingly popular, and are afterwards found amongst the street ballads. The first is quoted in the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, and the music to it is given in Corkine's *Second Booke of Ayres*, fol. Lond. 1612.—21. This charming idyl occurs, with the absence of two lines, amongst the Poems in *Divers Humors* appended to Barnfield's *Encomion of Lady Pecunia*, 1598. The first portion of it is also inserted in England's Helicon, 1600, but there subscribed *Ignoto*. The two lines not in Barnfield are found in the latter version, which appears to have been taken from that in the *Passionate Pilgrim*, a circumstance which gives a special importance to Bodenham's unacquaintance with the name of the author. He was clearly not aware that the poem was Barnfield's, and did not consider that its appearance in the *Passionate*

Pilgrim was good evidence that it was Shakespeare's. That this inference is correct may be said to be established by the same course being adopted with No. 18, the Helicon copy of which is evidently taken from that in the Pilgrim, not from Wheelkes.—22. This also occurs amongst the Poems in Divers Humors appended to Barnfield's Encomion of Lady Pecunia, 1598, in which work it forms a portion of the last poem.

*Page 119, line 8. In this case at least.*—That Jaggard would have yielded to remonstrances in 1599, had such then been made to him, may be inferred from the circumstance of his cancelling the title-page containing Shakespeare's name in the edition of 1612, and this apparently at the instigation of a minor writer.

*Page 119, line 18. Composed by other dramatists.*—This appears from the following entry under the year 1599 in Henslowe's Diary,—“This 16th of October, 99, receved by me, Thomas Downton, of Phillipp Henschlow, to pay Mr. Munday, Mr. Drayton, and Mr. Wilson and Hathway, for the first parte of the Lyfe of Sir Jhon Ouldcasstell, and in earnest of the second parte, for the use of the compayny, ten pownd.”

*Page 120, line 2. Which of these editions is the first.*—Pavier entered the First Part of Sir John Oldcastle, but without an author's name, on the Stationers' Register of August, 1600, the drama having been produced by the Lord Admiral's company at the Rose in the previous November. Henslowe, the manager of that theatre, was so well satisfied with the piece that, with unwonted liberality, he presented its authors with a gratuity on the occasion of its first performance. “Receved of Mr. Hincheloe, as a gefte for Mr. Mundaye and the reste of the poets, at the playnge of Sir John Oldcastell the ferste tyme, x. s.” Dulwich MS., 1599.

*Page 120, line 11. No cancel of the poet's name.*—Had the case been otherwise, it is all but impossible that copies with substituted title-pages should not have been discovered. If Pavier had withdrawn the name from the attributed drama after its publication, it is hardly likely that he would have been at the expence of printing an entirely new edition when the cancel of

one leaf would have answered every purpose, that is to say, presuming that the withdrawal had been the result of any special remonstrance. Both editions of Sir John Oldcastle must have been issued in the latter part of the year, as Pavier did not enter into the publishing business until June, 1600.

*Page 121, line 14. Was frustrated.*—The comedy is not mentioned by Meres in 1598, and the earliest notice of it by name occurs in a leaf of one of the volumes of the Stationers' Company, which does not belong to the proper series of the registers, but contains irregular entries, prohibitions, &c. In this leaf, between two other notes, the first dated in May, 1600, and the other in January, 1603, is a notice of *As You Like It*, under August the 4th, "to be staid," this memorandum no doubt to be referred to the year 1600, Shakespeare's plays of Henry the Fifth and *Much Ado about Nothing*, and Ben Jonson's *Every Man in his Humour*, the only other plays noticed in that entry, having been licensed in the same month of that year. It is improbable that the prohibition would have been applied for or recorded after the publication of those dramas, and it may reasonably be concluded that the objection was removed shortly after the date of the entry, it being possibly of such doubtful validity that the clerk did not consider it advisable to make a formal note of it in the body of the register.

*Page 121, line 21. Who published it.*—This fact, coupled with the prohibitive entry in the Stationers' Registers, establishes the date here assigned for the production of *As You Like It*; the ballad, which, as the context shows, must have been always in the comedy, being a new one, first published by Morley in 1600. His text of the song differs in several particulars from that given in the first folio, and is evidently a more authentic version.

*Page 123, line 20. Wise and Aspley.*—Printed in small quarto, in 1600, by Valentine Simmes. That it was reprinted from this edition in the folio of 1623, clearly appears from the occurrence of peculiarities in each that could not possibly have appeared accidentally in both places; but the folio has a sin-

gular reading, not found in the quarto, in which Jack Wilson is mentioned, which leads to the supposition that the text of the former was taken from a playhouse copy of the edition of 1600, an exemplar of it, with a few manuscript directions and notes, having probably taken the place of the author's holograph drama. It seems impossible, on any other grounds, to account for all the curious differences, as well as for the important coincidences, which are to be traced between the two copies.

*Page 123, line 28. Its continued popularity.*—This may be concluded, not only from the lines of Digges, but from the familiar quotations from the comedy in Heywood's *Fayre Mayde of the Exchange*, 1607, and in several other contemporary plays. It appears, from the title-page of the quarto edition, that *Much Ado about Nothing* had been performed by the Lord Chamberlain's company either in or before the year 1600, or perhaps at continuous periods from a year previously; but no very early notice of the performance of the comedy has yet been discovered. In fact, the only extrinsic mention of it as an acting play, during the author's lifetime, occurs in the manuscript accounts of Lord Harrington, Treasurer of the Chamber to James the First, the originals of which are preserved in the Bodleian Library; in which it is stated that *Much Ado about Nothing* was one of the dramas performed by John Heminges, and the rest of the King's Company, before Prince Charles, the Lady Elizabeth, and the Prince Palatine Elector, in the beginning of the year 1613. From a subsequent entry, dated May the 22nd in the same year, the comedy appears to have been played under the appellation of *Benedick and Beatrice*, for so the scribe's orthography may fairly be interpreted; and Charles the First, in his copy of the second folio preserved at Windsor Castle, has added the same names for a second title. Digges alludes to them as the favourite characters of the public, and there can be no doubt but that the adventures of *Benedick and Beatrice*, and the ludicrous representation of the process of their conversion to mutual affection, attract the principal attention both of the reader and the audience, and that the impression made even by the inimitable blundering of the

constables, and well as by the more serious scenes, is secondary.

*Page 124, line 9. The eccentric biographer.*—Aubrey, whose nature it was to blunder, had forgotten the names both of the character and the play, and speaks of “the constable in a Midsummer’s Night’s Dream,” adding the gratuitous and absurd observation,—“I think it was Midsummer Night that he (Shakespeare) happened to lie there.”

*Page 124, line 23. In a letter from Lord Burghley.*—The whole text of this interesting letter is here given from the original in the Record Office,—“Sir—as I cam from London homward, in my coche, I sawe at every townes end the nombre of x. or xij. standyng, with long staves, and untill I cam to Enfeld I thought no other of them, but that they had stayd for avoyding of the rayne, or to drynk at some alehouses, for so they did stand under pentyces at alehouses. But at Enfeld fynding a dosen in a plump, whan ther was no rayne, I bethought myself that they war apoynted as watchmen, for the apprehendyng of such as ar missyng; and theruppon I called some of them to me apart, and asked them wherfor they stood ther? and on of them answered,—To tak 3 yong men. And demandyng how they shuld know the persons, on answered with these wordes:—Mary, my Lord, by intelligence of ther favor. What meane you by that?, quoth I. Marry, sayd they, on of the partyes hath a hooked nose.—And have you, quoth I, no other mark?—No, sayth they. And then I asked who apoynted them; and they answered on Bankes, a Head Constable, whom I willed to be sent to me.—Suerly, sir, who so ever had the chardg from yow hath used the matter negligently, for these watchmen stand so oppenly in plumps, as no suspected person will come neare them; and if they be no better instructed but to fynd 3 persons by on of them havyng a hooked nose, they may miss therof. And thus I thought good to advertise yow, that the Justyces that had the chardg, as I thynk, may use the matter more circumspectly.” Gifford has forcibly shown there is little probability in the supposition that the well-known allusion in Ben Jonson to the Watch “mistaking words” is aimed at the constables of Shakespeare, the practice of introducing them



satirically into plays being very common, and by no means peculiar to the great dramatist. The inconvenience arising from the practice of making the lower sort of people constables and tithingmen is the subject of a letter, dated in 1605, copied in MS. Addit. 6178, art. 13. Compare also what Smith says in his *Commonwealth of England*, ed. 1601, p. 97, "for so much as every little village hath commonly two constables, and many times artificers, labourers and men of small abilitie bee chosen unto that office, who have no great experience nor knowledge nor authoritie, the constables at this present seeme rather to bee, as it were, the executors of the commaundement of the justices of peace."

*Page 126, line 17. The obsequies.*—Dr. Grosart is obviously correct in pointing out that the "bird of loudest lay" is not the Phœnix, who could not have been the herald at her own funeral. There is no necessity for believing that a special bird was in Shakespeare's thoughts.

*Page 127, line 9. Most probably on January the Fifth.*—That is, on Twelfth Night, 1602. The comedy was certainly written not very long before the performance at the Middle Temple, as may be gathered from the use which Shakespeare had made of the song,—*"Farewell, dear love,"*—a ballad which had first appeared in the previous year in the *Booke of Ayres* composed by Robert Jones, fol., Lond. 1601. Jones does not profess to be the author of the words of this song, for he observes,—*"If the ditties dislike thee, 'tis my fault that was so bold to publish the private contentments of divers gentlemen without their consents, though, I hope, not against their wils ;"* but there is every reason to believe that the ditty referred to in Twelfth Night was first published in this work, a collection of new, not of old songs. As the tune and ballad were evidently familiar to Shakespeare, the original of the portion to which he refers in the comedy is here given,—*"Farewell, dear love, since thou wilt needs be gon, = Mine eies do shew my life is almost done ; — Nay, I will never die, = so long as I can spie, = There be many mo, = though that she do go = There be many mo, I feare not, = Why, then, let her goe, I care not. — Farewell, fare-*

well, since this I finde is true, = I will not spend more time in wooing you ; = But I will seeke elsewhere, = if I may find her there. = Shall I bid her goe ? = What, and if I doe ? = Shall I bid her go and spare not ? = Oh, no, no, no, no, I dare not."

*Page 127, line 12. In their beautiful hall.*—The erection of the present hall, the interior of which measures a hundred by forty feet, was completed about the year 1577, the work occupying a long time, having been commenced at least as early as 1562. The exterior has undergone numerous changes since the time of Shakespeare, the old louvre having long been removed, the principal entrance or porch rebuilt, and the whole exposed to a series of repairs and alterations. The main features of the interior, however, bear practically the same appearance they originally presented. It is true that some of the minor accessories are of modern date, but the beautiful oaken screen and the elegant wood-carved roof suffice to convey to us an exact idea of the room in which the humours of Malvolio delighted an Elizabethan audience.

*Page 128, line 18. The part of Malvolio.*—Twelfth Night was acted, by the company to which the author had belonged, in February, 1623, under the title of Malvolio ; and Charles the First, in his copy of the second folio, preserved at Windsor Castle, has written *Maluolio* against the title of the play in that edition. Digges, in his well-known verses, would seem to have blundered if he implies that Malvolio was in the same play with Benedick and Beatrice, as his words appear to indicate ; but such an oversight on his part is almost incredible. Twelfth Night was acted at the Blackfriars Theatre after the Children had left that establishment, it being alluded to amongst " some of the most ancient plays that were played at Blackfriars," MS. dated in 1660.

*Page 129, line 11. Opposite the lower grounds of New Place.*—This is stated on the reasonable supposition, in fact, all but certainty, that the locality of the estate had not been changed between the time of Shakespeare and its ownership by the Cloptons early in the last century. Since that period the

Chapel Lane Rowington copyhold has always been the one described in the text, its area corresponding to that given in the survey of 1604. About thirty years ago, however, the late Mr. W. O. Hunt, the then owner of the copyhold, made the following extract from an account of the manor written in the year 1582,—“Thomas Patrycke holdeth of the said lord by coppie of Court Roll, accordinge to the custome of the saide manour, one cottage and one garden thereunto adjacent, apperteyninge and belonginge, conteyninge by estimacion a quarterne of an acre of ground, and doth bounde and adjoyne uppon and to a lane there called Dead Lane on the south side, the land appertayning to the towne of Clifford on the est side, and the lande now in the tenure or use of Robert Stones on the north side, and the lande of William Smithe on the west side on all partes, the which cotage and garden are holden of the said lord by the yerely rente of ij. s. vj. d., suite of court and fealtie, and fine at every decease or surrender, accordinge to the custome of the saide manour afore in this said boke of survey mentioned.” The original record containing these particulars was lent to Mr. Hunt by the solicitor to the manor, but the manuscript cannot now be found. That the extract here given is, however, substantially accurate, cannot admit of a doubt, although the description of the copyhold, as one on the north side of the lane, is extremely perplexing. It may be said to be inexplicable, there being positive evidence that the Clifford estate was bounded on the west by Shakespeare's garden. There was, however, on that side a plot of freehold land which, in 1590, a barn being then upon it, belonged to one William Smith, and which must have been thrown into the New Place estate some time before the year 1622. It is extremely unlikely to have been the site of the kitchen garden first mentioned in 1732.

*Page 129, line 15. At the annual rental of two shillings and sixpence.*—In a survey of the manor taken in August, 1606, and preserved amongst the records of the Land Revenue Office, there is the following notice of this copyhold estate, the annual

value of which and other particulars were evidently unknown to the compiler ;—

*Tenen. Custum.*

Stratford	} Willielmus Shakespere tenet per cop. dat.	. . . . .	Anno . . . . .	} ij.s.
super Avon.				
		viz.		} fin.
Dom. manss.				
			Redd. per annum	} Ann.val.
Habend.				

but in another survey taken October 24th, 1604, in a list of the "customary tenants in Stratforde parcell of the saide manor," is this entry,—“William Shakespere lykewise holdeth there one cottage and one garden by estimation a quarter of one acre, and payeth rent yeerlyc ij.s., vj.d.” There is a discrepancy in the amounts of the rent which are given in the ancient records, the sum of two shillings being mentioned in a Longbridge MS. survey of 1555, and in that of 1606 above quoted. In one of 1852, and in numerous other documents, two shillings and sixpence is named as the annual rental.

*Page 129, line 23. And then he surrendered it.*—No record of this surrender has been discovered, but it is the most natural explanation of the terms in which the copyhold estate is mentioned in the poet's will. If this view be not accepted, it will be requisite to make the gratuitous assumption that the scrivener inserted a wholly unnecessary proviso through being unacquainted with the customs of the manor. “By the custome thereof, the eldest sonne is to inherite, and for default of yssue male, the eldest daughter; the coppieholders for every messuage and for every tofft of a messuage paye a herriott, but a cottage and tofft of a cottage paye not herriotts,” *Survey*, MS.

*Page 130, line 7. In the Spring.*—This appears from the entry in the books of the Stationers' Company on July 26th, 1602, of “a booke called ~~the~~ Revenge of Hamlett, Prince (of) Denmarke, as yt was *latelie acted* by the Lo : Chamberleyne his servantes.” The tragedy is not mentioned by Meres in 1598, and it could not have been written in its present form before 1599, in which year the Globe was erected, there being a clear allusion to that theatre in act ii. sc. 2. Hamlet remained one

of the stock-plays after Shakespeare's company commenced playing at the Blackfriars theatre, it being alluded to in a manuscript list, written in 1660, of "some of the most ancient plays that were played at Blackfriars." In the Journal of the Dragon, bound for the East Indies in 1607, there are notices of the tragedy being acted on board that ship, in order, observes the Captain, "to keepe my people from idleness and unlawfull games, or sleepe."

*Page 130, line 9. Hamlet.*—There was an old English tragedy on the subject of Hamlet which was in existence at least as early as the year 1589, in the representation of which an exclamation of the Ghost,—“Hamlet, revenge!”—was a striking and well-remembered feature. This production is alluded to in some prefatory matter by Nash in the edition of Greene's *Menaphon* issued in that year, here given V.L. —“I'le turne backe to my first text, of studies of delight, and talke a little in friendship with a few of our triuiall translators. It is a common practise now a daies amongst a sort of shifting companions that runne through euery arte and thriue by none, to leaue the trade of *Noucrint* whereto they were borne, and busie themselues with the indeuors of art, that could scarcely latinize their necke-verse if they should haue neede; yet English *Seneca* read by candle light yeeldes manie good sentences, as *Bloud is a begger*, and so foorth: and if you intreate him faire in a frostie morning, he will affoord you whole *Hamlets*, I should say handfulls, of tragical speeches,” Nash's Epistle to the Gentlemen Students of both Universities prefixed to Greene's *Menaphon*, 1589, first edition, the statement of there having been a previous one being erroneous. Another allusion occurs in Lodge's *Wits Miserie*, 1596, p. 56,—“and though this fiend be begotten of his fathers own blood yet is he different from his nature, and were he not sure that jealousie could not make him a cuckold, he had long since published him for a bastard;—you shall know him by this, he is a foule lubber, his tongue tipt with lying, his heart steeled against charity; he walks for the most part in black under colour of gravity, and looks as pale as the visard of the ghost

which cried so miserably at the Theator like an oister wife, *Hamlet, revenge.*" Again, in Decker's *Satiromastix*, 1602,—*"Asini.* Wod I were hang'd if I can call you any names but Captaine and Tucca.—*Tuc.* No, fye'st my name's *Hamlet, revenge* :—Thou hast been at Parris Garden, hast not?—*Hor.* Yes, Captaine, I ha plaide Zulziman there ;" with which may be compared another passage in *Westward Hoe*, 1607,—*"I*, but when light wives make heavy husbands, let these husbands play mad *Hamlet*, and crie *revenge.*" So, likewise, in Rowlands' *Night Raven*, 1620, a scrivener, who has his cloak and hat stolen from him, exclaims,—*"I* will not cry *Hamlet, revenge* my greeves." There is also reason to suppose that another passage in the old tragedy of *Hamlet* is alluded to in Armin's *Nest of Ninnies*, 1608,—*"ther* are, as *Hamlet* sayes, things cald whips in store," a sentence which seems to have been well-known and popular, for it is partially cited in the *Spanish Tragedie*, 1592, and in the *First Part of the Contention*, 1594. It seems, however, certain that all the passages above quoted refer to a drama of *Hamlet* anterior to that by Shakespeare, and the same which is recorded in Henslowe's *Diary* as having been played at Newington in 1594 by "my Lord Admeralle and my lorde Chamberlen men,—9 of June, 1594, receved at *Hamlet*, viii. s." the small sum arising from the performance showing most probably that the tragedy had then been long on the stage. This older play was clearly one of a series of dramas on the then favourite theme of revenge aided by the supernatural intervention of a ghost, and a few other early allusions to it appear to deserve quotation, *"His fathers Empire and Gouvernment.* was but as the *Poeticall Furie in a Stage-action*, compleat yet with horrid and wofull Tragedies : a first, but no second to any *Hamlet* ; and that now *Reuenge*, iust *Reuenge*, was comming with his Sworde drawne against him, his royall Mother, and dearest Sister, to fill vp those Murdering Sceanes," Sir I'omas Smithes *Voiage and Entertainment in Rushia*, 1605, sig. K, the Italics and orthography here given V. L. from the original. "Sometimes would he overtake him and lay hands upon him like a catch-pole, as if he had arrested him, but furious *Hamlet* would

presently eyther breake loose like a beare from the stake, or else so set his pawes on this dog that thus bayted him that, with tugging and tearing one anothers frockes off, they both looked like mad Tom of Bedlam," Decker's *Dead Terme*, 1608. "If any passenger come by and, wondring to see such a conjuring circle kept by hel-houndes, demaund what spirits they raise there, one of the murderers steps to him, poysons him with sweete wordes and shifts him off with this lye, that one of the women is falne in labour; but if any mad Hamlet, hearing this, smell villanie and rush in by violence to see what the tawny divels are dooing, then they excuse the fact, lay the blame on those that are the actors, and, perhaps, if they see no remedie, deliver them to an officer to be had to punishment," Decker's *Lanthorne and Candle-light*, or the *Bell-man's Second Night's-Walke*, 1609, a tract which was reprinted under more than one different title. "A trout, Hamlet, with four legs," Clarke's *Paroemiologia Anglo-Latina*, or *Proverbs English and Latine*, 1639, p. 71. The preceding notices may fairly authorize us to infer that the ancient play of Hamlet,—1. Was written by either an attorney, or an attorney's clerk, who had not received a university education.—2. Was full of tragical high sounding speeches.—3. Contained the passage, "there are things called whips in store," spoken by Hamlet; and a notice of a trout with four legs by one of the other characters.—4. Included a very telling brief speech by the Ghost in the two words,—Hamlet, revenge!--whence we may fairly conclude that the Ghost in this, as in the later play, urged Hamlet to avenge the murder.—5. Was acted at the Theatre in Shoreditch and at the playhouse at Newington Butts.—6. Had for its principal character a hero exhibiting more general violence than can be attributed to Shakespeare's creation of Hamlet. It also appears that this older play was not entirely superseded by the new one, or, at all events, that it was long remembered by play-goers.

*Page 130, line 16. Until the Summer.*—The edition of 1603, as appears from its title-page, could not have been published until after the nineteenth of May in that year, while the state-

ment of the tragedy having been "*diuerse times* acted by his Highnesse seruants in the Cittie of London," may probably lead to the conclusion that the book was not issued until late in the year. What share Trundell possessed in this edition is not known, but, as he was a young catchpenny publisher of inferior position, it is not unlikely that he was the person who surreptitiously obtained the imperfect and spurious copy, placing it in the hands of some obscure printer who would have less fear of the action of the Stationers' Company than a man of higher character would have entertained. It was certainly printed by some one who had a very small stock of type, as is shown by the evident deficiency of some of the Italic capitals.

*Page 130, line 18. Employed an inferior and clumsy writer.*  
 — The proposition here advanced seems to be the one that most fairly meets the various difficulties of an intricate problem, an interpretation explaining nearly all the perplexing circumstances which surround the history of the barbarously garbled and dislocated text of the first edition, and accounting for what is therein exhibited of identity with and variations from the characterization and dramatic structure of the authentic work. There is another theory which assumes that the quarto of 1603 is a copy, however imperfect, of Shakespeare's first sketch of the play. Were this the case, surely there would be found in it some definite traces of the poet's genius, sparkling in lines which belong to the variations above noticed, and which could not have found a place in the short-hand notes of the enlarged tragedy. There can scarcely be a doubt but that the unreasonable length of this drama led to all manner of omissions in the acting copies, and that these last were subjected to continual revision at the theatre. If this were so, it is not unlikely that the first edition may contain small portions, more or less fully exhibited, of Shakespeare's own work nowhere else to be found; but, taking that edition as a whole, excluding those parts of it which, either accurately or defectively rendered, are evidently derived from the genuine play, there is found an assemblage of feeble utterances and inferior doggrel, the composition of which could not reasonably be assigned to any period, how-



ever early, of Shakespeare's literary career. The absolute indications of the hand of a very inferior dramatist are clearly visible in his original scene of the interview between the Queen and Horatio, and it is more easy to believe that such a writer could have made structural and characterial alterations which subtle reasoning may persuade itself are results of genius, than that Shakespeare could ever have written in any form that which no amount of logic can succeed in removing from the domain of balderdash. So wretched, indeed, is nearly the whole of the twaddle which has been cited as part of the first draft of the immortal tragedy, that one is inclined to suspect plagiarism in cases where anything like poetry is discovered. In one instance, at all events, in the lines, "Come on, Ofelia," ed. 1603, sig. C. 2, verso, there seems to be a palpable imitation of words of Viola in Twelfth Night.

*Page 130, line 19. Scraps.*—The exact mode in which all these fragments were obtained will ever remain a mystery, but some were clearly derived from memoranda taken in short-hand at the theatre. Independently of spurious words which may possibly be ludicrous misprints, there are errors that cannot easily be explained on any other hypothesis, as *right done* for *writ down* in the second scene of the first act. In act ii., sc. 2, *in venom steept* is printed *invenom'd speech*, and by a similar ear-mistake we have, "the law hath writ those are the only men," ed. Timunins, p. 41. The uniform spelling of Ofelia in ed. 1603 may also be due to ear-notes. The celebrated "to be" speech appears to be a jumble formed out of insufficient memoranda, a conjecture supported by the circumstance of the word *borne* (bourn) being misunderstood and converted into *borne*, with another meaning. So in act iii., sc. 4, "most secret and most grave," is converted into, "I'll provide for you a grave," ed. Timmins, p. 66; and probably the short-hand for *inheritor* was erroneously read as *honor*, the sentence being arranged to meet the latter reading. The three beautiful lines commencing, "anon as patient as the female dove," are abbreviated most likely through short-hand to the single one, "anon as mild and gentle as a dove"; and there are numerous other instances of

palpably bungling abridgements of the text. Some of the notes of lines taken at the play must have been imperfect, as, for example, in the Player-King's speech commencing, "I do believe," where the word *think* having been omitted in the notes, the line is incorrectly made up in ed. 1603 by the word *sweet*. In act. i., sc. 2, "a beast that wants discourse of reason," is printed, "a beast devoid of reason." Again the name of Gonzago is correctly given in one speech in ed. 1603, while in another it is printed Albertus, and there are other variations in the names of persons and localities which may possibly be due to the short-hand writing of such names being easily misinterpreted. Thus the town of Vienna appears as Guyana, this variation occurring in an erroneous text of one of the genuine Hamlet speeches so incorrectly printed that he is made to address his uncle as Father. To this short-hand cause may also be attributed the orthography of the names of Valtemand, Cornelius, Laertes, Rosencraus, Guyldensterne, and Gertrard in ed. 1604 being as follows in ed. 1603,—Voltemar, Cornelia, Leartes, Rossencraft, Gilderstone, Gertred. In some instances it would seem that the compiler had no memoranda of the names, and hence the omission of those of Barnardo and Francisco may be explained. Then, again, there is the important fact that the compiler of the edition of 1603 either was possessed of notes or had recollected portions of the folio copy as they were recited on the stage. Thus, for example, the compiler has a garbled version of the sentence, "the clown shall make those laugh whose lungs are tickled o' the sere," which is altogether omitted in the other quartos. The expressive line,—“what, frighted with false fire,”—is peculiar to ed. 1603 and the folio, and is identical in both with the insignificant exception that the reading *fires* occurs in the former. The line, "that to Laertes I forgot myself," is found only in eds. 1603 and 1623, not in the other quartos. A trace of Hamlet's within speech, the repetitions of *mother* in act iii., sc. 4, in ed. 1623, not in ed. 1604, is found in ed. 1603. The Doctor of ed. 1604 is correctly given as the Priest in eds. 1603, 1623. Mere verbal coincidences, of which there are several, are of less evidential

value, but *French grave* in eds. 1603 and 1623 for the *friendly ground* of ed. 1604 are variations hardly to be accounted for excepting on the above hypothesis. It is thus perfectly clear that the text of the folio copy and that of the first edition are partially derived from the same version, and there can be little doubt that portions of the latter are also taken from the genuine drama which was printed in the following year. It seems impossible to account otherwise for the identity of a large number of lines common to the editions of 1603 and 1604, that identity extending even sometimes to the spelling, and the nearly textual copy of more than one speech, as, for instance, that of Voltimand in act ii., sc. 2, while a comparison of the first act alone in the two copies would substantiate this position. Some peculiar orthography may also be fairly adduced as corroborative evidence, e.g., *Capapea* in the quartos for the *cap-a-pe* of the folio, *strikt* for *strict*, *cost* for *cast*, *trouchcon* for *trunchcon*, *Nemeon* for *Nemian* (Nemean), *eager* for *aygre*, *Fortenbrasse* for *Fortinbras*, *penitrable* for *penetrable*, *rootes* for *rots*, and, especially, the unique verbal error *sallied*. This last is a strange perversion of the term *solid*, and one which appears to prove decisively that the quarto texts of the well-known speech in which it occurs were all derived in some way or other from one authority. It is, however, evident, from its corrupted form, that the speech in ed. 1603 was not copied from the manuscript used by the first printer of the enlarged work. At present the only feasible explanation of the difficulty is one kindly given me by Professor Dowden, who suggests that the compositor engaged on the second quarto may have found it convenient and useful to have by him a copy of the printed edition of 1603. If his manuscript was obscurely written, a glance at that edition might have assisted him, and hence the misprints have been accidentally copied, the hand mechanically repeating the word that occupied his eye. In the play of *Eastward Hoe*, printed in 1605, there is a parody on one of Ophelia's songs, which is of some interest in regard to the question of the critical value of the quarto of 1603, the occurrence of the word *all* before *flaxen* showing that the former word

was incorrectly omitted in all the other early quartos. So, again, in 1606, when the author of *Dolarnys Primerose* or the *First Part of the Passionate Hermit* made use of one of Hamlet's speeches, the recollection was either of the printed version of 1603, or, what is more probable, of the play as originally acted, as is evidenced by the use of the word *quirks*, which is peculiar to that edition.

*Page 130, line 27. Anonymous variations.*—Some of these may have been derived from the old Hamlet, a tragedy founded on some version of the story in Saxo Grammaticus. The latter only is accessible, and appears to have furnished hints, it may be through the medium of that play, to the compiler of the edition of 1603. Note, for example, the feelings and conduct of the Queen towards Hamlet at the end of her interview with him, and afterwards, as also her solemn denial of any complicity in the murder. "Histories and novels," observes Mr. Grant White in his able essay, "were then adapted to the stage with as little alteration as would fit them for their new function;—if the subject proved popular, the plays were rewritten again and again, as the exigencies of the theatre required, and by pen of him who was nearest at hand and most capable of the work; and, as at each rewriting they were generally more or less recast, the longer they kept the stage the more they deviated from the original story upon which they were founded;—to this common fortune Hamlet appears not to have been an exception;—the vestiges of its transformation are slight, indeed, and do not enable us to trace it through its various phases; but, under the circumstances, they are sufficient to establish the fact that there was at least one intermediate form between the old story and the play which has come down to us." The mere fact of the Ghost not being mentioned in the original story, while he is introduced in both the elder play and in Shakespeare's, is good evidence of the accuracy of Mr. White's last inference. So, again, the name of Hamlet, formed by metathesis from the *Amleth* of Saxo Grammaticus, is first heard of as being in the old tragedy; and it is worth notice that, in the story given in *Belleforest*, the counsellor is killed in a bed, not behind the

arras. The change of the names of Corambis and Montano in ed. 1603 to those of Polonius and Reynaldo in ed. 1604 has not been satisfactorily explained. Corambis, a trisyllable, not only suits the metre in the mangled play, but also in the three instances in which the name of Polonius occurs in verse in Shakespeare's own tragedy. Hence it may be concluded that the great dramatist did not alter the former name on his own judgment, but that, for some mysterious reason, the change was made by the actors and inserted in the playhouse copy at some time previously to the appearance of the edition of 1604.

*Page 131, line 4. Enlarged.*—Although Roberts registered the copyright of the tragedy in 1602, he did not, so far as we know, print the work before 1604, and then with a note which appears to imply that the edition of 1603 was not "according to the true and perfect copy," but that the new one was "imprinted and enlarged to almost as much again as it was" *by the use of that copy*. This impression was reissued in the following year, the title-page and a few leaves at the end, sigs. N and O being fresh printed, the sole alteration in the former being the substitution of 1605 for 1604. If the initials I. R. are those, as is most likely, of James Roberts, a printer frequently employed by Ling, there must have been some friendly arrangement between the two respecting the ownership of the copyright, which certainly belonged to the latter, as appears from the entry on the books of the Stationers' Company of November, 1607, when he transferred his interest to Smethwick. This last-named publisher, in whose hands the copyright remained until his death in 1642, issued two editions in Shakespeare's life-time, one without a date, the other published in the year 1611. Another one, printed "for John Smithwicke," in 1609, is mentioned in the Variorum Shakespeare of 1821, ii., 652, and there is reason for believing that an edition of that date was once, and perhaps is now in existence, for I have a copy of Grey's Notes on Hamlet, 1754, in which are manuscript marginalia of the last century distinctly stated to be collations "with the quarto of 1609 and folio of 1664."

*Page 131, line 10. Admirably pourtrayed by Burbage.--*

This is ascertained from the very interesting and ably written elegy on Burbage, but there is no record of his treatment of the character, his delineation probably differing materially from that of modern actors. Stage tradition merely carries down the tricks of the profession, no actor entirely replacing another, and, in the case of Hamlet, hardly two of recent times, whose performances I have had the opportunity of witnessing, but who are or have been distinct in manner and expression, and even in idea. The fact appears to be that this tragedy offers a greater opportunity than any other for a variety of special interpretations on the stage, those being created by the individual actor's elevation or depression of one or more of the hero's mental characteristics. According to Downes, Sir William Davenant, "having seen Mr. Taylor of the Black-Fryars Company act it, who, being instructed by the author, Mr. Shakspeare, taught Mr. Betterton in every particle of it," Roscius Anglicanus, 1708. Shakespeare may have given hints to Burbage, but Taylor did not undertake the part until after the author's decease. See Wright's *Historia Histrionica*, 1699, p. 4. It appears from a stage-direction in the quarto of 1603, that, in Burbage's time, Ophelia in act iv., sc. 5, came on the stage playing upon a lute, no doubt accompanying herself on that instrument when singing the snatches of the ballads. "Enter Ofelia playing on a lute, and her haire downe singing," ed. 1603. No such direction occurs in the other quartos, while the folio has merely,—“Enter Ophelia distracted.”

*Page 131, line 9. The once popular stage-trick.*—There is a graphic description of the incident in a Frenchman's account of the tragedy as performed at Covent Garden, in Kemble's time, 1811, "it is enough to mention the grave-diggers to awaken in France the cry of rude and barbarous taste, and were I to say how the part is acted it might be still worse ;—after beginning their labour and breaking ground for a grave, a conversation begins between the two grave-diggers ;—the chief one takes off his coat, folds it carefully and puts it by in a safe corner ; then, taking up his pick-axe, spits in his hand, gives a stroke or two, talks, stops,

strips off his waistcoat still talking, folds it with great deliberation and nicety, and puts it with the coat, then an under-waistcoat, still talking, another and another;—I counted seven or eight each folded and unfolded very leisurely in a manner always different, and with gestures faithfully copied from nature;—the British public enjoys this scene excessively, and the pantomimic variations a good actor knows how to introduce in it are sure to be vehemently applauded.” A similar piece of buffoonery was practised at the performance of the Duchess of Malfi, certainly produced before March, 1619, for when the Cardinal tells the Doctor to put off his gown, the latter, according to the stage-direction in ed. 1708, “puts off his four cloaks one after another.” A traditional usage of this kind, belonging in all probability to Shakespeare’s own time, should not be lightly discontinued; but care should be taken to distinguish it from those which resulted solely from the exigencies created by the poverty of the ancient stage. We may rely upon it that it was to these and not to Shakespeare’s voluntary election that Hamlet is made to terminate the third act by the removal of the body of Polonius, a proceeding which was adopted through the necessity of clearing the stage for the fourth act in a natural manner before the use of drop or other curtains between the acts. “Exit Hamlet with the dead body,” ed. 1603. “Exit Hamlet tugging in Polonius,” ed. 1623. Another old stage-trick was that of Hamlet starting to his feet, and throwing down the chair on which he had been sitting, in his consternation at the sudden appearance of his Father’s spirit in act iii., sc. 4. This incident is pictured in the frontispiece to the tragedy in Rowe’s edition of Shakespeare, 1709, and it is no doubt of much greater antiquity. It appears from this interesting engraving that, in the performance of Hamlet in 1709, the pictures referred to by the hero in that act were represented by two large framed portraits hung on the walls of the chamber, and this was probably the custom after the Restoration, the separate paintings taking the place of those in the tapestry, the latter accidental and imaginary, Hamlet on the ancient stage no

doubt pointing to any part of the arras in which figures were represented. It clearly appears from Hamlet's speech in the genuine tragedy that the portraits were intended to be whole lengths, and this would be inconsistent with the notion of miniatures, to say nothing of the absurdity of his carrying about with him one of the "pictures in little" the rage for the possession of which he elsewhere disparages.

*Page 132, line 3. By Decker and Chettle.*—It is their play which is most likely alluded to in the following passage in Cawdray's *Treasurie or Store-house of Similies*, ed. 1600, p. 380,—“As an actor in a comedie or tragedy, which somtimes resembleth Agamemnon, somtimes Achilles, somtimes their enemy Hector, sometimes one mans person, sometimes another ; even so an hypocrite wil counterfeit and seeme sometimes to be an honest and just man, sometimes a religious man, and so of al conditions of men, according to time, persons and place.” The play is thus mentioned in Henslowe's Diary,—“Lent unto Thomas Downton, to lende unto Mr. Dickers and Harey Cheattell, in earneste of ther boocke called Troyeles and Crcassedaye, the some of iij. *li.*, Aprell 7 daye, 1599.—Lent unto Harey Cheattell and Mr. Dickers, in parte of payment of ther boocke called Troyelles and Cresseda, the 16 of Aprell, 1599, xx. *s.*” The drama seems to have been afterwards called Agamemnon. “Lent unto Mr. Dickers and Mr. Chettell the 26 of Maye, 1599, in earneste of a boocke called the tragedie of Agamemnon, the some of xxx. *s.*—Lent unto Robarte Shawe the 30 of Maye, 1599, in full paymente of the booke called the tragedie of Agamemnone, to Mr. Dickers and Harey Chettell, the some of iij. *li.* v. *s.*—Paid unto the Master of the Revelles man for lycensynge of a boocke called the tragedie of Agamemnon the 3 of June, 1599, vij. *s.*” It is clear from these entries that in this play, as in Shakespeare's, Chaucer's story was combined with the incidents of the siege of Troy. The allusion to Troilus and Cressida in the old comedy of *Histrionastix*, first published in 1610 but written before the death of Elizabeth, may refer to Decker's and Chettle's play. At all



events, no inference can be safely drawn from the probably accidental use of the words *Shakes* and *Speare*.

*Page 132, line 9. Is not likely to refer.*—There is a strong confirmation of this in the almost positive allusions to three of Shakespeare's works, including *Troilus and Cressida*, in a rare poem entitled *Saint Marie Magdalens Conversion*, 1603. The preface to the latter work is dated "this last of Januarie, 1603," but, as the book itself bears the date of that year, it may be fairly assumed that 1603, not 1603-4 is intended.

*Page 132, line 23. Appear to exult.*—That the manuscript was obtained by some artifice may be gathered from the use of the word *scape* in the preface to the first edition.

*Page 133, line 3. The printers had received.*—That the second impression is the one referred to in the registers of the Stationers' Company of January the 28th, 1609, may, perhaps, also be inferred from the omission in both of the word *famous*. The play was reprinted, with variations, in the folio of 1623, but it there appears immediately after the histories, with only two pages numbered, and those erroneously, so that it is not unlikely that the editors of that folio had to wait for it pending some arrangement as to the copyright, going on in the mean time with *Coriolanus* and the other plays, which commence with a new series of signatures. Having concluded the tragedies and inserted the imprint, they were then compelled to insert *Troilus and Cressida* in the middle of the volume.

*Page 136, line 21. The Moor of Venice.*—This appears from the entries of 1604 and 1610, hereafter quoted, and from the record of the performance of the tragedy at Whitehall on May the 20th, 1613.

*Page 136, line 21. Is first heard of.*—"Hallamas Day, being the first of Novembar, by the Kings Majesties plaiers, a play in the Banketinge house att Whithall called the Moor of Venis," *Revels Accounts*, ed. 1842, p. 203. Although there is a forgery, in imitation of old handwriting, of this entry, there is no doubt of the genuineness of the words themselves, as appears from notes of the original manuscript which were taken for Malone, through Sir William Musgrave, about the year 1800, the forgery

being unquestionably of more recent date. See further evidences of this in one of Malone's notes to Dryden's *Grounds of Criticism*, ed. 1800, p. 259, and in what Boswell says in a note in the variorum edition of 1821, ii. 404. It may be well to remark that a passage in the *Newe Metamorphosis or a Feaste of Fancie*, which has been adduced to support an earlier date for *Othello*, is of no critical value in the enquiry. Although the date of 1600 appears on the title-page of that poem, the manuscript itself contains a distinct allusion by name to Speed's *Theatre of Great Britaine*, a work first published in 1611.

*Page 136, line 22. In 1604.*—There are some faint reasons for conjecturing that the tragedy was not written before the nineteenth of March in this year. The twelfth Public Act which was passed in the first Parliament of James the First, some time between March 19th and July 7th, 1604, was levelled "against conjuration, witchcrafte and dealinge with evill and wicked spirits." In the course of this Act it is enacted that, "if any person or persons shall, from and after the feaste of Saint Michaell the Archangell next comminge, take upon him or them, *by witchcrafte, inchantment, charme or sorcerie*, to tell or declare in what place any treasure of golde or silver should or might be founde or had in the earth or other secret places, or where goodes or thinges loste or stollen should be founde or be come, *or to the intent to provoke any person to unlawfull love*," then such person or persons, if convicted, "shall for the said offence suffer imprisonment by the space of one whole yere without baile or maineprise, and once in everie quarter of the saide yere shall, in some markett towne upon the markett day, or at such tyme as any faire shal be kept there, stand openlie uppon the pillorie by the space of sixe houres, and there shall openlie confesse his or her error and offence." It seems probable that part of the first Act of *Othello* would not have assumed the form it does, had not the author been familiar with the Statute, in common with the public of the day, the Duke referring to such a law when he tells Brabantio that his accusation of the employment of witchcraft shall be impartially investigated. Although the offence named in the Statute refers not to the use of charms

to make people love one another, but to the employment of them for the provocation of unlawful love, yet still this may be said to have an oblique application to the story of the tragedy in the surreptitious marriage of Othello. By the Act of James, a previous one, 5 Eliz. c. 16, of a similar character, was "utterlie" repealed, and the object of the second Act appears to have been to punish the same offence more severely.

*Page 137, line 2. One William Bishop.*—"Catherine and Dezdimonye, the daughters of William Bishoppe, were baptised the xiiij.th of September," Registers of St. Leonard's, Shore-ditch, 1609.

*Page 137, line 21. The first performer of Iago.*—According to Wright's *Historia Histrionica*, 1699, p. 4, Taylor was distinguished in this part, but probably not until after the death of Shakespeare. The insertion of Taylor's name in the list of the Shakespearean actors in ed. 1623 merely proves that he had been one of them in or before that year.

*Page 137, line 22. A curious tradition.*—"I'm assur'd, from very good hands, that the person that acted Iago was in much esteem of a comedian, which made Shakespear put several words and expressions into his part, perhaps not so agreeable to his character, to make the audience laugh, who had not yet learnt to endure to be serious a whole play."—Gildon's *Reflections on Rymer's Short View of Tragedy*, 1694.

*Page 137, line 28. In the Christmas holidays.*—The performance here mentioned took place on the evening of December the 26th. "1604 and 1605—Edmund Tylney—on St. Stephens night Measure for Mesur by Shaxberd, performed by the King's players," old notes of the Audit Records taken for Malone about the year 1800. "For makeinge readie the halle at Whitehalle for the Kinge, for the plaies againste Christmas, by the space of iiij. or daies in the same moneth, lxxviij. s. viij. d.," MS. Accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber, 1604.

*Page 138, line 8. A great dislike.*—James the First had long exhibited a taste for seclusion. As early as the year 1586, a contemporary alludes to "his desire to withdraw himself from places of most access and company, to places of more solitude

and repose, with very small retinue." A similar feeling pervaded his movements after he had ascended the throne of these realms, and in his progress from Edinburgh to London, "he was faine," observes the writer of *A True Narration of the Entertainment of his Royall Majestie*, 1603, "to publish an inhibition against the inordinate and dayly accesse of peoples comming." In his "publick appearance," observes Wilson, "especially in his sports, the accesses of the people made him so impatient that he often dispersed them with frowns, that we may not say with curses."

*Page 139, line 1. The tithes.*—A copy of a rent-roll of the borough of Stratford, preserved in the Council Chamber, contains the following notice of the property to which the above documents refer. In the original, "the executours of Sir John Hubande" was formerly in the place of "Mr. William Shakespear," the latter name of course having been inserted after Shakespeare had made the purchase above mentioned:—"Mr. Thomas Combes and Mr. William Shakespeare doe holde all maner of tythes of corne, grayne, and hey, in the townes, hamlettes, villages, and feildes of Olde Stratford, Welcome and Bishopton, and all maner of tythes of woole, lambe, hempe, flaxe, and other small and privie tythes, for the yerely rent of xxxiiij. *li.* paiable at our Lady Day and Michaelmas." Some Chancery proceedings respecting these tithes, hereafter noticed, give further information regarding the parties who were interested in them. The indenture and bond were each of them executed by Ralph Huband in the presence of William Huband, Anthony Nash, and Francis Collins, the last two of whom are mentioned as legatees in the poet's will. Anthony Nash was the father of Thomas Nash, who married Elizabeth Hall, Shakespeare's grand-daughter, in 1626.

*Page 143, line 26. King Lear.*—The old ballad of King Lear was written in all probability after the production of Shakespeare's tragedy. The allusion in it to Lear's madness, of which there is no trace in the older play, appears to decide this point, it being in the highest degree unlikely that Shakespeare could have adopted so leading an incident from a mere casual notice

in a song. The earliest known copy of this ballad is preserved in the Golden Garland of Princely Pleasures and delicate Delights, wherein is contained the Histories of many of the Kings, Queenes, Princes, Lords, Ladies, Knights, and Gentlewomen of this Kingdome, 1620. This was the third edition of this little work, and although no earlier copy of it has turned up, it is all but impossible that the first edition could have been anterior to the appearance of Shakespeare's tragedy. It may be worth notice that the above was so popular that it continued to be one of the street broadside ballads up to the early part of this century.

*Page 143, line 27. One or more.*—There were, at least two old plays on the subject in the dramatic repertory of the time, one which was printed under the title of the True Chronicle History of King Leir, and another, now lost, that bore probably more affinity to Shakespeare's drama. The latter fact is gathered from an interesting entry in an inventory of theatrical apparel belonging to the Lord Admiral's Company in March, 1598-9, where mention is made of "Kentes woden leage," that is, stocks. A play of King Lear was acted in Surrey on April the 6th and 8th, 1594, by the servants of the Queen and the Earl of Sussex, who were then performing as one company. The representation attracted liberal receipts, especially on the first of these occasions, but it is not mentioned by Henslowe as being then a new production. In the May of that year, there was entered to Edward White, on the books of the Stationers' Company, "a booke entituled the moste famous chronicle historye of Leire Kinge of England and his three daughters." No impression of this date is known to exist, the earliest printed copy which has been discovered being one which appeared in 1605. On the title-page of a copy of this last-named edition, preserved in the British Museum, are the following words in manuscript,—“first written by Mr. William Shakespeare.” This manuscript note is nearly obliterated, but it was certainly penned many years after the publication, and is, therefore, of no authority whatever in the question of authorship. Poor as this old play of King Leir undoubtedly is as a whole, it has passages of considerable merit,

and it seems to have been popular in Shakespeare's time. According to the title-page of ed. 1605 it had then "bene divers and sundry times lately acted," and in a work called the Life and Death of Mr. Edmund Geninges, 1614, it is stated that "King Liere, a book so called," *hath applause*.

*Page 143, line 28. On the same legend.*—It should be borne in mind, as Professor Hales has intimated in a very able essay on this tragedy, that, when it was submitted to the public, the history of King Lear was not generally accepted as a legendary story. So we have the publishers of Shakespeare's play following the title of the older drama in the words, the *True Chronicle History*, in perfect confidence that the general reader of the day would receive the tragedy as founded on authentic events.

*Page 143, line 28. Before King James.*—It is certain that Shakespeare's tragedy was not produced before March, 1603, the date of the publication of Harsnet's Declaration, but the minute considerations that have been brought forward to assign the date of King Lear to a period anterior to its recorded performance before the Court in December, 1606, do not appear to be decisive. Such is the variation of the terms of British and English, but the former occurs more frequently than the latter in the older play. Allusions to such matter as storms and eclipses are exceedingly treacherous criteria. Moreover, if the tragedy had been produced any length of time previously to the Christmas of 1606, it would be difficult to account for the evidences of its popularity accruing only in the following year.

*Page 144, line 4. At the Globe Theatre.*—There can scarcely be a doubt that King Lear was acted at the Globe Theatre almost simultaneously with its performance before the Court. It was afterwards acted at the Blackfriars' Theatre, being in a manuscript list, dated in 1660, of "some of the most ancient plays that were played at Blackfriars."

*Page 144, line 9. Two editions.*—In the edition of 1608, in which the place of sale is given, the signatures of the text run from B to L 4; in the other, from A 2 to L 4. It used to be stated that there were three distinct impressions of 1608, but a careful examination of every available copy satisfied me long

ago (modern folio edition of Shakespeare) that this is not the case. It, however, elicited the singular fact that, while all the copies of the impression lastly above-noticed exactly correspond, no two of the other could be found which contained precisely the same text, although evidently printed from one set of forms. Since the discovery of the limitation of the impressions, the perplexing difficulty so created has been solved by Mr. Aldis Wright's acute theory that the corrections were made before the sheets were all worked off, and that the corrected and uncorrected sheets were bound up indiscriminately. It was usual to keep standing forms to an almost incredible extent, and, "in certain orders concerning printing" in the Registers of the Stationers' Company, an attempt was made to put a stop to the practice by directing "that no formes of letters be kept standinge to the prejudice of workemen at any tyme." There is a fine copy of the Pide Bull edition at Gorhambury, the seat of the Earl of Verulam, which corresponds in some respects with an imperfect copy at Hollingbury Copse, and in others with the British Museum perfect copy. It is obvious that both the quartos were printed from transcripts made either by some illiterate person, or by one who wrote very unintelligibly, and it would appear from the concurrence of some obvious misprints that both editions were derived from the same source.

*Page 145, line 4. Pericles.*—No mention of this play has been discovered in any book or manuscript dated previously to the year 1608. The statement that there was an edition of Pimlyco or Runne Red-Cap, issued in 1596, is inconsistent with the original entry of that tract on the Registers of the Stationers' Company under the date of April the 15th, 1609.

*Page 145, line 5. At the Globe Theatre.*—George Wilkins, probably the dramatist of that name, made up a novel from Twyne's *Patterne of Paineiful Adventures*, and from *Pericles* as acted at the Globe Theatre in 1608. It was published in that year under the title of,—*"The Painfull Adventures of Pericles Prince of Tyre. Being the true History of the Play of Pericles, as it was lately presented by the worthy and ancient poet John*

Gower. At London—Printed by T.P. for Nat: Butter, 1608.” This very rare and curious tract is in small quarto, and in the centre of the title-page is an interesting woodcut of John Gower, no doubt in the costume in which he was represented at the theatre, with a staff in one hand and a bunch of bays in the other; while before him is spread open a copy of the *Confessio Amantis*, the main source of the plot of the drama. Wilkins, in a dedication to Maister Henry Fermor, speaks of his work as “a poore infant of my braine;” but he nevertheless copies wholesale from Twyne, adapting the narrative of the latter in a great measure to the conduct of the acting play. It appears from the circumstance of Wilkins frequently using passages obviously derived from the tragedy in the wrong places, and from his making unnecessary variations in some of the main actions, that he had no complete copy of *Pericles* to refer to, and that his only means of using the drama was by the aid of hasty notes taken in shorthand during its performance at the Theatre. At the end of the argument of the tale, he entreats “the reader to receive this historie in the same manner as it was under the habite of ancient Gower, the famous English poet, by the Kings Majesties Players excellently presented.” Other evidences of the success of *Pericles* on the stage during its Author’s life-time occur in *Pimlyco* or *Runne Red-Cap*, 1609, and in *Tailor’s Hogge Hath Lost his Pearle*, 1614; and, notwithstanding occasional depreciations of it as a work of art, there are numerous testimonies to its continued popularity during the reigns of James and Charles the First, *insignis Pericles*, as it is called in some unpublished Latin verses of Randolph. The following little anecdote may possibly refer to a period anterior to the death of Shakespeare,—“two gentlemen went to see *Pericles* acted, and one of them was moved with the calamities of that prince that he wept, whereat the other laughed extreemely. Not long after, the same couple went to see the Major of *Qinborough*, when he who jeered the other at *Pericles* now wept himselfe, to whom the other, laughing, sayd, what the divell should there bee in this merry play to make a man weep? O, replied the other, who



can hold from weeping to see a magistrate so abused? The jest will take those who have seene these two plaies," Booke of Bulls baited with two Centuries of bold Jests and nimble Lies, 1636.

*Page 145, line 18. The first edition.*--Printed in 1609, "as it hath been divers and sundry times acted by his Maiesties Servants at the Globe on the Banck-side." It was published before the fifth of May in that year, 1609, for I have seen a copy with an owner's autograph written on that day. The copies of this edition vary from each other in some important readings, and there are two impressions of 1609 distinguishable from each other by having variations in the device of the first capital letter in the text. A third edition was issued in 1611, "printed at London by S.S.," a surreptitious and badly printed copy with numerous typographical errors. There is a rather curious peculiarity in the title-pages of the two earliest editions, the Christian name of the author being divided from his surname by a printer's device of two small leaves.

*Page 145, line 24. The poet's share.*--Dryden, writing about the year 1680, expressly states that Pericles was the earliest dramatic production of our national poet,—“Shakespear's own muse her Pericles first bore,=the Prince of Tyre was elder than the Moore.” If this were really the case, the Globe play of 1608 must of course have been a revival of a much earlier work; but Dryden, as appears from several of his notes, was very imperfectly acquainted with the history of the Elizabethan drama, so that his statement, or rather possibly his opinion, on this subject cannot be implicitly relied upon. Thus, for example, in one place he decisively states Othello to have been Shakespeare's last play, whereas it is now well-known to have been in existence more than eleven years before his death.

*Page 146, line 2. Although successful.*--This fact may be inferred from the entry in the Stationers' Registers of 1608, to Edward Blount of “his copie by the lyke auctoritie, a booke called Anthony and Cleopatra.” The “like authority” refers to the sanction of Sir George Buck and the Company, as appears from the previous entry in the register, so that Blount was no

doubt in possession of the copyright of the authentic play. If he printed it in 1608, no copy of the impression is now known to exist, the earliest edition which has been preserved being that in the collective edition of 1623, of which Blount was one of the publishers. It is not likely to have been printed separately by Blount, for it is included in the list of tragedies "as are not formerly entred to other men" in the entry of the copyright of the folio of 1623. An entry might be forgotten, while an edition would have been almost certain to be recollected.

*Page 146, line 3. Did not equal.*—This may be gathered from the rarity of contemporary allusions to it. The only extrinsic notice of the tragedy during the author's life-time appears to be a curious one in Anton's Philosophers Satyrs, 1616, where the latter poet blames ladies for encouraging the performance of so vicious a drama by their presence.

*Page 146, line 23. All's One.*—The half title, on the first page of the text, ed. 1608, runs as follows,—“All's One, or one of the foure plaies in one, called a York-shire Tragedy, as it was plaid by the Kings Maiesties Plaiers.” As this drama was entered at Stationers' Hall on May the 2nd, it may be assumed that it had been performed by Shakespeare's company before that day.

*Page 150, line 3. Five-pence.*—In a manuscript account of payments, 1609, discovered by Mr. G. F. Warner at Dulwich College, is a note by Alleyn, under the title of *howshowld stuff*, of “a book, Shaksper sonettes, 5<sup>d</sup>.” That this was the contemporary price of the work is confirmed by an early manuscript note, 5<sup>d</sup>. on the title-page of the copy of the first edition preserved in Earl Spencer's library at Althorp. On the last page of that copy is the following memorandum in a hand-writing of the time,—“Commendacions to my very kind and approued ffrind, B. M.”

*Page 150, line 13. He dedicated the work.*—To the “only begetter,” that is, to the one person who obtained the entire contents of the work for the use of the publisher. The notion that *begetter* stands for *inspirer*, could only be received were one individual alone the subject of all the poems; and, moreover, unless we adopt the wholly gratuitous conjecture that the sonnets

of 1609 were not those in being in 1598, had not the time somewhat gone by for a *publisher's* dedication to that object?

*Page 150, line 19. Numerous futile conjectures.*—There does not appear to be one of these which deserves serious investigation, but perhaps the climax of absurdity has been reached in the supposition that the initials represent William Himself. We may perhaps next hear of the suggestion that Thorpe perpetrated a quiet little joke, and never intended posterity to advance beyond the interrogative, —Who is He?

*Page 151, line 16. An edition of the old play.*—The publisher of this edition of 1611 either intentionally altered the statement, made in 1591, that the drama had been “publicly acted in the City of London,” or followed the title-page of some now unknown impression which may have appeared between the year of the first publication and the death of Queen Elizabeth. The retention of the word *Queenes* favours the latter supposition.

*Page 151, line 22. Was acted.*—In the little thin folio manuscript pamphlet which Forman calls, “The Booke of plaies and notes thereof per Formans, for common pollicie,” there are notes of the performances of four plays, namely,—1. Cymbeline, undated; 2. Macbeth, on Saturday, April the 20th, 1611; 3. A play on the history of Richard the Second, on Tuesday, April the 30th, 1611; 4. The Winter's Tale, on Wednesday, May the 15th, 1611. In the original manuscript, the year 1610 is given as the date of the second theatrical visit, but, as there must be an oversight either in the note of the year or in that of the day of the week, it seems most likely that all the dramas above mentioned were seen by Forman about the same time, and that the error lies in the former record. The tragedy held its place afterwards at the City theatre, as appears from a list of “some of the most ancient plays that were played at Blackfriars,” MS. dated 1660.

*Page 151, line 25. A graphic account.*—This is the earliest distinct notice of the tragedy which has been discovered, so that it must have been written at some time between March, 1603, and April, 1611, for there is the all but certainty that it was

produced after the accession of James. The allusion to the "two-fold balls and treble sceptres," and the favourable delineation of the character of Banquo, appear sufficient to establish the accuracy of this conclusion. It may also be thought probable that Macbeth was written and acted before the year 1607, from an apparent reference to Banquo's ghost in the comedy of the Puritan, 1607,—“we'll ha' the ghost i' th' white sheet sit at upper end o' th' table.” All deductions, however, of this kind are to be cautiously received, for it is of course possible that the incident referred to may have been originally introduced in the older play on the subject. A similar observation will apply to a passage in the Knight of the Burning Pestle, 1611, where the probability of the allusion is somewhat marred by the reference to a whispering tale. The story of Macbeth had been introduced on the English stage at least as early as the year 1600, for, in that year, Kempe, the actor, in his Nine Daies Wonder performed in a Daunce from London to Norwich, thus alludes to some play on the subject,—“still the search continuing, I met a proper upright youth, onely for a little stooping in the shoulders, all hart to the heele, a penny poet, whose first making was the miserable stolne story of Macdoel, or Macdobeth, or Macsome-what, for I am sure a Mac it was, though I never had the maw to see it.” The concluding words clearly imply that Kemp alluded to some piece that had been represented on the stage.

*Page 152, line 3. On horseback.*—Most probably on hobby-horses, for it is hardly possible that there could have been room on the stage of the Globe Theatre for the introduction of living animals.

*Page 152, line 26. The Winter's Tale.*—In the office-book of Sir Henry Herbert is the following curious and interesting entry,—“For the king's players ;—an olde playe called Winters Tale, formerly allowed of by Sir George Bucke, and likewyse by mee on Mr. Hemmings his worde that there was nothing prophane added or reformed, thogh the allowed booke was missinge ; and therefore I returned itt without a fee, this 19 of August, 1623,” ap. Malone, ed. 1790, p. 226. Now Sir George Buck obtained a

reversionary grant of the office of the Master of the Revels in 1603, expectant on the death of Tylney, who died in October, 1610; but did not really succeed to the office, as is shown by documents at the Rolls, before August, 1610, in short, a few weeks previously to the decease of Tylney. Sir George, as Deputy to the Master, licensed plays for publication years previously, as appears from several entries in the books of the Stationers' Company; and that he could also have licensed them for acting would seem clear from the above entry, the words "likewyse by mee" showing that the comedy had been allowed by Herbert before he had succeeded to the office of Master. In the absence of any direct evidence to the contrary, it seems, however, unnecessary to suggest that the *Winter's Tale* was one of the dramas that passed under Buck's review during the tenancy of Tylney in the office; and it may fairly, at present, be taken for granted that the comedy was not produced until after the month of August, 1610. This date is sanctioned, if not confirmed, by the allusion to the song of *Whoop, do me no harm, good man*, the music to which was published by William Corkine, as one of his "private inventions," in his *Ayres to Sing and Play to the Lute and Basse Violl*, fol. Lond. 1610.

*Page 78, line 25. Cymbeline.*—The tragedy is called "Cymbeline King of Britaine" in the list prefixed to the first folio, 1623. It may be just worth notice that a cavern near Tenby, that might be passed in a walk to Milford, known as Hoyle's Mouth, has been suggested as the prototype of the cave of Belarius. This appears to be absurd, but if the London players were ever in Wales in the time of Shakespeare, it is not unlikely that the great dramatist had travelled as far as Milford Haven, for writers seldom praise localities they have never seen. Perhaps some one will kindly tell me if the early corporate records of Milford are preserved, and if they contain any notices of players' visits. At the same time, it is to be recollected that Milford Haven was, in Shakespeare's time, a harbour of national importance widely known to the public, so that in this way the commendation bestowed upon it by the poet may be accounted for.

*Page 153, line 26. Died suddenly.*—The day of his burial is thus recorded in the beautifully written ancient register of St. Mary's, Lambeth,—“A.D. 1611, September 12 ; Simon Forman gent.”

*Page 154, line 18. And the Court.*—That the Tempest was originally produced before the Court may perhaps be inferred from the introduction of the Masque and from the circumstance that Robert Johnson, one of the King's Musicians, was the composer of the music to *Full Fathom Five* and *Where the Bee Sucks*, the melodies of which, though re-arranged, are preserved in Wilson's *Cheerful Ayres or Ballads set for three Voices*, 4to, Oxford, 1660. Johnson is mentioned, in the accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber for the year 1612, as one of the royal musicians “for the lutes,” an office he continued to hold for many years. Mr. Alfred Roffe has pretty well demonstrated that the melodies in Wilson's book above alluded to were the original ones by Johnson. “It seemed to be very unlikely,” he observes, “that, if Dr. Wilson had *newly composed* these songs, he should put the name of Robert Johnson to them simply because he also had once composed the same words. That Dr. Wilson by *set* merely meant *arranged*, seems to be raised into something like certainty by examining his title-page more carefully,—*Cheerful Ayres or Ballads first composed for one single voice and since set for three voices*. Thus, it would appear that the work consists of what we should now call *Songs, harmonized for three voices*, and that Dr. Wilson retained, to five out of some seventy songs, the names of Robert Johnson and of Nicholas Lanier, for the very simple reason that *the melodies were theirs*.”

*Page 154, line 23. With success.*—Dryden gives us two interesting pieces of information respecting the comedy of the Tempest,—the first, that it was acted at the Blackfriars' Theatre ; the second, that it was successful. His words are,—“the play itself had formerly been acted with success in the Black-Fryers,” Preface to the Tempest, or the Enchanted Island, a Comedy, as it is now Acted at his Highness the Duke of York's Theatre, ed. 1670. This probably means that the

comedy was originally produced at the Blackfriars' Theatre, after the Children had left that establishment. The *Tempest* is alluded to in a list of "some of the most ancient plays that were played at Blackfriars," a manuscript dated in December, 1660. It is not at all improbable that the conspicuous position assigned to this comedy in the first folio is a testimony to its popularity. That situation is unquestionably no evidence of its place in the chronological order.

*Page 154, line 25. In the year 1613.*—It has been thought that Ben Jonson alludes to the *Tempest* and the *Winter's Tale* in the following passage in the Induction to his *Bartholomew Fair*, first acted in the year 1614, which is thus printed in the original edition of the play that appeared in 1631, the distinctions of italics and capital letters not being peculiar to this quotation, and therefore of little value in the consideration of the opinion respecting the allusion, "If there be never a *Servant-monster* i' the *Fair*, who can help it, he says? nor a nest of *Anticks*? He is loth to make nature afraid in his *Playes*, like those that beget *Tales*, *Tempests*, and such like *Drolleries*." As the *Tempest* and the *Winter's Tale* were both acted at Court shortly before the production of *Bartholomew Fair*, and were probably then in great estimation with the public, there would be some grounds for the conjecture that Shakespeare's plays are here alluded to, were it not for the circumstance that Jonson can hardly be considered to refer to regular dramas. In the comedy of *Bartholomew Fair*, he ridicules those primitive dramatic exhibitions, which, known as motions or puppet-shows, were peculiar favourites with the public at that festival. In some of these, tempests and monsters were introduced, as in the motion of *Jonah and the Whale*. The "nest of anticks," which is supposed to allude to the twelve satyrs who are introduced at the sheep-shearing festival, does not necessarily refer even to the spurious kind of drama here mentioned. The "*Servant-monster*," and the "nest of anticks," may merely mean individual exhibitions. If the latter really does relate to a dramatic representation, it may very likely be in allusion to the fantastic characters so frequently introduced in the masques

of that period ; but the context seems to imply that Jonson is referring to devices exhibited at the fair.

*Page 155, line 26. In a noble folio.*—The publication of the collective edition of the plays, in the latter part of the year 1623, was nearly, if not quite, the termination of all that has descended to us of the authentic history of the literary career of the great dramatist. No vestige of any of the manuscripts, or of the theatrical copies of the printed editions used in the compilation of that volume, are now known to be in existence ; but there is one later impression, the second quarto of *Othello*, which has traces of the use of an independent version. It may fairly be doubted if the editor or printer of that quarto had access to the author's manuscript, but it is, at all events, certain that there is no other edition of any portion of Shakespeare's works issued after the year 1630, which has the slightest claim to be of any authority for the genuineness of the text. The same observation will apply to all quotations from Shakespeare, either in print or manuscript, and to written annotations, that cannot be assigned to an earlier period. Most of them are worse than useless even as curiosities.

*Page 156, line 3. Julius Cæsar.*—There is supposed to be a possibility, derived from an apparent reference to it in Weever's *Mirror of Martyrs*, that this tragedy was in existence as early as the year 1599, for although that work was not published till 1601, the author distinctly tells his dedicatee that "this poem, which I present to your learned view, some two yeares agoe was made fit for the print." The subject was then, however, a favourite one for dramatic composition, and inferences from such premises must be cautiously received. Shakespeare's was not, perhaps, the only drama of the time to which the lines of Weever were applicable. The more this species of evidence is studied, the more is one inclined to follow Professor Delius in being sceptical as to its efficacy. Plays on the history of Julius Cæsar are mentioned in Gosson's *Schoole of Abuse*, 1579 ; the *Third Blást of Retrait from Plaies*, 1580 ; Henslowe's *Diary*, 1594, 1602 ; *Mirroure of Policie*, 1598 ; Heywood's *Apology for Actors*, 1612 ; and there was a French tragedy on the subject



published at Paris in 1578. A drama called *Cæsars Tragedye*, acted before Prince Charles, the Lady Elizabeth, and the Elector Palatine, in the earlier part of the year 1613, is reasonably considered to have been Shakespeare's tragedy.

*Page 156, line 17. Upon an old Comedy.*—The earliest notice of this play yet discovered occurs in the Registers of the Stationers' Company on May the 2nd, 1594, when there was entered to a printer named Short, "a book intituled a pleasant conceyted historie called the Tayminge of a Shrowe," the published work bearing the title of,—"*A Pleasant Conceited Historie called the Taming of a Shrew*, as it was sundry times acted by the Right honorable the Earle of Pembrooke his servants, Printed at London by Peter Short, and are to be sold by Cutbert Burbie, at his shop at the Royall Exchange, 1594." A reprint of this edition was published by Burby in 1596, in which year the play is thus alluded to by Sir John Harington,—"*for the shrewd wife, read the booke of Taming a Shrew, which hath made a number of us so perfect, that now every one can rule a shrew in our country save he that hath her*," *Metamorphosis of Ajax*, 1596. Burby retained his interest in the comedy until 1607, when the copyright was transferred to Ling, who issued a third edition of the play in that year. This last-named publisher shortly afterwards transferred his interest to John Smethwick, who, so far as is at present known, never republished the older comedy, and it is by no means impossible that, in 1607, he had become the proprietor of Shakespeare's drama, and considered it advisable to purchase Ling's right in the other work, the similarity of title obviously rendering it in some degree a rival publication. In support of this opinion, it is to be remarked that the *Taming of the Shrew* is not included in the list of those plays which, in 1623, had not been "entered to other men," and that Smethwick was one of the proprietors of the first folio and also the publisher of a later quarto edition of Shakespeare's comedy which appeared in 1631, "as it was acted by his Maiesties Seruants at the Blacke Friers and the Globe."

*Page 156, line 18. Some time before.*—There is a passage in Greene's *Menaphon*, 1589, nearly identical with a line in the

Taming of a Shrew, but similarities of this description are rarely of value in a question of date. It is obvious to be as likely for the author of the comedy to have had Greene's words in his recollection, as for the latter to have quoted from the play.

*Page 157, line 1. Solely of conjecture.*—It is true that Rowlands, in his *Whole Crew of Kind Gossips*, 1609, makes a would-be Petruchio say, in reference to his wife,—“The chiefest Art I have I will bestow—About a worke cald taming of the Shrow,” ap. Ingleby's *Centurie of Prayse*, ed. 1879, p. 85; but the language does not appear sufficiently precise to warrant the conclusion that the author intended a reference to Shakespeare's comedy. If he had contemplated such an allusion, it is most probable that the name of the play would have been given in *Italics*, the titles of songs alluded to in the same poem being so distinguished.

*Page 157, line 12. Wincot.*—The ancient provincial name of the small village of Wilmecote, about three miles from Stratford-on-Avon. It is spelt both Wincott and Wilmcott in the same entry in the *Sessions Book* for 1642, MS. County Records, Warwick; and Wincott in a record of 32 Elizabeth at Stratford-on-Avon. Marian Hacket, described as the fat ale-wife of this hamlet, was probably a real character, as well as Stephen Sly, old John Naps, Peter Turf, and Henry Pimpennell. The documentary evidence respecting the inferior classes of society, especially at so early a period, is at all times brief and difficult of access; but the opinion here expressed with regard to the truthfulness of the names referred to may be said to be all but confirmed by the discovery of contemporary notices of Stephen Sly, who is described as a “servant to William Combe,” and who is several times mentioned in the records of Stratford-on-Avon as having taken an active part in the disputes which arose on the attempted enclosures of common lands, acting, of course, under the directions of his master. In a manuscript written in 1615 he is described as a labourer, but he seems to have been one of a superior class, for his house, “Steeven Slye house,” is alluded

to in the parish register of Stratford of the same year, as if it were of some slight extent. The locality of Wincot was long recognised as the scene of Christopher Sly's fondness of potations. When, in 1658, Sir Aston Cockayne addressed some lines to one Clement Fisher, of that village, his theme solely refers to the Wincot ale and to its power over the tinker of the comedy.

*Page 157, line 12. Christopher Sly.*—The Christian as well as the surname of this personage are taken from the older play, but there was a Christopher Sly who was a contemporary of Shakespeare's at Stratford-on-Avon, and who is mentioned in Greene's manuscript Diary under the date of March the 2nd, 1615-16. This is a singular coincidence, even if it be not considered a slight indication that the author of the *Taming of a Shrew* may have been a Warwickshire man.

*Page 157, line 23. Mill.*—This anecdote was first published by Capell in the following terms,—“Wincot is in Stratford's vicinity, where the memory of the ale-house subsists still; and the tradition goes that 'twas resorted to by Shakespeare for the sake of diverting himself with a fool who belong'd to a neighbouring mill,” *Notes to the Taming of the Shrew*, ed. 1780, p. 26. Warton merely says “that the house kept by our genial hostess still remains, but is at present a mill.” According to an unpublished letter of Warton's, written in 1790, he derived his information from what was told him, when a boy, by Francis Wise, an eminent Oxford scholar, who went purposely to Stratford-on-Avon about the year 1740 to collect materials respecting the personal history of Shakespeare. Warton's own words may be worth giving,—“My note about Wilnecote I had from Mr. Wise, Radclivian librarian, a most accurate and inquisitive literary antiquary, who, about fifty years ago, made a journey to Stratford and its environs to pick up anecdotes about Shakespeare, many of which he told me; but which I, being then very young, perhaps heard very carelessly and have long forgot;—this I much regret, for I am sure he told me many curious things about Shakespeare;—he was an old man when I was a boy in this college;—the place is Wylmecote, the mill, or Wilni-

cote, near Stratford not Tamworth," 31 March, 1790. There may be some truth in the anecdote as related by Capell, but the other account is obviously confused and inaccurate. Both the ale-house and the mill had disappeared before Warton's time.

*Page 158, line 26. Third edition.*—No copy of the second edition is known to exist, and even the date of its publication has not been recorded. In some issues of Lintott's reprints of Shakespeare's poems, 1709-1711, that of the *Passionate Pilgrim* has a title-page bearing the date of 1609, but, as in the cases of the *Venus* and the *Lucrece* in the same collection, the last-mentioned year is clearly given merely to range with that of the first edition of the *Sonnets*.

*Page 159, line 25, The author.*—Heywood here appears to take it for granted that Shakespeare was the author of the *Passionate Pilgrim*, an opinion inconsistent with the history of the third edition. It is evident that the great dramatist insisted upon the removal of his name from the title-page, for otherwise a cancel of the additional poems would have met all objections.

*Page 161, line 22. The vendor.*—The estate came to Matthew Bacon, then or afterwards of Gray's Inn, in the year 1590, in pursuance of some friendly arrangements, and it was sold by him to Henry Walker in 1604 for the sum of £100. In the conveyance of the former date, mention is made of a well in the plot of land at the back of the house.

*Page 162, line 4. To redeem the mortgage.* In mortgages of this period it was usual to name a precise date for repayment, unaccompanied by provisions respecting the interest on, or the continuation of, the loan. It does not, therefore, follow that, in this case, Shakespeare complied with the strict terms of the arrangement, which were to the effect that the mortgage should be redeemed at the following Michaelmas. It is at all events clear, from the declaration of trust of 1618, that the legal estate was vested in the trustees when Shakespeare granted the lease to Robinson, and, in all probability, the mortgage was paid off by the Halls shortly before they executed the deed of release to the latter.

*Page 162, line 10. Of the same name.*—For he did not

appear in order to sign either of the deeds of 1613, and he was certainly in London about the time at which they were executed. The trustees were probably nominated by the vendor, none being required for Shakespeare's own protection. In the will of Heminge, the actor, 1630, he describes himself as "citizen and grocer of London," but it is to be observed that Condell, in 1627, mentions him as "John Heminge, gentleman." The latter name was by no means an unusual one.

*Page 162, line 21. Very near the locality.*—This appears from the following descriptions of the parcels in the conveyance of the estate from Edward Bagley to Sir Heneage Fetherston in the year 1667, here given from an old abstract of title in my possession,—“all that piece or parcel of ground whereon, at the time of the late fire, two messuages or tenements which were formerly one messuage or tenement, and heretofore were in the tenure of Thomas Crane. and, at the time of the said fire, in the tenure of William Iles, lying in the parish of St. Ann, Blackfryers: and also all that piece or parcel of ground at the time of the said fire used for a yard, and adjoining to the said two messuages or tenements, or one of them, lying near Ireland Yard in the said parish, which said piece or parcel of ground does abbutt on the street leading to a dock called Puddle Dock, near the river Thames, on the east, and on other grounds of Sir Heneage Fetherston west, north, and south, and all vaults, cellars, &c.”

*Page 162, line 22. Ireland Yard.*—Probably so named after the William Ireland, a haberdasher, who occupied the house at the time of Shakespeare's purchase of it in 1613. His name is found, with a mark instead of a signature, as a witness to the conveyance-deed of 1604, but he did not enter on the tenancy until after the latter date. He also rented other property in the immediate neighbourhood.

*Page 163, line 24. Some of the historical incidents.*—Several dramas on historical events of the reign of Henry the Eighth were produced in England in the time of Shakespeare. In the years 1601 and 1602, the subject attained a singular popularity in the hands of Henslowe's company. In June of the former

year Henry Chettle was engaged in the composition of a play called *Cardinal Wolsey's Life*, which was produced with great magnificence so far as regards the apparel of the performers, by the Earl of Nottingham's players, in the following August. An entry of £21 for velvet, satin, and taffeta, proves, regard being had to the then value of money, how expensively the characters in the play were attired. This drama was so successful that it was immediately followed by another entitled *the Rising or the First part of Cardinal Wolsey*, in the composition of which no fewer than four writers, Drayton, Chettle, Munday, and Wentworth Smith, were engaged. It seems to have been licensed in September, 1601, as "the remainder of Carnowlle Wollseye," words which imply that it was considered supplementary to Chettle's first play on the subject. The amendment of the *First Part* in 1602 was immediately followed by the appearance of a continuation in which Will Summers, the celebrated jester, was introduced. The name of the author of this *Second Part* is not stated, but it is not impossible that it was written by Samuel Rowley, who had been attached to Henslowe's company as early as the year 1599. Certain it is that the character of Summers is a prominent one in that author's vulgar comedy of *When You See Me You Know Me*, published by Butter in 1605, and entered on the registers of the Stationers' Company in February, 1604-5, as "the enterlude of K. Henry the 8th." Butter's several reprints, his interest in the copyright until 1639, taken in conjunction with the statement in those registers under the date of November the 8th, 1623, decisively prove that the entry last quoted does not refer to Shakespeare's play. According to a manuscript on the state of Ireland, written about the year 1604, "the Earle of Kildare dyed in prison in England, where he lyved a longe tyme, and his brothers and eldest sonne deprived of their lyves by the synister practizes of Cardynall Wolsey, sett forth at lardge in the Irishe Chronicle, and of late acted publiquely upon the stage in London, in the tragidie of the life and death of the said Wolsey, to tedious to be reported to your Majestie." This enumeration of dramas on the incidents

of the same reign may be concluded with a notice of the Chronicle History of Thomas Lord Cromwell, which was first published as "written by W. S." in 1602. It had then most likely been recently produced by Shakespeare's company, an entry of the copyright in the August of that year mentioning the play "as yt was lately acted by the Lord Chamberleyn his servantes." The drama of Lord Cromwell was attributed to Shakespeare by the publisher of the third folio in 1664, but it is hardly necessary to observe that it has no pretensions to the claim of so high a distinction.

*Page 163, line 28. Any other resemblance.*—Excepting that both were framed with a view to spectacular display, as appears from the accounts of the fire, and from the elaborate stage-directions in the first edition of Shakespeare's drama, the somewhat irregular construction of the latter may be attributed to the circumstance of some of the incidents being practically subservient to the accessories of the stage.

*Page 164, line 6. In the character of the Fool.*—It is difficult to place any other interpretation on the lines respecting the reprobates in the contemporary ballad on the conflagration, which was evidently written by an eye-witness. The meaning appears to be that Condell was so admirable in the part of the Clown, probably either Will Summers or Patch, that even those who were intoxicated on the previous day, fully appreciated his performance. This fact tends to invest the general subject in greater perplexity than ever, the Prologue to Shakespeare's Henry the Eighth apparently seeming to point to *All Is True* as the second title of his play. It is, however, to be observed that the coincidence may possibly be accounted for by the prevalent idea, in those days, that the announcement of the truth of dramatic incidents was attractive to the public.

*Page 164, line 11. The Prologue.*—There has been a suggestion that the writer of this Prologue was referring to Rowley's production on the same reign, a drama in which no regard is paid to chronological order or accuracy. In the latter play, certainly a "merry bawdy one," Summers, the jester, a prominent character, is a "fellow in a long motley coat, guarded

with yellow," and the noise of targets was heard in a street brawl in which the King is vigorously engaged in combat with a ruffian named Black Will. As, however, Rowley's play belonged to a rival theatre, it is more likely that the Prologue refers to a drama containing similar incidents, perhaps that which was in the course of performance on the day of the fire.

*Page 164, line 14. This theory of a late date.*—There does not appear to be any plausible reason for attributing the composition of Henry the Eighth to the reign of Elizabeth, excepting that the prejudices and affections of that sovereign are thought to have been consulted, and that she is alluded to, in the warmest terms of respectful regard, as a blessing to the land which shall affectionately preserve her memory, and as a gem which enlightens England. But the prejudices of Elizabeth may have been the prejudices of Shakespeare, and surely the poet's gratitude to one who was, as we know by the irrefragable testimonies of Chettle and Jonson, his kind patron, may have occasioned those graceful compliments. All evidence here points to the belief that Shakespeare was, in this case, the grateful eulogizer of the friendly dead, not the flatterer of the powerful living. It is a mere gratuitous conjecture that the allusions in Cranmer's prophecy are insertions made in that speech after the death of Elizabeth, who, moreover, would hardly have considered the subsequent notice of an aged princess neutralised by the previous flattery, or have relished the reference to her own decease. The known character of that sovereign leads us to believe that either of these allusions would have been most distasteful to her. Again, that the play, as we now have it, was not written until 1606, may be gathered from the reference to the new nations, which is believed to refer to the American colonies, the settlement and chartering of which but then commenced. There is another possible evidence in the allusion to the strange Indian. In 1611, Harley and Nicolas, the commanders of two vessels in an expedition to New England, returned to this country, bringing with them five savages. One of these, who was named Epenow, remained in England until 1614, was distinguished for his stature, and publicly exhibited in various parts of London.



*Page 164, line 21. A free offspring of the ear.*—Or, to use Mr. Spedding's admirable language in one of the best paragraphs ever penned in Shakespearean criticism,—“the careless metre which disdains to produce its harmonious effects by the ordinary devices, yet is evidently subject to a master of harmony.” Shakespeare probably wrote verse with greater ease than prose. It can hardly be said that any species of dramatic metre had then taken an absolute form by precedent; and even if it had, the metrical ear, which, like that for music, is a natural gift, must, in his case, have revolted from a subjection to normal restrictions.

*Page 164, line 26. By this disagreeable innovation.*—There are several critics who take another view, and, relying in a great measure on metrical percentages, would have us believe that all speeches redolent with this peculiarity must have been written by one or other of those later contemporaries of Shakespeare who were specially addicted to its use. In this way students who belong to an older school are literally petrified by the announcement that Wolsey's celebrated farewell to all his greatness, as well as a large part of the scene in which it occurs, are henceforth to be considered the composition of some other author. So also, by the like process of reasoning, must the last speeches of Buckingham, as exquisitely touching as any in Shakespeare, the death scene of Katharine, the magnificent dialogue between Wolsey and Cromwell, and Cranmer's prophecy, be eliminated from his works. It is true that in Henry the Eighth there is much unwelcome variation from the poet's usual diction, but surely the play as a whole will commend itself to most readers as one of the finest examples of the consecutive power of Shakespeare's genius.

*Page 165, line 15. Old Mr. Lowin.*—It would seem, from a dialogue in the comedy of Knavery in all Trades, 1664, that Taylor and Pollard acted with Lowin in Henry the Eighth at an early period, but the notice must refer to the performances of it which took place some time after the death of the author. Shakespeare's drama is alluded to amongst “some of the most ancient plays that were played at Blackfriars,” MS. dated 1660.

*Page 165, line 21. Told by Fuller.*—In his *Worthies*, ed. 1662. “A company of litle boyes were by their schoolmaster not many years since appointed to act the play of King Henry the Eighth, and one who had no presence, but an absence rather, as of a whyning voyce, puiling spirit, consumptionish body, was appointed to personate King Henry himselfe onely because he had the richest cloaths, and his parents the best people of the parish : but when he had spoke his speech rather like a mouse then a man, one of his fellow actors told him,—If you speake not Hoh with a better grace, your Parliamēt will not give you a penny of mony,” old jest-book, MS. Sloane 384. There is another copy of the anecdote in the *Fragmenta Aulica*, 1662, and the vigour of the exclamation long continued to be one of the professional traditions. “Like our stage Harry the Eighth, cry out Hough ! Hough !”, *Memoirs of Tate Wilkinson*, ed. 1790, i. 195, referring to a period some time about the year 1758.

*Page 166, line 7. One of the persons.*—His name was John Lane, who “reported that the plaintiff had the runninge of the raynes and had bin naught with Rafe Smith at John Palmer.” My attention was first drawn to this suit by a notice of it in MS. Harl. 4064, the only Shakespearean discovery that I made in the course of a long-continued search undertaken a few years since amongst the manuscripts of the British Museum. It was of course beyond my power to do more than examine those volumes likely to yield information of the kind that was required, and, in all probability, unknown facts of importance, in connection with stage-history and the life of the poet, still remain embedded in some of the recesses of that vast assemblage. Something of value might even be found by a careful examination of the fly-leaves used by the ancient binders. It was in this latter way that I stumbled upon a fragment of the first edition of *Richard the Third* at the end of a manuscript in the old Royal Library ; and refer to what is stated at p. 246 respecting a similar accident.

*Page 169, line 26. That I was not able.*—The three latest entries in this diary were discovered by me about thirty years

ago, but when I first printed them, in 1853, I unfortunately misread this passage. There is a singular obscurity, which renders a correct interpretation of Greene's handwriting a matter of unusual difficulty. It may here be mentioned that, in the Replingham document printed at p. 643, *increasinge* is an obvious error for *decreasinge*, but the former word is that found in the original manuscript.

*Page 171, line 25. Good friend.*—These lines are mentioned in Stow's Survey of London, ed. 1720, ii. 91, as being on a tombstone at Covent Garden over the remains of a person who died in the year 1700. This is the earliest independent example of them that I have met with. I am told that more than one are to be seen in Warwickshire, and should feel particularly obliged by the communication of their dates.

*Page 176, line 22. Three large sheets of paper.*—They are sheets of pot-paper, each measuring about fifteen inches by twelve. Malone and Steevens examined the Will in 1776, the former thus recording their visit to the Registry Office,—“On the 24th of September I went with my friend Mr. Steevens to the Prerogative Office in Doctors' Commons, to see Shakspeare's original Will, in order to get a fac-simile of the handwriting. The Will is written in the clerical hand of that age, on three small sheets, fastened at top, like a lawyer's brief. Shakspeare's name is signed at the bottom of the first and second sheet, and his final signature, ‘By me, William Shakspeare,’ is in the middle of the third sheet. The name, however, at the bottom of the first sheet, is not in the usual place, but in the margin at the left hand, and is so different from the others, that we doubted whether it was his handwriting. He appears to have been very ill and weak when he signed his Will, for the hand is very irregular and tremulous. I suspect he signed his name at the end of the Will first, and so went backwards, which will account for that in the first page being worse written than the rest.” The late Mr. Howard Staunton gives his opinion on the subject as follows,—“my impression, not lightly formed, is, that the Will was originally executed in January ;—I do not think that it was necessarily first prepared on the 25th of January ;—that

Shakespeare on this occasion signed only the last sheet ; that at some time between January and March, owing to the marriage of his daughter Judith and other circumstances, the whole of Sheet 1 was re-written, and two lines of Sheet 2 were cancelled. Upon this hypothesis, and upon no other, can I account for the error in the regnal year, and for the remarkable diversity in the signatures. The signature on the final sheet I conceive to have been the ordinary autograph of the Poet when in health, the other signatures, mere formal attestations of the changes in the early portion of the Will, I conceive to have been written not long before his death."

*Page 180, line 31. Given to the scrivener.*—A further study induces me to modify this statement, which was grounded on the circumstances of the body of the document being in a formal hand-writing and of the Stratfordians in those days very rarely employing solicitors for testamentary purposes. In Shakespeare's case, however, the creation of an entail, so unusual with his townsmen, no doubt rendered legal assistance necessary, for the requisite form would hardly have been known to the clergymen or the non-professional inhabitants, the persons who at that time generally drew up local wills. The lawyer engaged on the present occasion was, in all probability, Francis Collins, who was then residing at Warwick.

*Page 180, line 31. Arranging his draft.*—This is another statement that requires correction. The poet's will does not appear, in its present form, to be the original draft. It is all but impossible that the three erased lines near the top of the second page could have been the work of a solicitor arranging terms in his own mind, for the commencing words, that alone would have rendered them intelligible, are wanting. These lines have been always presumed to refer to Judith, but it is far more likely, to judge from the original state and subsequent alteration of the next paragraph, to be a portion of a cancelled bequest to the testator's grand-daughter. The only theory that seems to afford a satisfactory explanation of all the facts is that the body of the will is a copy of the lawyer's rough notes, *the transcript, after a collation with those notes, being ready for immediate engrossment.*

Several documents are preserved in the record-room of Stratford-on-Avon, which were evidently written by the same person who made this transcript of the poet's will, and one of them, that which has been generally taken to be the draft of the tithe conveyance of 1605, appears to be an exactly similar manuscript, the corrections being made by the transcriber himself. The erasures are mainly of the same character in both, that is to say, they are chiefly eliminations of unnecessary, informal, or erroneous words and sentences.

*Page 181, line 8. The correction of the day of the month.*—When March was substituted for January, it is most likely that the day of the month should also have been changed. There was otherwise, at least, a singular and improbable coincidence, and the date of 1616 proves nothing, for it was not always usual to adhere in numerals to the regnal year. The transcriber, moreover, was a blunderer in his chronology, for he writes of an altogether impossible January, one which was in the fourteenth year of James of England and in the forty-ninth of James of Scotland.

*Page 182, line 8. How or when interlineations were added.*—It is not asserted that testamentary interlineations were common, but merely that their existence would have been no bar to the reception in the Court of Probate of wills that contained them. As a rule, the early Stratford wills are fair settled copies, and it would be difficult to find one as irregularly transcribed as Shakespeare's. Amongst those proved in the local court, I have not met with one containing more than four interlineations.

*Page 183, line 15. Compensation for dower.*—The following is part of the form of a codicil given in West's Simboleography, 1605,—“I give to E., my wife, in recompence of her thirds or reasonable portion of my goods, one hundreth poundes, and two of my best gueldinges, and two of my best beddes fully furnished.”

*Page 184, line 21. Free-bench.*—“The first wief onlie shall have for her free-bench during her life all such landes and tenementes as her husband dyed seised of in possession of inherit-

ance, yf so be her said husband have done noe act nor surrender to the contrary thereof, and shee shal be admitted to her said free-bench payeing onlie a penny for a fine as aforesaid," Customs of Rowington Manor, 1614.

*Page 186, line 7. That Shakespeare ever owned one.*—At a later period, however, Dr. Hall possessed a library at New Place, which, in 1635, he called his "study of books," and which probably included any that had belonged to Shakespeare. If the latter were the case, the learned doctor did not consider it worth while to mention the fact. This circumstance, however, must not be taken as an indication that he did not appreciate the transcendent merit of his father-in-law as much as did, about the same time, one Samuel Sheppard, who, in a poem called the *Fairy King*, thus writes of Shakespeare in a critical enumeration of our poets,—

Shakespeare the next,—who wrot so much, so well,  
 That, when I view his bulke, I stand amazed ;  
 A genius so inexhaustible,  
 That hath such tall and numerous trophies rais'd,—  
 Let him bee thought a block, an infidell,  
 Shall dare to skreene the lustre of his praise ;  
 Whose works shall find their due, a deathlesse date,  
 Scorning the teeth of time or force of fate !

These eloquent lines are surely deserving of a place in Dr. Ingleby's admirable *Century of Prayse*. More than forty years must have elapsed since I unearthed them from a manuscript in the Bodleian, for I find them in a little work of mine published in 1841.

*Page 187, line 6. Was formally admitted.*—There is evidence of the admission, but not of its date, in a letter in my possession written by a steward of the manor in the last century. "Stretford-super-Avon ; Paule Barthlett, one mesuage, ij.s. ; Mr. John Hall, for his coppiehold, ij.s. vj.d.," *Rentall of the Mannor of Rowington, 1630, MS.* The first of these owned the little estate in Church Street. In October, 1633, *Johannes Hall gen.* was fined twelve-pence for not appearing to do service

at the court ; Rowington MSS. " Paid David Abby for mendinge the orchard wall att Mr. Nashes barne, 00.02.0," Stratford-on-Avon Corporation MSS., 1637. This last entry would seem to prove that the Shakespeare copyhold was then in the occupation of Thomas Nash, and that there was a barn to the south of the cottage.

## NORTH'S PLUTARCH.

There is something very curious in the way in which early facts of critical importance are being continually overlooked, generation after generation, although they may be almost before one's eyes in common or easily accessible books. Here have I had in my library for at least twenty years nearly all the old editions of North's translation of Plutarch's Lives, and during much of that period have every now and then referred to them with the view of ascertaining which was the special edition used by the great dramatist. Yet it was but recently that I detected, in one of the best known parallel speeches, the only decisive evidence on the subject yet discovered. It does not, indeed, absolutely terminate the enquiry, but it restricts the further consideration of the question to very narrow limits.

There being no record of Shakespeare's use of any particular impression, it follows that verbal tests are the only means of its identification. These are necessarily indefinite in all cases in which the variations between two editions could have been independently adopted by the poet himself. Thus, in the Life of Antonius, ed. 1595, p. 983, there is the genuine archaism, *gables*, which is altered to *cables* in eds. 1603 and 1612; but it is obvious to be likely that Shakespeare might have preferred the modern form when he adopted some of Plutarch's words in the speech of Menas to Pompey in Antony and Cleopatra, Act ii, sc. 7. Again, in the Life of Coriolanus, in the famous speech of Volumnia,—“how much more *unfortunately* then all the women living,” eds. 1595 and 1603, Shakespeare has merely put the line into a blank verse, one which almost necessitates the alteration of the fourth word to *unfortunate*, which adjective happens to be found instead of the adverb



in the 1612 edition of Plutarch. Such examples as these are assuredly indecisive. What is required is an expression, peculiar to Shakespeare and to certain editions of the translation of Plutarch, one which could not be reasonably attributed to the independent fancy of the great dramatist. There is such an expression in the 1595 edition of the *Life of Coriolanus*, p. 248, —“if I had feared death, I would not have come hither to have put my life in hazard, but prickt forward with *spite*, and desire I have to be revenged of them that thus have banished me.” Whoever compares this passage with the speech of Coriolanus in the tragedy, act iv., sc. 5, and is told that the word *spite* is omitted in the Plutarch editions of 1603 and 1612 may be convinced that neither of those impressions was the one used by Shakespeare.

It follows, therefore, that Shakespeare, must have used either the edition of 1579 or that of 1595, and probably the latter, which was one of the speculations of his fellow-townsmen, the printer of the first edition of *Venus and Adonis*.

## EARLY NOTICE OF HAMLET.

There was once in existence a copy of Speght's edition of Chaucer, 1598, with manuscript notes by Gabriel Harvey, one of those notes being in the following terms,—“the younger sort take much delight in Shakespear's *Venus and Adonis*, but his *Lucrece* and his tragedy of *Hamlet Prince of Denmarke* have it in them to please the wiser sort.” This note was first printed in 1766 by Steevens, who gives the year 1598 as the date of its insertion in the volume, but, observes Dr. Ingleby, “we are unable to verify Steevens's note or collate his copy, for the book which contained Harvey's note passed into the collection of Bishop Percy, and his library was burnt in the fire at Northumberland House.” Under these circumstances one can only add the opinions of those who have had the opportunity of inspecting the volume. Firstly, from a letter of Percy to Malone, 1803,—“In the passage which extolls Shakespeare's tragedy Spenser is quoted by name among our flourishing metricians ;—now this edition of Chaucer was published in 1598, and Spenser's death is ascertained to have been in January, 1598-9, so that these passages were all written in 1598, and proves that *Hamlet* was written before that year, as you have fixed it.” Secondly, from a letter from Malone to Percy, written also in 1803, in which he gives reason for controverting this opinion,—“when I was in Dublin I remember you thought that, though Harvey had written 1598 in his book, it did not follow from thence that his remarks were then written ; whilst, on the other hand, I contended that, from the mention of Spenser, they should seem to have been written in that year ; so that, like the two Reynoldses, we have changed sides and each converted the other ; for I have now no doubt that these observations were written in a

subsequent year. The words that deceive are, *our now flourishing metricians*, by which Harvey does not mean *now living* but now admired or in vogue ; and what proves this is that in his catalogue he mixes the living and the dead, for Thomas Watson was dead before 1593. With respect to Axiophilus, I think you will agree with me hereafter that not Spenser, but another person, was meant. Having more than once named Spenser, there could surely be no occasion to use any mysterious appellation with respect to that poet. My theory is that Harvey bought the book in 1598 on its publication, and then sat down to read it, and that his observations were afterwards inserted at various times. That passage, which is at the very end and subjoined to Lydgate's catalogue, one may reasonably suppose was not written till after he had perused the whole volume." Thirdly, from Malone's observations on the date of the tragedy, ed. 1821, ii. 369,—“ In a former edition of this essay I was induced to suppose that Hamlet must have been written prior to 1598, from the loose manner in which Mr. Steevens has mentioned a manuscript note by Gabriel Harvey in a copy, which had belonged to him, of Speght's edition of Chaucer, in which, we are told, he has set down Hamlet as a performance with which he was well acquainted in the year 1598. But I have been favoured by Dr. Percy, the possessor of the book referred to, with an inspection of it ; and, on an attentive examination, I have found reason to believe that the note in question may have been written in the latter end of the year 1600. Harvey doubtless purchased this volume in 1598, having, both at the beginning and end of it, written his name ; but it by no means follows that all the intermediate remarks which are scattered throughout were put down at the same time. He speaks of *Translated Tasso* in one passage ; and the first edition of Fairfax, which is doubtless alluded to, appeared in 1600.”

## LORD PEMBROKE'S ACTORS.

The earliest notice of this company that I have met with occurs in the records of the city of Canterbury, where, at some time between Michaelmas, 1575, and Michaelmas, 1576, there was "gyven to the L. of Pembrokes players at the apoyntement of Mr. Mayer, vj. s. viij. d." They were at Leicester in 1592,— "item, geven unto the Earle of Penbrucke his playars more than was gaythered, xiiij. s.," Town Records. In the Christmas holidays of the same year they performed twice before Queen Elizabeth at Hampton Court Palace,— "to the servantes of the Erle of Pembroke uppon the Councelles warrant dated at the Courte at St. James xj. mo Marcij, 1592, for presentinge of twoe playes before her Majestie at Hampton Courte this laste Christimas, viz., one upon St. Stevens daye at nighte and thother uppon Twelfe daye at nighte, the somme of xij. li. vj. s. viij. d., and by waye of her Majesties rewarde, vj. li. xiiij. s. iiij. d., in all xx. li.," MS. Accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber. There being a slight variation between this entry and the warrant itself, a note of the latter is here given from the Privy Council Register,— "a warrant to Sir Thomas Henneage Knight to cause or cause to be paide to the servantes of the Earle of Pembroke for presentinge of two plaies at the Courte before her Majestie at Christmas last, viz., the one upon St Johns Daie at night, th' other on Twelfe Daie at night, the some of xij. li. vj. s. viij. d., and by way of reward, vj. li. xiiij. s. iiij. d.," 11 March, 1592-3. In the summer of 1593 this company had a long tour through the country from north to south, being at York in June and at Rye, co. Sussex, in July, visiting also Coventry. "Item, geven to my L. Penbrokes players in June, xl. s.," York City Records, 1593. "To the Earle

of Pembrookes plaiers in rewarde, xiiij. s. iiij. d.," Records of the Town of Rye, July, 1593. "To the Erle of Pembrokes players, xxx. s.," Coventry MSS., 1593. They returned to London in August, after an unsuccessful tour that compelled them to have recourse to the expedient of pawning their wardrobe. "As for my Lorde a Pembrookes men which you desier to knowe wheare they be, they ar all at home and hauffe ben thes v or sixe weakes, for they cane not save ther carges to travell, as I heare, and weare fayne to pane the parell," Letter of Henslowe, 28 Sept., 1593, ap. Collier's *Memoirs of Alleyn*, p. 32. In 1597, after a summer tour in the provinces and acting at Bristol in September, the company joined that of the Lord Admiral, the two bodies performing together at one of Henslowe's theatres in Southwark in the following month. "Item, paid to my Lorde of Pembrokes plaiers playinge twice before Mr. Maior, ij. li.," Records of the City of Bristol, September, 1597. The Pembroke Company must have had a long tour in 1598, in which year they visited Bristol, Leicester, Dover, Coventry and Bewdley. "Item, given unto my L. of Pembrookes players the some of xxx. s.," Bristol Records, January, 1598. "Item, geven to the Erle of Penbrucke his players in rewarde which played att the Towne Hall, and the Companys payde nothinge, xiiij. s. iiij. d.," Leicester Records, 1598. "Item, paid to the Earle of Penbrookes men, when they were ere and played in the town, x. s.," Dover Records, 7 October, 1598. "To the Earle of Penbrokes players the 12. of December, x. s.," Coventry MS. Accounts, audited in November, 1599. "Paid the 22. of Desember, 1598, to the Erle of Pembrookes players geven them, x. s.," Chapel and Bridgewardens' MS. Accounts, Bewdley. In 1599, they were at Coventry in July and at Bristol in September. "To the Earle of Pembrokes players the iiij.th of July, x. s.," Coventry Records, 1599. "Item, paide unto my Lord of Pembrookes players, xxx. s.," Bristol Records, September, 1599. In 1600 they are heard of at York, Leicester, and Bristol, and in October they commenced playing at the Rose Theatre. "And nowe it is agreed that my Lorde of Penbrookes men shall play

before my L. Maiour and Aldermen in the Common Hall on Monday next in the afternone, and have xl. s. for reward forth of the Common Chambre," York Records, 18 January, 42 Eliz. "Item, paid to the Earle of Penbrockes pleyars more then was geythered, xvij. s.," Leicester Records, 1600. "Item, paide to the Lorde of Pembrooks players playinge here xxx. s." Bristol Records, April, 1600. "My lord of Penbrockes men begane to playe at the Rosse the 18 of Octobr, 1600," Henslowe's Diary, ed. Collier, p. 181. The latest notice in my collection of the Earl of Pembroke's company of actors is one of their playing at Leicester in the year 1627. Amongst the old printed dramas known to have been acted by them are Marlowe's *Edward the Second*, 1594, the *Taming of a Shrew*, 1594, and the *True Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke*, 1595. It is likely that some of the copyrights originally in their exclusive possession became afterwards the property of the Lord Admiral's Company. They played *Doctor Faustus* in conjunction with the latter company in 1597, but in the earliest known edition of that tragedie, 1604, it is mentioned as being played solely by Lord Nottingham's Servants.



## SYMBOLS AND RULES.

The following are the rules followed in printing the numerous copies and extracts which occur in the remaining portion of this volume :—

1. When ® is attached to a word, it denotes that the original text has been followed, but that an error is suspected either in that word or in the omission of a previous one. It is sometimes added when there has been a misreading by a predecessor.

2. The division between lines of poetry which are not given separately is indicated by the parallel marks =.

3. In extracts from printed books or manuscripts written in the English language, the original mode of spelling is retained excepting in the cases of the ancient forms of the consonants *j* and *v* and the vowels *i* and *u*, but they are modernized in other respects, such as in the punctuation, use of capitals, &c. It may be well to observe that, in documents of the Shakespearean period, the letters *ff* at the commencement of a word merely stand for a capital *F*, and that it is not always possible to decide whether a transcriber of that time intended *oʀ* to be a contraction for *our* or whether he merely used it for *or*. There is often also a difficulty in ascertaining if a final stroke of a word is an *e*, or simply a flourish.

4. In copies of important title-pages or entries, and in special instances, when the latter are distinguished by the letters V. L., the original texts are followed in every particular with literal accuracy.

5. The orthography of old Latin documents is generally followed, e.g., *e* for *æ*, *capud* for *caput*, *sed* for *sed*, *nichil* for *nihil*, &c. In the Latin as well as in the English extracts errors which are obviously merely clerical ones are occasionally corrected.





## THE COVENTRY MYSTERIES.

According to Matthew Paris, the story of St. Catherine was dramatised about the commencement of the twelfth century by one Geoffrey, a learned Norman then in England, in a play which was acted at Dunstable at that period. This is the earliest notice of the drama in this country which has been discovered, but it is not at all likely that the performance was in the English language. It may, indeed, be safely assumed that all the plays acted in England at this time, and for several generations afterwards, were composed either in Latin or Anglo-Norman, the testimony which assigns the composition of the Chester Mysteries to the thirteenth century being unworthy of credence. The earliest piece in English of a dramatic character known to exist is a metrical dialogue between three persons, which is preserved on a vellum roll in a handwriting of the commencement of the fourteenth century. It is entitled *Interludium de Clerico et Puella*, but there is no evidence to show that it was intended for the stage. It may have been merely an interlocutory poem like the contemporary Harrowing of Hell, which has been usually, but perhaps erroneously, considered to be one of the old English mysteries. Dismissing the consideration of these pieces for the obvious reason that there is at least no substantial proof that either of them are connected with the subject, the history of the English drama, so far as can be gathered from the materials which have been preserved, really commences with the plays which were exhibited on moveable stages either by the guilds of towns or by itinerant companies in and after the fourteenth century. Amongst many other places, Chester, York and Coventry may be mentioned as having been then and for long afterwards specially

celebrated for these performances, which usually took place at the time of the festival of Corpus Christi or at Whitsuntide ; but as Shakespeare would have formed one of a Warwickshire audience, observations on the subject will be mainly restricted to those of Coventry. An engraving of that city would have been here introduced, but there is no reliable view of it with its ancient walls as it appeared in the days of Shakespeare ; the sketches engraved by Hollar being not only inaccurate but altogether untrustworthy. It should be also remarked that the interesting plays, usually termed the Coventry Mysteries, a transcript of which, made in the fifteenth century, is in MS. Cotton. Vespas. D. 8, were certainly not performed by any of the trading companies of that city, but by itinerant players, probably from Coventry, who acted those dramas in various towns, a fact which appears from the concluding lines of the prologue. Very few of the plays which were acted by the trading companies have been preserved, but there was until lately a curious one at Longbridge House, transcribed in the form in which it was revised by one Robert Croo in the year 1534, which was performed by the guild of the Shearmen and Tailors of Coventry. The subjects of this pageant are the Birth of Christ and the Adoration of the Magi, with the Flight into Egypt and the Murder of the Innocents. It is not at all improbable that Shakespeare witnessed some late performance of this curious drama, in which the boisterous fury of Herod is depicted with what would now be thought a ludicrous exaggeration, greater perhaps than in any other play in which he is introduced, and strikingly justifying the expression of out-heroding Herod. This braggadocio describes himself as "prynce of purgatorré and cheff capten of hell" and also as "the myghttyst conquerowre that ever walkid on grownd," observing,—“Magog and Madroke bothe did I confownde,= And with this bryght bronde there bonis I brak on sundr.” He tells the audience that it is he who is the cause of the thunder, and that the clouds were frequently so disturbed at the sight of his “feyrefull contenance” that “for drede therof the verré yerth doth quake.” When the Magi escape his fury knows

literally no bounds,—“I stampe, I stare, I loke all abowtt,= Myght I them take I schuld them bren at a glede,=I rent, I rawe, and now run I wode.” After this outburst, Herod not merely storms furiously on the platform, but descends from the scaffold and exhibits the violence of his passion in the street, as appears from the following curious stage-direction, —“here Erode ragis in the pagond and in the strete al-o.” Hamlet’s suggestion that the riotous bluster of such a personage could be exceeded by that of any other actor, was certainly significant of the very extremity of rant in the latter.

The performances at Coventry at the festival of Corpus Christi were resorted to by large numbers of people from considerable distances, and thither might the boy Shakespeare have been taken by his parents for a holiday treat. Dugdale, writing about the middle of the seventeenth century, says,—“I myselfe have spoke with some old people who had in their younger yeares bin eye-witnesses of these pageants soe acted, from whome I have bin tolde that the yearly confluence of people *from farr and neare* to see that shew was extraordinary great, and which yielded noe small advantage to this citty,” original MS. of Dugdale’s *Antiquities of Warwickshire* preserved at Merevale. The mysteries here mentioned were performed on moveable scaffolds belonging to the guilds, those scaffolds being passed in succession to various stations, so that several plays were continually being acted at one and the same time in different places, —a judicious method of separating the audiences in those days of very narrow streets, and of enabling each group to witness a series of performances every day of the festival. These pageants, observes Dugdale in his *Antiquities of Warwickshire*, ed. 1656, p. 116, “had theaters for the severall scenes very large and high, placed upon wheels and drawn to all the eminent parts of the city for the better advantage of spectators.” A more elaborate account of them is given by a clergyman who witnessed some of the later performances of the Chester mysteries, which were no doubt conducted similarly to those of Coventry,—“every company had his pagiant or parte, which

pagiants weare a high scafolde with two rowmes, a higer<sup>®</sup> and a lower, upon four wheeles ; in the lower they apparelled themselves, and in the higher rowme they played, beinge all open on the tope, that all behoulders mighte heare and see them ; the places where the played them was in every streete ; they begane first at the Abay gates, and when the firste pagiante was played, it was wheeled to the Highe Crosse before the mayor, and so to every streete, and soe every streete had a pagiant playinge before them at one time till all the pagiantes for the daye appoynted weare played ; and when one pagiant was ncere ended, worde was broughte from streete to streete that soe the mighte come in place thercof excedinge orderlye, and all the streetes have their pagiantes afore them all at one time playeing togeather ; to se which playes was great resorte, and also scafoldes and stages made in the streetes in those places where they determined to playe theire pagiantes," MS. Harl. 1948. It has been frequently stated that there were sometimes three rooms in the pageant, the highest representing heaven, the middle one the earth, and the lowest the infernal regions. This was the case in some of the continental performances, but there is no good evidence that the English pageant ever contained more than two rooms. That the lower one of the latter was not exclusively used for a tiring-house is, however, certain. There were trap-doors on the floor of the stage out of which the performers ascended and descended, and in some instances the declension was certainly intended to be to the place of torment. A similar contrivance was sometimes adopted on the supplementary scaffolds. "Here xal cntyr the Prynse of Dylfs in a stage and helle ondyrneth that stage," stage-direction in Mary Magdalene, Digby Mysteries, xvi. Cent. In the same mystery the bad angel is represented as entering "into hell with thondyr," no doubt through the grotesquely painted hell-mouth, a singular contrivance which has been previously described.

The vehicles which Dugdale calls *theaters* were in Shakespeare's time always termed *pageants*. They were not constructed merely for temporary use, but were substantially formed of wood and lasted for years, having been carefully preserved

by the guilds in their various pageant-houses, whence they were brought out when the performances of the mysteries were arranged to take place. "Item, reparacion for the pagent and the pagant hows, for a gret burd for the dur of the pagent howse, v. *d*," accounts of the Smiths' Company, 1469, MS. Longbridge. "Item, payd for rente of the pagent hows, iiij. *s*. vj. *d*; item, payde for the reperacion of the pagente hows, for a sylle and for sparrys and lathe and nayle and warkmanschyp, iiij. *s*. ij. *d*," Smiths' Accounts, 1499, MS. *ibid*. "Item, payd for menddyng the look of the pagent howss dor, j. *d*; item, payd for mendyng of the chest in the pagent howss, j. *d*," Smiths' Accounts, 1545, MS. *ibid*. The pageant-houses were still to be seen at Coventry in the time of Shakespeare. "Paid for a lode of cley for the padgyn howse, vj. *d*; paid for iiij. sparis for the same howse, vj. *d*; paid to the dawber and his man, xiiij. *d*; paid to the carpyntur for his worke, iiij. *d*; paid for a bunche and halfe of lathe, ix. *d*; paid for vj. pennyc naiylles, ij. *d*," accounts of the Smiths' Company, 1571, MS. Longbridge. "Spent at Mr. Sewelles of the company about the pavyng of the pajen house, vj. *d*; payd for the pavyng of the pagen house, xxiij. *d*; payd for a lode of pybeles, xij. *d*; for a lode sande, vj. *d*," Smiths' Accounts, 1576, MS. *ibid*. "Item, paide to James Bradshawe for mendyng the pageant-howse doores, iiij. *d*; item, to Christofer Burne for a key and settyng on the locke on the doore, v. *d*; item, paide to Baylyffe Emerson for halfe yeres rente of the pageant-howse, ij. *s*. vj. *d*; item, gyven to Bryan, a sharman, for his good wyll of the pageante-howse, x. *d*," Smiths' Accounts, 1586, MS. *ibid*.

The pageant itself may be described as a wooden structure which consisted of two rectangular rooms erected on the floor of a strong wagon, the lower room being enclosed with painted boards, and the upper one open, the latter having a decorated canopy supported by pilasters or columns rising from each corner of the floor and ornamented at the top with banners or other appendages. In the following series of extracts referring to the Coventry pageants the ancient entries respecting them are included, there being no reason for believing that there was

any material variation in the appliances or representations of the mysteries from the fifteenth century to the time of Shakespeare. "Item, spend at bryngyng down of the pajent to William Haddons, vj. *d*; item, payed the torchberers, viij. *d*; item, spend in ale uppon them, j. *d*; item, payed for ale to the players in the pajent, xij. *d*; item, for ij. tre hoppis to the pajent whelles, iiij. *d*; item, spend at havyng home the pajent, x. *d*," accounts of the Smiths' Company, 1450, MS. Longbridge. "Also it is ordenyd that the jorneyemen of the seyd crafte schall have þerely vj. s. viij. *d*, and for that they schall have owte the paggent, and on Corpus Christi day to dryve it from place to place ther as it schal be pleyd, and then for to brynge it geyn into the paggent howse without ony hurte nyther defawte, and they for to put the master to no more coste," ordinances of the Company of Weavers of Coventry, 1453, MS. "Item, expende at the fest of Corpus Christi yn reparacion of the pagent, that ys to say, a peyre of new whelys, the pryce viij. s; item, for naylys and ij. hokys for the sayd pagiente, iiij. *d*; item, for a cord and sope to the sayde pagent, ij. *d*; item, for to have the pagent ynto Gosford strete, xij. *d*," accounts of the Company of Smiths of Coventry, 1462, MS. Longbridge. "Item, in expenses on Corpus Christi evyn to wasche the pageant, and to have it in and out, and on the day in wyne, ale, rysches and torches beryng and all odor thynges, and to hand in the pageant, xiiij. *d*," Smiths' Accounts, 1465, MS. *ibid*. "Item, in met and drynk on mynstrelles and on men to drawe the pagent, xxij. *d*," Smiths' Accounts, 1467, MS. *ibid*. "For x. pond yrne for the pagent and the weket, xv. *d*; item, a lachet on the pagent whele, j. *d*," Smiths' Accounts, 1469, MS. *ibid*. "Item, rysshes to the pagent, ij. *d*; item, ij. clampys of iron for the pagent, viij. *d*; item, ij. legges to the pagent and the warkemanship withall, vj. *d*," Smiths' Accounts, 1470, MS. *ibid*. "Expenses to brynge up the pagent into the Gosford Strete amonge the feliship, viij. *d*; expenses for burneysshying and peyntyng of the fanes to the pagent, xx. *d*; item, cloutnayle and other nayle and talowe to the pagent, and for waysshying of the seid pagent and ruysshes, vj. *d*. ob.; item, at bryngyng the

pagent owt of the house, ij. *d* ; item, nayles and other iron gere to the pagent, viij. *d*. ob. ; expenses to a joyner for workmanship to the pagent, vij. *d*," Smiths' Accounts, 1471, MS. *ibid*. "Inprimis, sope to the pagent wheles and rysschys, j. *d*. ob.," expenses for Corpus Christi, 1472, MS. *ibid*. "Item, a c. cloutenayle to the pagent, iiij. *d* ; item, teynturhokes and spykynges, iij. *d* ; item, iron bondes and clyppis to the wheles, xiiij. *d* ; item, for waysschyng of the pagent, ij. *d*," Smiths' Accounts, 1473, MS. *ibid*. "Item, for havynge furth the pagent on the Wedonsday, iij. *d* ; item, paid for ij. peyre newe whelis, viij. *s* ; expenses at the setting on of hem, vij. *d* ; item, for byndyng of thame, viij. *d* ; paid to a carpenter for the pagent rowf, vj. *d*," Smiths' Accounts, 1480, MS. *ibid*. "Item, for the horssyng of the padgeantt and the axyll tree to the same, xvj. *d* ; item, for the hawynge of the padgeantt in and out, and wasshyng it, viij. *d*," Smiths' Accounts, 1498, MS. *ibid*. "Item, paid for ij. cordes for the draught of the paygaunt, j. *d* ; item, paid for shope and gresse to the whyles, j. *d* ; item, paid for havynge oute of the paygant and swepyng therof and havynge in, and for naylles and ij. claspes of iron, and for mendyng of a claspe that was brokon, and for coterellis and for a bordur to the pagaunte, xix. *d*," Smiths' Accounts, 1499, MS. *ibid*. "Item, for nayles to the pagente and hokes, iiij. *d*. ob. ; item, payd to John Gybbys for byndyng of the welys and clampys to the pagente, xv. *d* ; item, spend on the jorneyemen in bred and ale for havynge forthe pagente, vj. *d*," Smiths' Accounts, 1500, MS. *ibid*. "Paid for dryvyng of the pagent, iiij. *s*. iiij. *d* ; paid for russys and soop, ij. *d*," Smiths' Accounts, 1547, MS. *ibid*. The soap was used for greasing the wheels, and the rushes were strewn on the floor of the pageant. "Item, payd to payntter for payntyng of the pagent tope, xxij. *d*," Smiths' Accounts, 1554, MS. *ibid*. "Item, spent on the craft when the overloked the paygand, ij. *s* ; item, payd for iiij. harnesses hyrynge, iij. *s* ; item, payd to the players betwene the stages, viij. *d* ; item, payd for dressyng the paygand, vj. *d* ; item, payd for kepyng the wynd, vj. *d* ; item, payd for dryvyng the paygand, iiij. *s* ; item, payd to the dryvers



in drynke, viij. *d*; item, payd for balls, vj. *d*; item, payd to the mynstrell, viij. *d*," accounts of the Cappers' Company for 1562, delivered in February, 1563, MS. *ibid*. "Item, paid for a ledge to the scafolde, vj. *d*; item, paid for ij. ledges to the pagiand, viij. *d*; item, paid for grett naylles, vj. *d*; item, for makynge clene the pagiand house, ij. *d*; item, paid for washenge the pagiand clothes, ij. *d*; item, for dryvinge the pagiand, vj. *s*. vj. *d*; item, paid to the players at the second stage, viij. *d*," Pageant Accounts of the Cappers' Company for 1568, MS. *ibid*. "Paid for laburrars for horssyng the padgang, xvj. *d*; spent about the same bessynes, xvj. *d*; for takyng of the yron of the olde whele, x. *d*; paid for poyntes and paper, iij. *d*," accounts of the Smiths' Company, 1570, MS. *ibid*. The pageant was sometimes accompanied with what were termed scaffolds or stages, which appear to have been merely pageants of small dimensions appropriated to the use of special characters in the mysteries. These scaffolds were mounted on wheels, and were perhaps attached to the pageant in the transit of the latter to its various stations, but they were certainly sometimes separated from it during the performance, and occasionally scenes of the play, with or without properties and mechanical contrivances, were exhibited in the street between the scaffolds or between the pageant and the scaffolds. Herod, as has been previously mentioned, sometime "raged" in the street as well as on the platform. Some of the actors occasionally descended from the latter and mounted their steeds, while others came on horseback to the pageant, according to the necessities of the history which was represented.

There were occasional performances of the mysteries at Coventry during all the time of Shakespeare's boyhood. In 1567 the following were the "costes and charges of the pagiand" of the Cappers' Company,—“Item, payd for a cloutt to the pagiand whelle, ij. *d*; item, payd for a ponde of sope to the pagiand, iij. *d*; item, payd to the players at the second stage, viij. *d*; item, payd for balles, viij. *d*; item, payd to the mynstrell, viij. *d*; item, payd to Pilat for his gloyes, ij. *d*; item, payd for assyden for Pilat head, ij. *d*; item, payd to Jorge Loe for

spekyng the Prologue, ij. *d*," accounts delivered in January, 1568, MS. Longbridge. In 1568 there was another account of a similar character for the same Company's pageant,—“Item, paid for balles, viij. *d*; item, paid for Pylatt gloves, iiij. *d*; item, paid for the spekyng of the Prologe, ij. *d*; item, paid for prikyng the songes, xij. *d*; item, paid for makyng and coloring the ij. myters, ij. *s*. iiij. *d*; item, paid for makyng of hell-mothe new, xxj. *d*," MS. *ibid*. There was also a performance in the next year by the Cappers' Company, and in 1571 their accounts for the pageant are thus recorded,—“Item, paid for mendyng the pagiaud geyre, iij. *d*; item, paid for a yard of bokeram, xij. *d*; item, paid for payntyng the demons mall and the Maris rolles, vj. *d*; item, for makyng the roles, ij. *d*; item, paid to the players att the second stage, viij. *d*," MS. *ibid*. In 1572 the following were the “charges for the padgand” of the Smiths' Company,—“Paid for canvys for Jwdas coote, ij. *s*; paid for the makyng of hit, x. *d*; paid to too damsselles, xij. *d*; paid for a poollye and an yron hoke and mendyng the padgand, xvj. *d*; paid for cowntters and a lase and pwyntes for Jwdas, iij. *d*," MS. Longbridge. The same company first performed in this year, 1572, their “new play,” either in conjunction with or after the older pageant, as appears from the original accounts. This new drama was unquestionably an imitation of the ancient mystery. The expenses of this performance in 1573 are thus stated,—“Paid for pleyng of Petur, xvj. *d*; paid for Jwdas parte, ix. *d*; paid for ij. damsylles, xij. *d*; paid to the deman, vj. *d*; paid to iiij. men that bryng yn Herod, viij. *d*; paid to Fastoun for hangyng Jwdas, iiij. *d*; paid to Fawston for coc-croyng, iiij. *d*; paid for Mr. Wygsons gowne, viij. *d*," MS. Longbridge. It seems from the following account of the expenses of the same play in 1574 that the last entry was a payment made for the loan of a gown to be worn by the person who acted the part of Herod,—“Paid for pleyng of Petur, xvj. *d*; paid for Jwdas, ix. *d*; paid for ij. damselles, xij. *d*; paid to the deman, vj. *d*; paid to iiij. men to bryng yn Herode, viij. *d*; paid to Fawston for hangyng Jwdas and cock-croyng, viij. *d*; paid for Herodes gowne, viij. *d*," MS.

ibid. In 1576 there was a payment of eighteenpence "for the gybbyt of Jezie." In 1577 the old mystery and the "new pley" were again performed by the Smiths' Company, and threepence was paid "for a lase for Jwdas and a corde" used in the latter. The expenses of the old pageant are stated as follows,—“Paid to the plears at the fyrst reherse, ij. s. vj. d; paid for ale, iiij. d; paid for Sent Marye Hall to reherse there, ij. d; paid for mendyng the padgand howse dore, xx. d; paid for too postes for the dore to stand upon, iiij. d; paid to the carpyntur for his labur, iiij. d; paid to James Beseley for ij. plattes on the post endes, vj. d; for great naylles to nayle on the hynges, ij. d; paid to vj. men to helpe up with the dore, vj. d,” accounts of the Smiths' Company for 1577, MS. Longbridge. There was a repetition of both these performances in the following year, when the following expenses were incurred for the new play,—“Paid for the cokcroing, iiij. d; paid to Thomas Massy for a trwse for Judas, ij. s. viij. d; paid for a new hoke to hange Judas, vj. d; paid for ij. new berars of yron for the new seyt in the padgand, xij. d,” accounts, 1578, MS. ibid. These must have been amongst the last performances at Coventry of the genuine old English mystery, which appears to have been suppressed in that city and in some other places in the year 1580; but the dramatic spirit survived, and in 1584 the Smiths' Company brought out, under the sanction of the Corporation, an entirely new pageant entitled the Destruction of Jerusalem, a tragedy partially founded on events recorded by Josephus, which it may be presumed was composed with the express object of retaining the attractions of the older performances in a form that would meet the objections of the authorities to the latter. This pageant was also acted by other companies, and appears to have been the only one allowed to be performed. It was written by John Smith, a native of Warwickshire, then a member of St. John's College, Oxford, who received what was in those days a liberal sum for his work. “Paid to Mr. Smythe of Oxford the xv. th daye of Aprill, 1584, for hys paynes for writing of the tragidye, xiiij. li. vj. s. viij. d,” Coventry Municipal MSS. The Destruction of Jerusalem, with its Chorus and large number of characters,

must have been a more elaborate production than any of the ancient English mysteries, but it was acted on the pageant vehicle and no doubt with appliances similar to those used in the performances of the older dramas. The accounts of the expenses incurred in the production of this tragedy in 1584 are sufficiently curious to be quoted at length,—“Imprimis, payd to the players for a reherse, ij. s. vj. *d* ; item, payde to Jhon Grene for wrytynge of the playe-booke, v. s ; item, payde to the trumpeter for soundyng in the pagent, v. s ; item, payde to hym that playde on the flute, ij. s. vj. *d* ; item, payde to Jhon Foxall for the hyer of Irysshe mantylles, viij. *d* ; item, gyvyn to the dryvers of the pagent to drynke, iiij. *d* ; item, payde for sope for the pagent wheles, iiij. *d* ; item, payde for a boorde for the pagente, vj. *d* ; item, payde to Cookeson for makynge of a whele to the skaffolde, viij. *d* ; item, payde to the carpenter for mendyng the pagente and for nayles, ij. *d* ; item, payde to William Barrat his men for a berrage, iiij. *d* ; item, payde for a iron pynne and a cotter for the skaffolde whele, iiij. *d* ; item, spent on the Companye at Mr. Smythes on the pley even, ij. s. viij. *d* ; item, paid to Jhon Deane and Fosson for theyre dyner on the playe daye, vj. *d* ; item, payde to Williams for makynge of ij. payre of galleyes, ij. s ; item, paid for the masters breakfast on the play daye, xx. *d* ; item, paid for the players drynke to the pagente, ij. s ; item, paid for starche to make the storme in the pagente, vj. *d* ; item, paid for carryenge of our aperaill from pagent to pagent, vj. *d* ; item, paid for drynke at Walkers for the muzicions, ij. *d* ; item, paid to Hewette for fetchyng of the hoggesheaddes, vj. *d* ; item, paid to the souldyers for waytyng on the captaynes, ij. s. vj. *d* ; item, paid for a pottell of wyne to the pagente, x. *d* ; item, paid to the muzicions for playenge on theyre instrumentes in the pagent, v. s ; item, paid for the masteres and the players sowper, viij. s. vj. *d* ; item, paid to Jhon Deane for hys sowper and drynkyng, vj. *d* ; item, paid to William Longe for russches, packthryd and tenter-hookes, viij. *d* ; item, paid to ij. drumme-players, x. *d* ; item, paid to the dryvers of the pagente, iiij. s ; item, paid to Hewet for hys paynes, iij. *d* ; item, paid to

Reignolde Headley for playenge of Symon and Phynea, v. s. ; item, paid to Gabryell Foster for playenge of Justus, Ananus, Eliazar and the Chorus, vj. s. viij. *d* ; item, paid to Jhon Bonde for playenge of the Capteyne, Jhoannes and the Chorus, vj. s. viij. d ; item, paid to William Longe for playenge of Merstyars, Jacobus, Hippenus and the Chorus, v. s. ; item, paid to Jhon Hoppers for playenge of Jesus and Zacharyas, iij. s. ; item, paid to Henry Chamberleyne for playenge of Pristus, a pece of Ananus and Zilla, iij. s. iiij. *d* ; item, paid to Jhon Grene for playenge of Mathias and Esron, ij. s. ; item, paid to John Copestake for playeng of Esron his parte, xx. *d* ; item, paid to Lewes Pryce for playenge of Niger his parte xvj. *d* ; item, paid to Frauncys Cocckes for playenge of Solome, xij. *d* ; item, paid to Richard Fitzharbert and Edwarde Platte for playeinge Chyldren to Solome, xij. *d* ; item, paid to Christofer Dyglyne for hys ij. drummes, vj. s. viij. *d* ; item, paid to the awncyente berer, xij. *d* ; item, paid to Robert Lawton for kepyng of the booke, ij. s. ; item, paid to Edmund Durrant for payntyng, ij. s. ; item, paid to Thomas Massye for the Temple and for his beardes, iij. s. ; item, payd to the players at the fyrst reherse, vij. *d* ; item, payd moore to them at the second reherse, xx. *d* ; item, payd unto the muzicyons the same tyme, vij. *d* ; item, payd unto Cristopher Dyglyn the same tyme in earnest, iiij. *d* ; item, payd to the players at the reherse on the Monday en Whytson wyck, ij. s. ; item, payd unto Cocckam in earnest for to playe on his bagpipes, iiij. *d* ; item, payd to the players at the last reherse in Sent Nycholas hall, iij. s. ; item, payd for havynge the pageaunt owte, viij. *d* ; item, spent at the Panyer at the fyrst reherse, ij. s. ; item, spent at Rychard Turners at the second reherse, viij. *d* ; item, payd to Henrye Chamberleyne for ij. beardes, vj. *d* ; item, payd for a clampe of iron weyng viij. *li*. for the pageant, xx. *d* ; item, payd for nayles to fasten the said clampe, ij. *d* ; item, payd for a iron pynne to the pageant, iiij. *d* ; item, paid for a iron to hold uppe the stremer, iiij. *d* ; item, payd for the pageant howse rente, v. s. ; item, payd to Jhon Deane for takyng paynes abowte the pageant, ij. s. vj. d," MS. Longbridge. It may be doubted, however, if the

Destruction of Jerusalem, notwithstanding the pains bestowed upon its production and though it was probably superior as a work of art to the old mysteries, ever achieved the popularity of the latter. The new drama does not appear to have been exhibited again until the year 1591, when it was played with the unanimous consent of the Corporation. "It is also agreed by the whole consent of this house that the Distruction of Jerusalem, the Conquest of the Danes or the Historie of K. E. the 4, at the request of the comons of this cittie, shal be plaid on the pagens on Midsomer Daye and St. Peters Daye next in this cittie and non other playes ; and that all the meypoles that nowe are standing in this cittie shal be taken downe before Whitsonday next, and non hereafter to be sett up in this cittie," MS. Council-Book of Coventry, 19 May, 1591. The merry England of Shakespeare's youth was now in the course of a rapid transformation so far as the favourite recreations of the country people were concerned, and these performances in 1591 were the last representations of the Coventry pageants. Several of the companies had disposed of their pageants and pageant-houses some years previously. Those of the Smiths' Company were parted with in 1586. "Item, recievdy of Mr. Pyle for the pageant-howse, xx. s.; item, recievdy of Henry Bankes for the pageant, xl. s.," Accounts of the Smiths' Company for 1586, MS. Longbridge. The Weavers sold their pageant in the following year for the same amount. The properties and dresses, however, belonging to some of the companies, were preserved by them for years after the termination of the performances. An inventory of the goods of the Cappers' Company, taken in 1597, includes,—“ij. pawles, sixe cressittes, ij. streamars and the poles, ij. bisshopes myters, Pylates dublit, ij. curtaynes, Pylates head, fyve Maries heades, one coyff, Mary Maudlyns gowne, iij. beardes, sixe pensils, iiij. rolles, iij. Marye boxes, one play-boke, the giandes head and clubbe, Pylates clubbe, hell-mowth, Adams spade, Eves distaffe,” MS. *ibid.* It may perhaps be inferred from the preservation of these relics that some of the companies still cherished the hope that the Coventry pageants would be revived.

It is certain that mysteries, similar to those which had been acted in that city when Shakespeare was a boy, lingered in some parts of England till the reign of James the First. Weever, after mentioning the eight-day play in London in 1409 (see Stow's *Survey*, ed. 1598, p. 69), observes,—“the subject of the play was the Sacred Scriptures from the creation of the world; they call this Corpus Christi Play in my countrey, which I have scene acted at Preston and Lancaster, and last of all at Kendall in the beginning of the raigne of King James, for which the townesmen were sore troubled, and upon good reasons the play finally suppress not onely there but in all other townes of the kingdome,” *Ancient Funerall Monuments*, 1631, p. 405. The mystery of the Passion acted at Ely House in the same reign (Prynne's *Histrio-Mastix*, 1633, p. 117) was probably one of the more elaborate religious dramas which so long maintained their popularity with the Roman Catholics. It is not likely that any of the legitimate ancient English mysteries were performed in London at so late a period, but other kinds of plays on Biblical subjects held their ground on our public stage until the early part of the seventeenth century.

## THE THEATRE AND CURTAIN.

These establishments, both of which are so intimately connected with the early theatrical history of Shakespeare, were situated in that division of the parish of Shoreditch which was known as the Liberty of Halliwell. This Liberty, at a later period termed Holywell, derived its name from a sacred (A.-S. halig) well or fountain which took its rise in the marshy grounds situated to the west of the high street leading from Norton Folgate to Shoreditch Church,—*mora in qua fons qui dicitur Halliwelle oritur*, charter of A.D. 1189 printed in Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. 1682, p. 531. In Shakespeare's time, all veneration or respect for the well had disappeared. Stow speaks of it as "much decayed and marred with filthinësse purposely layd there for the heighthening of the ground for garden plots," *Survey*, ed. 1598, p. 14. It has long disappeared, but it was in existence as recently as 1745, its locality being marked in the first accurate survey of the parish of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, made in that year by Chassereau. At that period the well was situated in a field which was on the east of the Curtain Road and a little to the north of the junction of the Willow Walk with that road. The present Bateman's Row takes its name from the then owner of that field, and the site of the well is now one chain to the south of that Row and two chains to the east of the Curtain Road.

The lands in which the holy fountain was situated belonged for many generations to the Priory of Holywell, more frequently termed Halliwell Priory in the Elizabethan documents. This institution was suppressed and its church demolished in the time of Henry the Eighth, but the priory itself, converted into private residences, was suffered to remain. The larger portion of these buildings and some of the adjoining land were pur-



chased by one Henry Webb in 1544, and are thus described in an old manuscript index to the Patent Rolls preserved in the Record Office,—“unum messuagium cum pertinenciis infra scitum Prioratus de Halliwell, gardina cum pertinenciis, domos et edificia cum pertinenciis, et tota domos et edificia vocata *le Fratrie*, claustrum vocatum *le Cloyster* et terram fundum et solum ejusdem, gardina vocata *the Ladyes Gardens*, unum gardinum vocatum *le Prioressse Garden* et unum columbare in eodem, ortum vocatum *le Covent Orchard* continentem unam acram, et omnia horrea, domos, brazinas etc. in tenura Johannis Foster, terram fundum et solum infra scitum predictum et ecclesie ejusdem et totam terram et solum totius capelle ibidem, totum curtilagium et terram vocata *le Chappell Yard*, et omnia domos, edificia et gardina in tenura predicti Johannis Foster, domum vocatum *le Washinghouse* et stabulum ibidem, et totum horreum vocatum *le Oatebarne*, parcella ejusdem Prioratus de Halliwell.” A small portion of this estate, that in which the Theatre was afterwards erected, belonged in the year 1576 to one Giles Allen. It was at this period that “James Burbage of London joyner” obtained from Allen a lease, dated 13th April, 1576, of houses and land situated between Finsbury Field and the public road from Bishopsgate to Shoreditch Church. The boundary of the leased estate on the west is described as “a bricke wall next unto the feildes commonly called Finsbury Feildes.” James Burbage, by early trade a joiner, but at this time also a leading member of the Earl of Leicester’s Company of Players, was the originator of theatrical buildings in England, for the successful promotion of which his earlier as well as his adopted profession were exactly suited. He obtained the lease referred to with this express object, Allen covenanting with him that, if he expended two hundred pounds upon the buildings already on the estate, he should be at liberty “to take downe and carrie awaie to his and their owne proper use all such buildinges and other thinges as should be builded, erected, or sett upp, in or uppon the gardeines and voide groundes by the said indentures graunted, or anie parte therof, by the said Jeames, his executors or assignes, either for a theatre or

playinge place or for anie other lawefull use for his or their commodities," Answer of Giles Allen in the suit of Burbage *v.* Allen, Court of Requests, 6th Febr., 42 Eliz. The lease was signed on April 13th, 1576, and Burbage must have commenced the erection of his theatre immediately afterwards. It was the earliest fabric of the kind ever built in this country, emphatically designated The Theatre, and by the summer of the following year it was a recognised centre of theatrical amusements. On the first of August, 1577, the Lords of the Privy Council directed a letter to be forwarded "to the L. Wentworth, Mr. of the Rolles, and Mr. Lieutenaunt of the Tower, signifieng unto them that for thavoiding of the sicknes likelic to happen through the heate of the weather and assemblies of the people of London to playes, her Highnes plesure is that as the L. Mayor hath taken order within the Citce, so they imediatlie upon the receipt of their ll. lettres shall take order with such as are and do use to play without the liberties of the Citee within that countie, as the Theater and such like, shall forbear any more to play untill Mighelmas be past at the least, as they will aunswer to the contrarye," MS. Register of the Privy Council. The county here alluded to is Middlesex. This is the earliest notice of the Theatre yet discovered.

There is no ancient view of the district leased to Burbage in which the Theatre is introduced, but a general notion of the aspect of the locality may be gathered from the portion of the map of Aggas in which it is included. The perspective and measurements of that plan are unfortunately inaccurate, as may be ascertained by comparing it with the more correct, but far less graphic, delineation of the same locality in Braun's map, 1574. Both Aggas and Braun undoubtedly made use of one and the same earlier plan, but the work of the latter appears in some respects to be more scientifically executed. It is clear from Braun's map, tested by the later survey completed by Faithorne in 1658, that the eastern boundary of Finsbury Field was much nearer the highway to Shoreditch than might be inferred from the position assigned to it by Aggas. That boundary was also nearly parallel with the

highway, and part of it seems to be the road or sewer which, in Aggas's map, extends from an opening on the right of the Dog-house to the lane near the spot where is to be observed a rustic with a spade on his shoulder walking towards Shoreditch. That part of the map here termed a road or sewer may have been and most likely was a line of way by the side of an open ditch, that which was afterwards the Curtain Road ; a supposition all but confirmed by a survey of the bounds of Finsbury Manor, taken in 1586, where the eastern boundary of that manor hereabouts is mentioned as the "common sewer and waye" which "goethe to the playehowse called the Theater." If this be the case, the north end of this ditch was the commencement of Holywell Lane, and the brick wall on the west of the Priory buildings was exactly opposite, the position of that wall being incorrectly represented in Aggas's map. Finsbury Field certainly included the meadow in which the three windmills were situated, as appears from a survey of the manor, taken in 1567, printed in Stow's Survey of London, ed. 1633, p. 913 ; and it also extended to the vicinity of the Dog-house, as I find from a notice of it in Rot. Pat. 35 Hen. VIII. pars 16. The portion of the Field which joined Burbage's estate was of course much nearer the village of Shoreditch. At the time of the erection of the Theatre there were, as will be presently seen, more houses in the neighbourhood of the Priory than are shown in either of the early plans of Braun and Aggas. Others were erected by Burbage in the immediate vicinity of the Theatre. Witnesses were asked in 1602, "whither were the said newe howses standing in the said greate yarde, and neere and alonge the late greate howse called the Theater ;" and one of them deposed that "the newe houses standing in the greate yard neere and along the Theatre, and also those other newe builded houses that are on the other syde of the sayd greate yard over and against the sayd former newe builded houses, were not at the costes and charges of Gyles Allen erected, builded or sett up, as he hath heard, but were so builded by the said James Burbage about xxviij. yeares agoe." There can be no doubt that Aggas's plan was completed some years before the erection

either of these houses or of the Theatre. In this plan the Royal Exchange, not completed till 1570, is introduced, but its insertion clearly appears to be the result of an alteration made in the original block some years after the completion of the latter. A similar variation is to be observed in some copies of Braun's plan, in one of which, 1574, in my collection, that building is found evidently in the same plate from which other copies of that date, in which it does not occur, were taken. It should be borne in mind that great caution is requisite in the study of all the early London maps. Those of Aggas, Braun and Norden are the only plans of the time of Queen Elizabeth which are authentic, and care must be taken that reliable editions are consulted, there being several inaccurate copies and imitations of all of them.

Burbage gave a premium of £20 for the lease of 1576, the term being for twenty-one years at the annual rent of £14, and it was covenanted that if the lessee expended £200 on the property in certain specified directions he should, at any time before the expiration of ten years, be entitled to claim from Allen a new lease for twenty-one years commencing from the date of the latter. A lease carrying out these terms, dated 1 November, 27 Elizabeth, 1585, was accordingly prepared by Burbage and submitted on that day to Allen, who, however, declined to execute. The extent of the property must have been comparatively limited, consisting merely of two gardens, four houses and a large barn, as appears from the following rather curious and minute description of parcels which occurs in the proposed deed of 1585,—“all thos two howses or tenementes with thappurtenaunces which, att the tyme of the sayde former demise made, weare in the severall tenures or occupacions of Johan Harrison, widowe, and John Dragon ; and also all that howse or tenement with thappurtenances, together with the gardyn grounde lyinge behinde parte of the same, beinge then likewise in the occupacion of William Garnett, gardiner, which sayd gardyn plott dothe extende in bredthe from a greate stone walle there which doth inclose parte of the gardyn, then or latlye beinge in the occupacion of the sayde Gyles, unto the gardeyne ther then in the

occupacion of Ewin Colfoxe, weaver, and in lengthe from the same howse or tenement unto a bricke wall ther next unto the feildes commonly called Finsbury Feildes ; and also all that howse or tenemente with thappurtenances att the tyme of the sayde former demise made called or knowne by the name of the Mill-howse, together with the gardyn gounde lyinge behinde parte of the same, also att the tyme of the sayde former demise made beinge in the tenure or occupacion of the foresayde Ewyn Colefoxe or of his assignes, which sayde gardyn grounde dothe extende in lengthe from the same house or tenement unto the forsayde bricke wall next unto the foresayde feildes ; and also all those three upper romes with thappurtenaunces next adjoyninge to the foresayde Mill-house, also beinge att the tyme of the sayde former demise made in the occupacion of Thomas Dancaster, shomaker, or of his assignes ; and also all the nether romes with thappurtenances lyinge under the same three upper romes, and next adjoyninge also to the foresayde house or tenemente called the Mill-house, then also beinge in the severall tenurs or occupacions of Alice Dotridge, widowe, and Richarde Brockenburye or of ther assignes, together also with the gardyn grounde lyinge behynde the same, extendynge in lengthe from the same nether romes downe unto the forsayde bricke wall nexte unto the foresayde feildes, and then or late beinge also in the tenure or occupacion of the foresayde Alice Dotridge ; and also so much of the grounde and soyle lyeinge and beinge afore all the tenementes or houses before graunted as extendethe in lengthe from the owtwarde parte of the foresayde tenementes, beinge at the tyme of the makeinge of the sayde former demise in the occupacion of the foresayde Johan Harryson and John Dragon, unto a ponde there beinge nexte unto the barne or stable then in the occupacion of the Right Honorable the Earle of Rutlande or of his assignes, and in bredthe from the foresayde tenemente or Mill-house to the midst of the well beinge afore the same tenementes ; and also all that great barne with thappurtenances att the tyme of the makeinge of the sayde former demise made beinge in the severall occupacions of Hughe Richardes, inholder, and Robert

Stoughton, butcher ; and also a little peece of grounde then inclosed with a pale and next adjoyninge to the foresayde barne, and then or late before that in the occupacion of the sayde Roberte Stoughton, together also with all the grounde and soyle lyinge and beinge betwene the sayde neyther romes last before expressed and the foresayde greate barne and the foresayde ponde, that is to saye, extendinge in lengthe from the foresayde ponde unto a ditche beyonde the brick wall nexte the foresayde feildes ; and also the sayde Gyles Allen and Sara his wyfe doe by thes presentes dimise, graunte and to farme lett, unto the sayde Jeames Burbage all the right, title and interest, which the sayde Gyles and Sara have, or ought to have, of, in or to all the groundes and soile lyinge betwene the foresayde greate barne and the barne being at the tyme of the sayde former dimise in the occupacion of the Earle of Rutlande or of his assignes, extendinge in lengthe from the foresayde ponde and from the foresayde stable or barne then in the occupacion of the foresayde Earle of Rutlande or of his assignes downe to the foresayde bricke wall next the foresayde feildes ; and also the sayde Gyles and Sara doe by thes presentes demise, graunt and to farme let to the sayde Jeames, all the sayde voide grounde lieynge and beinge betwixt the foresayde ditche and the foresayde brick-wall, extendinge in lenght<sup>o</sup> from the foresayde brick wall which incloseth parte of the foresayde garden, beinge att the tyme of the makinge of the sayde former demise or late before that in the occupacion of the sayde Giles Allen, unto the foresayde barne then in the occupacion of the foresayde Earle or of his assignes." This description is identical with that given in the lease of 1576, as appears from a recital in the *Coram Rege* Rolls, Easter 44 Elizabeth, R. 257.

There is no doubt that the estate above described formed a portion of that which was purchased by Webb in 1544, and belonged to Allen in 1576, for in a paper in a suit instituted many years afterwards respecting "a piece of void ground" on the eastern boundary of the property leased to Burbage we are informed that Henry the Eighth granted to Henry Webb "a

greate parte of the scite of the said Pryorie, and namely amongst other thinges all those barnes, stables, bruehowses, gardens and all other buildinges whatsoever, with their appurtenaunces, lyinge and beinge within the scite, walles and precincte of the said Pryorie, on the West parte of the said Priorye, within the lower gate of the said Priorye, and all the ground and soyle by any wayes included within the walles and precincte of the said priorye extendinge from the said lower gate, of which ground the sayd yarde or peece of void ground into which it is supposed that the said Cuthbert Burbage hath wrongfully entered is parcell." This important evidence enables us to identify the exact locality of the Burbage estate, the southern boundary of which extended from the western side of the lower gate of the Priory to Finsbury Fields, the brick wall separating the latter from Burbage's property being represented in Aggas's map in a north-east direction from Holywell Lane on the west of the Priory buildings, though, as previously stated, the wall is placed in that map too near Shoreditch. The rustic with the spade on his shoulder who, in Aggas's view, is represented as walking towards Holywell Lane, is at a short distance from the south-western corner of Burbage's property. Somewhere near that corner the Theatre was undoubtedly situated. This opinion is confirmed by Stow, who, in his *Survey of London*, ed. 1598, p. 349, thus writes, speaking of the Priory,— "the Church being pulled downe, many houses have bene their builded for the lodgings of noblemen, of straungers borne and other ; and neare thereunto are builded two publique houses for the acting and shewe of comedies, tragedies and histories, for recreation, whereof the one is called the Courtein, the other the Theatre, both standing on the south-west side towards the Field," that is, Finsbury Field. The lower gate, mentioned in the record above quoted, was on the north side of Holywell Lane, and in a deposition taken in 1602, it is stated that the "Earle of Rutland and his assignes did ordinarily at their pleasures chayne and barre up the lane called Holloway Lane leading from the greate streete of Shordich towards the fieldes along before the gate of the said Pryory, and so kept the same so

cheyned and barred up as a private foote way, and that the same lane then was not used as a common highway for carte or carriage." Other witnesses assert that no one was allowed "to passe with horse or carte" unless he had the Earl's special permission. It is, perhaps, not to be concluded from these statements that persons were not allowed to drive carts through the lane, but simply that the Earl took the ordinary precautions to retain it legally as a private road. The lower gate, though indistinctly rendered, may be observed in Aggas's map on the south of the west end of the Priory buildings, and upon land situated to the north-west of this gate the Theatre was erected. All this locality is now so completely altered, it being a dense assemblage of modern buildings, that hardly any real archæological interest attaches to it. The position of the Theatre, however, can be indicated with a near approach to accuracy. The ruins of the Priory were still visible in the last century in King John's Court on the north of Holywell Lane, and were incorrectly but popularly known as the remains of King John's Palace (Maitland's History of London, ed. 1739, p. 771). The ruins have disappeared, but the Court is still in existence, a circumstance which enables us to identify the locality of the Priory. It appears, therefore, from the evidences above cited, that the Theatre must have been situated a little to the north of Holywell Lane as nearly as possible on the site of what is now Deanes Mews. Excavations made a few years ago for a railway, which passes over some of the ground upon which the Priory stood, uncovered the remains of the stone-work of one of the ancient entrance-doors, and these few relics are most probably the only vestiges remaining of what was once the thriving and somewhat important Priory of Holywell.

Although the Theatre must have been situated near some of the houses on the Burbage estate, it was practically in the fields, as is ascertained from indisputable evidences. Stockwood, in August, 1578, speaks of it as "the gorgeous playing place erected in the fieldes." Fleetwood, writing to Lord Burghley in June, 1584, says,—“that night I returned to



London, and found all the wardes full of watches ; the cause thereof was for that *very nere* the Theatre or Curten, at the tyme of the playes, there laye a prentice sleping *upon the grasse*, and one Challes alias Grostock dyd turne upon the too upon the belly of the same prentice, wherupon the apprentice start up, and after wordes they fell to playne blowes," MS. Lansd. 41. The neighbourhood of the Theatre was occasionally visited by the common hangman, a circumstance which proves that there was an open space near the building. In the True Report of the Inditement &c. of Weldon, Hartley and Sutton, who suffered for High Treason in severall Places about the Citie of London on Saturday the Fifth of October, 1588, it is stated that "after Weldons execution the other prisoners were brought to Hollywell, nigh the Theater, where Hartley was to suffer." In Tarlton's *Newes Out of Purgatorie*, 1590, that celebrated actor is represented as knowing that the performance at the Theatre was finished when he "saw suth concourse of people through the Fields;" and when Peter Streete removed the building in 1599, he was accused by Allen of injuring the neighbouring grass to the value of fourty shillings. There is a similar allusion to the *herba Cutberti* in proceedings in *Burbage v. Ames*, Coram Rege Roll, Hil. 41 Elizabeth, a suit respecting a small piece of land in the immediate locality. The Theatre was originally built on enclosed ground, but a pathway or road was afterwards made from it into the open fields; for a witness deposed in 1602 that "shee doth not knowe anie ancient way into the<sup>e</sup> fieldes but a way, used after the building of the Theatre, which leadeth into the fieldes."

The quotation above given from Tarlton's *Newes out of Purgatorie*, 1590, shows that the usual access to the Theatre was through Finsbury Fields. There was certainly no regular path to it through the Lower Gate of the Priory, the old plans of the locality exhibiting its site as enclosed ground; and according to one witness, whose evidence was taken in 1602, Allen, previously to the erection of the Theatre, had no access to his premises from the south, but merely from the east and north. The testimony here alluded to was given in reply to the following

interrogatory,—“ whither had not the said Allen his servauntes, and such other tenauntes as he had, before those said newe buildinges were sett up and before the Theater was builded, their ordinarie waie of going and coming in and out to his howse onely through that place or neere or over againste that place wheare the Theater stood into feildes and streetes, and not anie other waie, and how long is it since he or his did use anie other waie as you knowe or have heard ?” Mary Hobbblethwayte, of Shoreditch, who gave her age as 76 or thereabouts, deposed “ that the said Allen his servauntes and tenentes, before those newe buildinges were sett up, and before the Theatre was builded, had their ordinary way of going and coming to and from his house onely through a way directly towards the North, inclosed on both sydes with a brick wall, leading to a Crosse neere unto the well called Dame Agnes a Cleeres Well, and that the way made into the fieldes from the Theatre was made since the Theatre was builded, as shee remembreth, and that the said Allen his servauntes and tenauntes had not any other way other then the way leading from his house to the High Streete of Shordich.” On the other hand, there were witnesses examined at the same time who asserted that Allen had access to the fields by a path through or near the site of the Theatre before that building was erected. Leonard Jackson, aged 80, declared “ that the said Allen his servauntes and others his tenauntes had, before those newe buildinges were sett up, and before the Theatre was builded, the ordinary way of going and coming in and out to his house through that place, or neere or over against that place where the Theatre stode, and that he and they had also another way through his greate orchard into the High Streete of Shorditch, and that he hath used that way some xxx. yeares or xxxv. yeares or thereabouts.” Still more in detail but to a like effect is the deposition of John Rowse, aged 55, who stated that “ the saide Allen his servauntes and other tenauntes there had, before those his newe buildinges were sett up and before the Theatre was builded, their ordinary waie coming and going in and out to his house onely through that place, or neere or over against that place where the saide Theatre

stoode into the fieldes, and that nowe and then he and some of his tenauntes did come in and out at the greate gate, and he doth remember this to be true, bycause that the said Allen nowe and then at his going into the country from Hollowell did give this examinautes father, being appointed Porter of the house by his Lord Henry Earle of Rutland, for his paines, sometymes iij. s., sometymes iiij. s., and further he saieth that he hath knowne the said Allen and his servauntes use another way from his house through his long orchard into Hollowell Streete or Shorditch Streete, and this waie as he this examine remembreth some xxx.ty yeares or thereabouts." It must be borne in mind that the property affected by the rights of way investigated in these evidences consisted of the whole of Allen's estate before Burbage was his lessee.

It appears from Hobbblethwayte's evidence that, after the Theatre was built, there was a road or path made from it on the west side into the fields. This road or path must have been made through the brick wall on the eastern boundary of Finsbury Fields, as is ascertained from a clause in the proposed lease from Allen to Burbage, 1585, and from an unpublished account of the boundaries of Finsbury Manor written in 1586, in which, after mentioning that the bounds of the manor on the south passed along the road which divided More Field from Mallow Field, the latter being the one to the east of the grounds of Finsbury Court, the writer proceeds to describe them as follows,—“and so alonge by the southe ende of the gardens adjoyninge to More Feld into a dicke of watter called the Common Sewer which runnethe into More Dicke, and from thence the same dicke northewarde alonge one theaste side the gardens belonginge to John Worssopp, and so alonge one theaste side of twoo closes of the same John Worssopp nowe in the occupacion of Thomas Lee thelder, buttcher, for which gardens and closes the said John Worssopp payed the quit rent to the mannor of Fynsbury, as aperethe by the recorde, and so the same boundes goe over the highe waye close by a barren lately builded by one Niccolles, includinge the same barren, and so northe as the Common Sewer and waye goethe to the playehowse called the

Theater, and so tournethe by the same Common Sewer to Dame Agnes the Clere." The evidence of Hobbblethwayte is confirmed by the testimony of Anne Thornes, of Shoreditch, aged 74, who deposed,—“that shee cannott remember that Allen his servauntes or tenauntes had, before the said new buildinges were sett up or before the said Theatre was builded, theire ordinary way of going and comming unto his house onely through that place where the Theatre stode into the fieldes or neere or over against that place ; but shee hath heard that, since the building of the Theatre, there is a way made into the fieldes, and that the said Allen and his tenauntes have for a long tyme used another way out of the sayd scite of the Priory that the said Allen holdeth into the High Streete of Shorditch.” Rowse’s evidence proves that there could have been no regular access to the locality of the Theatre through the Lower Gate of the Priory in Holywell Lane, and very few indeed of the audience could have used the path which entered Allen’s property to the north from the well of St. Agnes le Clair, which latter was not in the direction of any road used by persons coming from London. It follows that, in Shakespeare’s time, the chief if not the only line of access to the Theatre was across the fields which lay to the west of the western boundary wall of the grounds of the dissolved Priory, and through those meadows, therefore, nearly all the visitors to the Theatre would arrive at their destination, most of them on foot, but some no doubt riding “into the fieldes playes to behold,” Davis’s Epigrammes, 1599. This question of their route is not a subject of mere topographical curiosity, the conclusion here reached increasing the probability of there being some foundation for the tradition recorded by Davenant.

The Theatre appears to have been a very favourite place of amusement, especially with the more unruly section of the populace. There are several allusions to its crowded audiences and to the license which occasionally attended the entertainments, the disorder sometimes penetrating into the City itself. “By reason no playes were the same daye, all the Citie was quiet,” observes the writer of a letter in June, 1584, MS. Lansd. 41. Stockwood, in a Sermon Preached at Paules Crosse

the 24 of August, 1578, indignantly asks,—“wyll not a fylthye playe wyth the blast of a trumpette sooner call thyther a thousande than an houres tolling of a bell bring to the sermon a hundred?—nay, even heere in the Citie, without it be at this place and some other certaine ordinarie audience, where shall you finde a reasonable company?—whereas, if you resort to the Theatre, the Curtayne and other places of playes in the Citie, you shall on the Lords Day have these places, with many other that I cannot reckon, so full as possible they can throng ;” and, in reference again to the desecration of the Sunday at the Theatre, he says,—“if playing in the Theatre or any other place in London, as there are by sixe that I know to many, be any of the Lordes wayes, whiche I suppose there is none so voide of knowledge in the world wil graunt, then not only it may but ought to be used ; but if it be any of the wayes of man, it is no work for the Lords sabaoth, and therfore in no respecte tollerable on that daye.” It was upon a Sunday, two years afterwards, in April, 1580, that there was a great disturbance at the same establishment, the only record of which that has come under my notice is in a letter from the Lord Mayor of London to the Privy Council dated April 12th,—“where it happened on Sundaie last that some great disorder was committed at the Theatre, I sent for the undershireve of Middlesex to understand the cercumstances, to the intent that by myself or by him I might have caused such redresse to be had as in dutie and discretion I might, and therefore did also send for the plaiers to have apered afore me, and the rather because those playes doe make assembles of cittizens and their familes of whome I have charge ; but forasmuch as I understand that your Lordship with other of hir Majesties most honorable Counsell have entered into examination of that matter, I have surceassed to procede further, and do humbly refer the whole to your wisdomes and grave considerations ; howbeit, I have further thought it my dutie to informe your Lordship, and therewith also to beseeche to have in your honorable remembrance, that the players of playes which are used at the Theatre and other such places, and tumblers and such like, are a very superfluous sort of men

and of suche facultie as the lawes have disallowed, and their exercise of those playes is a great hinderaunce of the service of God, who hath with His mighty hand so lately admonished us of oure earnest repentance," City of London MSS. The Lord Mayor here of course alludes to the great earthquake which had occurred a few days previously. In June, 1584, there was a disturbance just outside the Theatre, thus narrated in a letter to Lord Burghley,—“uppon Weddensdaye one Browne, a serving man in a blew coat, a shifting fellowe, havinge a perrelous witt of his owne, entending a sport if he cold have browght it to passe, did at Theater doore querell with certen poore boyes, handicraft prentises, and strooke somme of theym; and lastlie he, with his sword, wondeid and maymed one of the boyes upon the left hand, whereupon there assembled nere a thousand people;—this Browne dyd very cuninglie convey hymself awaye.” The crowds of disorderly people frequenting the Theatre are thus alluded to in Tarlton's *Newes out of Purgatorie*, 1590,—“upon Whitson monday last I would needs to the Theatre to see a play, where, when I came, I founde such concourse of unrulye people that I thought it better solitary to walk in the fields then to intermeddle myselfe amongst such a great presse.” In 1592, there was an apprehension that the London apprentices might indulge in riots on Midsummer-night, in consequence of which the following order was issued by the Lords of the Council,—“moreover for avoydinge of thes unlawfull assemblies in those quarters, yt is thoughte meete yow shall take order that there be noe playes used in anye place nere thereaboutes, as the Theator, Curtayne or other usuall places there where the same are comonly used, nor no other sorte of unlawfull or forbidden pastymes that drawe together the baser sorte of people, from henceforth untill the feast of St. Michaell,” MS. Register of the Privy Council, 23rd June, 1592. Another allusion to the throngs of the lower orders attracted by the entertainments at the Theatre occurs in a letter from the Lord Mayor of London to the Privy Council, dated 13th September, 1595,—“among other inconvenyences it is not the least that the refuse sort of evill disposed

and ungodly people about this Cytie have oportunitie hearby to assemble together and to make their matches for all their lewd and ungodly practizes, being also the ordinary places for all maisterles men and vagabond persons that haunt the high waies to meet together and to recreate themselves, whearof wee begin to have experienc again within these few daies since if pleased her highnes to revoke her comission graunted forthe to the Provost Marshall, for fear of home they retired themselves for the time into other partes out of his precinct, but ar now returned to their old haunt, and frequent the plaies, as their manner is, that ar daily shewed at the Theator and Bankside, whearof will follow the same inconveniences, whearof wee have had to much experienc heartofore, for preventing whearof wee ar humble suters to your good Ll. and the rest to direct your lettres to the Justices of Peac of Surrey and Middlesex for the present stay and finall suppressing of the said plaies, as well at the Theator and Bankside as in all other places about the Cytie." It is clear from these testimonies that the Theatre attracted a large number of persons of questionable character to the locality, thus corroborating what has been previously stated respecting the degree of responsibility attached to those who undertook the care of the horses belonging to the more respectable portion of the audience.

Two years afterwards, the inconveniences attending the large numbers of people resorting to the Shoreditch theatres culminated in an order of the Privy Council for their removal, a decree which, like several others of a like kind emanating from the same body, was disregarded. The order appeared in the form of a letter to the Justices of Middlesex dated July 28th, 1597, the contents of which are recorded as follows in the Council Register,—“A lettre to Robert Wrothe, William Fleetwood, John Barne, Thomas Fowle and Richard Skevington esquire, and the rest of the Justices of Middlesex nerest to London; Her Majestie being informed that there are verie greate disorders committed in the common playhouses both by lewd matters that are handled on the stages, and by resorte and confluence of bad people, hathe given direction that not onlie

no plaies shal be used within London or about the Citty, or in any publike place, during this tyme of sommer, but that also those playhouses that are erected and built only for suche purposes shal be plucked downe, namelie the Curtayne and the Theatre nere to Shorditch, or any other within that county; theis are therefore in her Majesties name to chardge and commaund you that you take present order there be no more plaies used in any publike place within three myles of the Citty untill Alhallontide next, and likewyse that you do send for the owner of the Curtayne, Theatre or anie other common playhouse, and injoyne them by vertue hereof forthwith to plucke downe quite the stages, galleries and roomes that are made for people to stand in, and so to deface the same as they maie not be ymployed agayne to suche use, which yf they shall not spedely performe you shall advertyse us, that order maie be taken to see the same don according to her Majesties pleasure and commaundment." This order appears to have been issued in consequence of representations made by the Lord Mayor in a letter written on the same day to the Privy Council, in which he observes,—“wee have fownd by th'examination of divers apprentices and other servantes, whoe have confessed unto us that the saide staige playes were the very places of their randevous appoynted by them to meete with such otheir as wear to joigne with them in their designes and mutinus attemptes, beeinge allso the ordinarie places for maisterles men to come together to reereate themselves, for avoydinge wheareof wee are nowe againe most humble and earnest suitors to your honors to dirrect your lettres as well to ourselves as to the Justices of Peace of Surrey and Midlesex for the present staie and fynall suppressinge of the saide stage playes as well at the Theatre, Curten and Banckside, as in all other places in and about the Citie," City of London MSS. The players up to this time had wisely erected all their regular theatres in the suburbs, the Mayor and Corporation of the City having been virulently opposed to the drama.

The crowds which flocked to places of entertainment were reasonably supposed to increase the danger of the spread of



infection during the prevalence of an epidemic, and the Theatre and Curtain were sometimes ordered to be closed on that account. The Lord Mayor of London in a letter to Sir Francis Walsingham, dated May 3rd, 1583, thus writes in reference to the plague,—“among other we finde one very great and dangerous inconvenience, the assemblie of people to playes, beare-baying, fencers and prophane spectacles at the Theatre and Curtaine and other like places, to which doe resorte great multitudes of the basist sort of people and many enfected with sores runing on them, being out of our jurisdiction, and some whome we cannot descerne by any dilligence and which be otherwise perilous for contagion, beside the withdrawing from Gods service, the peril of ruines of so weake byldinges and the advancement of incontinenzie and most ungodly confederacies,” City of London MSS. In the spring of the year 1586 plays at the Theatre were prohibited on account of the danger of infection, as appears from the following note in the Privy Council Register under the date of May 11th,—“A lettre to the L. Maior ; his l. is desired, according to his request made to their Lordshippes by his lettres of the vij.th of this present, to geve order for the restrayning of playes and interludes within and about the Cittie of London, for th’avoyding of infection feared to grow and increase this tyme of sommer by the comon assemblies of people at those places, and that their Lordshippes have taken the like order for the prohibiting of the use of playes at the Theater and th’other places about Newington out of his charge,”—MS. Register preserved at the Privy Council Office.

The preceding document of July, 1597, contains the latest notice of the Theatre in connexion with dramatic entertainments which has yet been discovered. It is alluded to in *Skialetheia*, published in the following year, 1598, as being then closed,—“but see yonder=One, like the unfrequented Theater,=Walkes in darke silence and vast solitude.” James Burbage on September 17th, 1579, assigned his Shoreditch estate to one John Hyde, who held it till June 7th, 1589 (*Coram Rege* Rolls, 44 Eliz.), upon which day the latter surrendèred his interest in it to Cuthbert Burbage. The assignment to Hyde may have

been a security for a loan. At all events, James Burbage appears to have retained the legal estate and to have continued to deal with the property, so far as litigation was concerned, as if it were his own, and at the time of his death, which took place early in 1597, he was involved in a law-suit respecting the estate, this circumstance so embarrassing his successors that they found it difficult to carry on the management of the Theatre. According to a statement made by the family to Lord Pembroke in 1635, James Burbage "was the first builder of playhouses, and was himselfe in his younger yeeres a player ; the Theater hee built with many hundred poundes taken up at interest ; hee built this house upon leased ground, by which meanes the landlord and hee had a great suite in law, and, by his death, the like troubles fell on us, his sonnes." There is some difficulty in reconciling the various statements respecting the devolution of the estate, but the one most likely to be correct is that made by Allen, who asserted that James Burbage, previously to his decease, made a deed of gift of the property to his two sons, Cuthbert and Richard.

It is worth recording that, shortly before the death of the elder Burbage in 1597, negotiations were pending with Allen for a considerable extension of the lease, with a stipulation, however, assigning a limited period only for the continuation of theatrical amusements. Allen's statement is that "the said Jeames Burbage grewe to a newe agreement that the said Jeames Burbage should have a newe lease of the premisses conteyned in the former lease for the terme of one and twenty yeares, to beginne after the end and expiracion of the former lease, for the yearlie rent of foure and twentie powndes, for the said Jeames Burbage, in respect of the great proffitt and commoditie which he had made and in time then to come was further likelye to make of the Theatre and the other buildinges and growndes to him demised, was verye willinge to paie tenn powndes yearelye rent more then formerlie he paid ; and it was likewise further agreed betweene them, as the defendant hopeth he shall sufficientlie prove, that the said Theatre should continue for a playinge place for the space of five yeares onelie after the

expiracion of the first terme and not longer, by reason that the defendant sawe that many inconveniences and abuses did growe therby, and that after the said five yeares ended it should be converted by the said Jeames Burbage and the complainant or one of them to some other use," Answer of Gyles Allen in the suit of Burbage v. Allen, Court of Requests, 42 Eliz. Cuthbert Burbage, in his Replication, denies that his father consented to entertain the suggestion "that the said Theater should contynue for a playinge place for the space of fyve yeres onelie after the first terme and no longer." In confirmation, however, of Allen's version of the facts, there is the testimony of a witness named Thomas Nevill, who positively declared that "there was an agreemente had betweene them, the said complainante and the said defendantes, for the howses and growndes with the Theatre which were formerlye demised unto Jeames Burbage, the father of the said complainante, with an increasinge of the rente from fourteene powndes by the yeare unto foure and twentye powndes by the yeare, which lease should beginn at the expiracion of the ould lease made unto the said complainantes father, and should continue for the space of one and twentye yeares ; and this deponente further saith that the said defendant was at the firste verrie unwillinge that the said Theatre should continue one daie longer for a playinge place, yet neverthelesse at the laste he yealded that it should continue for a playinge place for certaine yeares, and that the said defendante did agree that the said complainante should after those yeares expired converte the said Theatre to his beste benifitt for the residue of the said terme then to come, and that afterward it should remaine to the onelye use of the defendante," MS. Depositions in the Suit of Burbage v. Allen taken at Kelvedon, co. Essex, in August, 1600.

The year 1597 was a critical one for the Burbages in respect to their Shoreditch estate. The original lease given by Allen expired in the Spring, and they could not succeed in obtaining a legal ratification of the additional ten years covenanted to be granted to the lessee, although they were still permitted to remain as tenants. Bewildered by this uncertainty of the

tenure, they resolved in the following year not only to abandon the Theatre, but to take advantage of a condition in the original lease and remove it with the whole of the materials, a step which had at least the advantage of throwing the initiative of further litigation upon Allen. The stipulation in the lease of 1576 here mentioned was to the effect that if Burbage, at any time during the first ten years of the term, expended the sum of £200 upon the improvement of the estate, he should be at liberty "to have, take downe and carie away to his and their owne proper use for ever all suche buildinges and other thinges as should be builded, erected or sette uppe in or uppon the gardeins and voyde growndes by the saide indenture graunted, or anie parte therof, by the saide James his executors or assignees, either for a theator or playinge place, or for anie other lawfull use for his or their comodities," lease of 1576 as quoted in a Bill of Complaint, *Burbage v. Allen*, 42 Eliz. Streete expressly declares that it was originally agreed that the same clause should form a part of the extended lease,—“et ulterius predictus Egidius Alleyn et Sara uxor ejus convenerunt et concesserunt, pro seipsis heredibus executoribus et assignatis suis, et quilibet eorum separatim convenit et concessit prefato Jacobo Burbage, executoribus et assignatis suis, quod licitum foret eidem Jacobo, executoribus seu assignatis suis, in consideratione impenditionis et expositionis predictis ducentarum librarum, modo et forma predicta, ad aliquod tempus et tempora ante finem predicti termini viginti et unius annorum per predictam indenturam concessi, aut ante finem predicti termini viginti et unius annorum post confectionem indenture predicte, virtute ejusdem indenture concedendi, habere, diruere et abcarare ad ejus aut eorum proprium usum imperpetuum, omnia talia edificia et omnes alias res qualia edificata erecta aut supposita forent, Anglice *sett upp*, in et super gardino et locis vacuis, Anglice *the growndes*, per indenturam predictam concessa, aut aliqua parte inde, per predictum Jacobum executores vel assignatos suos, aut pro theatro vocato *a theater or playinge place*, aut pro aliquo alio licito usu pro ejus aut eorum commoditate.” It is accordingly found that the stipulation is inserted as follows in the proposed lease of

1585,—“and further the sayde Gyles Allen and Sara his wyfe for them, their heres, executors and adminiistrators, doe covenante and graunte, and every of them severally covenanteth and graunteth, to and with the sayde Jeames Burbage his executors and assignes by thes presentes, that yt shall or may be lawfull for the sayde Jeames Burbage, his executors or assignes, in consideracion for the imployinge and bestowinge of the foresayde some of cc.*lii*. mencioned in the sayde former indenture, at any tyme or tymes before the ende of the sayde terme of xxj. yeares by thes presentes granted, to have, take downe and carrye awaye, to his and their owne proper use for ever, all such buildinges and other thinges as are alredye builded, erected and sett upp, and which hereafter shal be builded erected or sett upp in or upon the gardings and voyde grounds by thes presentes graunted or any parte therof by the sayde Jeames, his executors or assignes, eyther for a theater or playinge place, or for any other lawfull use for his or their comodities.” It is unnecessary to enter further into a discussion on the legal intricacies which arose in the suits between the parties, the only topics of present interest in the voluminous proceedings being those which throw light on the history of the Theatre. It was Allen’s intention, to use his own words, “seeing the greate and greevous abuses that grewe by the Theater, to pull downe the same and to converte the wood and timber therof to some better use ;” but in this design he was anticipated by the Burbages, who engaged one Peter Streete, a builder and carpenter, to remove the building, which operation was accordingly effected either in December, 1598, or in January, 1599.

The narrative given by Allen of the demolition of the Theatre and the removal of the “wood and timber” to Southwark, where they were afterwards used in the construction of the Globe, is particularly interesting. As has just been stated, Allen had himself contemplated the destruction of the Theatre and the conversion of its materials to some other use, but Cuthbert Burbage, anticipating the design,—“unlawfullye combyninge and confederating himselfe with the sayd

Richard Burbage and one Peeter Streat, William Smyth and divers other persons, to the number of twelve, to your subject unknowne, did aboute the eight and twentyth daye of December in the one and fortyth yeere of your Highnes raygne, and sythence your highnes last and generall pardon by the confederacye aforesayd, ryoutouslye assemble themselves together, and then and there armed themselves with dyvers and manye unlawfull and offensive weapons, as, namelye, swordes, daggers, billes, axes and such like, and soe armed, did then repayre unto the sayd Theater, and then and there, armed as aforesayd, in verye ryotous, outrageous and forcyble manner, and contrarye to the lawes of your highnes realme, attempted to pull downe the sayd Theater; whereuppon divers of your subjectes, servautes and farmers, then goinge aboute in peaceable manner to procure them to desist from that their unlawfull enterpryse, they the sayd ryotous persons aforesayd notwithstanding procured<sup>®</sup> then therein with greate vyolence, not onlye then and there forcyblye and ryotouslye resisting your subjectes, servautes and farmers, but allso then and there pulling, breaking and throwing downe the sayd Theater in verye outrageous, violent and riotous sort, to the great disturbance and terrefyeing not onlye of your subjectes sayd servautes and farmers, but of divers others of your Majesties loving subjectes there neere inhabitinge; and having so done, did then alsoe in most forcible and ryotous manner take and carrye away from thence all the wood and timber therof unto the Bancksyde in the parishe of St. Marye Overyes, and there erected a newe playehowse with the sayd timber and woode," Bill of Complaint, *Allen v. Burbage*, 44 Eliz.

The date here assigned to the removal of the Theatre is December 28th, 1598; but, according to another authority, the event took place on January 20th, 1599, the possibility being that the operation was not completed on the first occasion. The other account to which reference is here made is in the following terms,—"Egidius Aleyn armiger queritur de Petro Strete, in custodia marescalli marescallie domine Regine coram ipsa Regina existenti, de eo quod ipse, vicesimo die Januarij anno

regni domine Elizabethhe nunc Regine Anglie quadragesimo primo, vi et armis &c. clausum ipsius Egidii vocatum *the Inner Courte Yarde*, parcellum nuper monasterii prioratus de Hallywell modo dissoluti apud Hallywell, fregit et intravit, et herbam ipsius Egidii ad valenciam quadraginta solidorum adtunc in clauso predicto crescentem pedibus suis ambulando conculcavit et consumpsit; et quandam structuram ipsius Egidii ibidem fabricatam et erectam vocatam *the Theater* ad valenciam septingentarum librarum adtunc et ibidem diruit, divulsit, cepit et abcaravit, et alia enormia ei intulit contra pacem dicte domine Regine ad dampnum ipsius Egidii octingentarum librarum," Coram Rege Rolls, 42 Eliz. The Inner Court Yard was situated to the west of the Lower Gate, as appears from other evidences. In an Answer filed in a suit in the Court of Requests, February, 42 Elizabeth, Allen declares that he was absent in the country at the time of the removal of the building, the date of that event which is given in this Answer certainly being erroneous. According to the Defendant's statement, Cuthbert Burbage "sought to take occasion when he might privilie and for his best advantage pull downe the said Theatre, which aboute the Feast of the Nativitie of our Lord God in the fourtith yeare of her Majesties raigne he hath caused to be done without the privitie or consent of the defendant, he beinge then in the countrie." A mistake is here made in the number of the regnal year. There can be no doubt of the fact that it was in the course of the month of December, 1598, or January, 1599, that the greater portion at least of the Theatre was removed. It may be questioned if Burbage's agents had succeeded in carrying away the whole of the materials of the structure. At all events, in January, 1600, he speaks of having taken away only "parte of the building." In his Bill against Allen in the Court of Requests, speaking of the expectation that the Defendant intended ultimately to renew the original lease for ten years, he observes,—“by reason wherof your subjecte did forbear to pull downe and carie awaye the tymber and stuffe ymployed for the said Theater and playinge house at the ende of the saide first tearme of one and twentie yeares, as by the direct covenante and agreemente

expressed in the saide indenture he mighte have done, but after the saide firste tearme of one and twentie yeares ended the saide Alleyne hathe suffred your subjecte to contynue in possession of the premisses for diverse yeares, and hathe accepted the rente reserved by the saide indenture from your subjeette, wheruppon of late your saide subjecte, havinge occasion to use certayne tymber and other stuffe which weare ymployed in makinge and erectinge the saide Theator uppon the premisses, beinge the cheefeste profitte that your subjecte hoped for in the bargayne therof, did to that purpose, by the consente and appointmente of Ellen Burbadge, administratrix of the goodes and chattells of the saide James Burbadge, take downe and carie awaye parte of the saide newe buildinge, as by the true meaninge of the saide indenture and covenantes lawfull was for him to doe, and the same did ymploye to other uses." In another part of the same Bill, however, he alludes to Peter Streete, who by his "direction and comaundment did enter uppon the premisses and take downe the saide buildinge;" and Streete himself admitted the fact in his Answer to a suit of trespass brought against him by Allen early in 1599,—*"et quoad venire vi et armis, ac tot et quicquid quod est suppositum fieri contra pacem dicte domine Regine, nunc, preter fractionem et intracionem in clausum predictum et herbe predictae conculationem et consumptionem, necnon diruptionem, divulsionem, captionem et abcariationem predictae structure vocate the Theater, idem Petrus dicit quod ipse in nullo est inde culpabilis."* The second statement of Cuthbert Burbadge on the subject, in his Replication in the suit of Burbadge v. Allen, April, 1600, which perhaps may be considered of better authority than his previous account, seems to confirm the evidence given by Streete,—*"and this complainant doth not denie but that he hathe pulled downe the said Theatre, which this complainant taketh it was lafull for him so to do, beinge a thinge covenanted and permitted in the said former leas."* Whether any remains of the Theatre were left standing or not, it is certain that the building, so far as it is connected with the history of the stage, may be considered to have been removed by the month of January, 1599.



A few of the dramas which were performed at the Theatre are mentioned by contemporary writers. Gosson, in his *Schoole of Abuse*, 1579, speaks of,—“the Blacksmiths Daughter and Catilins Conspiracies, usually brought in to the Theater; the firste contayning the trechery of Turkes, the honourable bountye of a noble minde, and the shining of vertue in distresse; the last, bicause it is knowen too be a pig of myne owne sowe, I will speake the lesse of it, onely giving you to understand that the whole marke which I shot at in that woorke was too shewe the rewarde of traytors in Catilin, and the necessary government of learned men in the person of Cicero, which forsees every danger that is likely to happen and forstalles it continually ere it take effect.” The *Play of Plays*, a moral drama in defence of plays, was acted at the same establishment in February, 1581-2,—“the *Playe of Playes* shoven at the Theater the three and twentieth of Februarie last,” Gosson’s *Playes Confuted in Five Actions*, n. d. Another kind of performance had been selected on the previous day, as appears from the following obscure notice in a contemporary journal preserved in MS. Addit. 5008,—“1582. Feb. 22, we went to the Theater to se a scurvie play set owt al by one Virgin, which ther proved a fyemarten without voice, so that we stayd not the matter.” A marginal note describes this mysterious entertainment as “a virgin play.” About this period “the history of Cæsar and Pompey and the playe of the Fabii” were acted at the same place, as we are told by Gosson in his *Playes Confuted*; and mention is made in the same work of “that glosing plaie at the Theater which profers you so faire,” but in which there was “enterlaced a baudie song of a maide of Kent and a litle beastly speach of the new stawled roge, both which I am compelled to burie in silence, being more ashamed to utter them then they; for as in tragedies some points are so terrible that the poets are constrayned to turne them from the peoples eyes, so in the song of the one, the speache of the other, somewhat is so dishonest that I cannot with honestie repeate it,” sig. D. 6. Some years afterwards, Lodge, in his *Wits Miserie*, 1596, speaks of one who “looks as pale as the visard of the ghost which cried so miserally® at the

Theator, like an oister-wife, *Hamlet, revenge;*" and Barnaby Rich, in 1606, alludes to "Gravets part at the Theatre" as having been a celebrated performance. Marlowe's Doctor Faustus was also acted at the same house. "He had a head of hayre like one of my divells in Doctor Faustus, when the olde Theatre crackt and frighted the audience," Blacke Booke, 1604. The passage in Lodge refers to the old play of Hamlet, which then belonged to, and was no doubt occasionally performed by, Shakespeare's company.

According to the account previously quoted from Stow's Survey of London, ed. 1598, p. 349, the Curtain Theatre and the building removed in 1599, the latter distinctively termed the Theatre, were in the same locality. They are both described as being near the site of the dissolved priory, and "both standing on the south-west side towards the Field." The Curtain Theatre, however, was situated on the southern side of Holywell Lane, a little to the westward of the two trees which are seen in Aggas's view in the middle of a field adjoining Holywell Lane. In a document preserved at the Privy Council Office, dated in 1601, this theatre is spoken of as "the Curtaine in Moorefeildes," which shows that it was on the south of that lane. Stow, ed. 1598, p. 351, speaks of Moorfields as extending in ancient times to Holywell, but what were usually called the Moorfields in the days of Shakespeare did not reach so far to the north, so that the description of 1601 must be accepted with some qualification. The Curtain Theatre, as is ascertained by Stow's decisive testimony, could not possibly have stood much to the south of the lane. It must in fact have been situated in or near the place which is marked as Curtain Court in Chas-sereau's plan of Shoreditch, 1745. This Court was afterwards called Gloucester Row, and it is now known as Gloucester Street.

This theatre derived its name from a piece of ground of considerable size termed the Curtain, which anciently belonged to Holywell Priory. The land is mentioned under that name in a lease of 29 Henry VIII., 1538,—"*Sibilla Newdigate, priorissa dicti nuper monasterii sancti Johannis Baptiste de Halliwell*

predicti, et ejusdem loci conventus, per aliam indenturam suam sigillo eorum conventuali sigillatam, datam primo die Januarij dicto anno vicesimo nono predicti nuper patris nostri, unanimi eorum assensu et consensu dimiserunt, tradiderunt et ad firmam concesserunt prefato nuper Comiti Rutland totam illam mansionem sive mesuagium cum gardino adjacenti, scituatam, jacentem et existentem infra muros et portas ejusdem nuper monasterii, cum illa longa pergula ducente a dicto mesuagio usque ad capellam; ac duo stabula et unum fenile supra edificatum, scituata et existentia extra portas ejusdem nuper monasterii prope pasturam dicte nuper Priorisse vocatam *the Curten*," Rot. Pat. 27 Eliz., Pars 14. The phrase *extra portas* shows that the Curtain ground was on the southern side of Holywell Lane, the entrance to the priory having been on the north of that road. At a later period there were several buildings, including a large one specially mentioned as the Curtain House (Shoreditch Register), erected upon this land, and one or more were known as being situated in the Curtain Garden. In March, 1581, one William Longe sold to Thomas Harberte,—“all that the house, tenemente or lodge commonlie called the Curtayne, and also all that parcell of grounde and close walled and inclosed with a bricke wall on the west and northe partes, and in parte with a mudde wall at the west side or ende towards the southe, called also the Curtayne Close, sometyme apperteyning to the late Priorie of Halliwell nowe dissolved, sett, lyeng and being in the parishe of Sainte Leonarde in Shortedytche alias Shordiche in the countie of Middlesex, together with all the gardeyns, fished, welles and brick-wall to the premisses or any of them belonginge or apperteyning; and also all and singuler other mesuages, tenementes, edifices and buildinges, with all and singuler their appurtenaunces, erected and builded uppon the saide close called the Curtayne or uppon any parte or parcell thereof, or to the same nere adjoyning, nowe or late in the severall tenures or occupacions of Thomas Wilkinson, Thomas Wilkins, Roberte Medley, Richard Hickes, Henrie Lanman, and Roberte Manne, or any of them, or of their or any of their assigne or assignes, and also all other mesuages, landes, tene-

mentes and hereditamentes with their appurtenaunces sett, lyeng and being in Halliwell Lane in the saide parishe of Sainte Leonard," Rot. Claus. 23 Eliz. The Curtain House was either in or near Holywell Lane. "John Edwardes being excommunicated was buried the vij.th of June in the Kinges high waie in Hallywell Lane neare the Curtayn," Register of St. Leonards, Shoreditch, 1619. In some Chancery papers of the year 1591 it is described as the "howse with the appurtenaunces called the Curtayne," and it is stated that "the grounde there was for the most parte converted firste into garden plottes, and then leasinge the same to divers tenauntes caused them to covenant or promise to builde uppon the same, by occasion wherof the buildinges which are there were for the most parte erected and the rentes encreased." That the Curtain estate was on the south of the western end of Holywell Lane is proved decisively by an indenture of 1723, in my possession, which refers to a plot of five acres then adjoining Sugarloaf Yard on the east, and which is described as "part or parcell of a peice of ground theretofore and then called by the name of the Curtain." The name is still retained in the locality in that of the well-known Curtain Road, which must have been so called either from the theatre or from the land above described.

The earliest notice of the Curtain Theatre by name, which has yet been discovered, occurs in Northbrooke's Treatise on Dicing, &c., licensed in December, 1577; but it is also probably alluded to, with the Theatre, by one Thomas White, in a Sermon Preached at Pawles Crosse on Sunday the Thirde of November, 1577, in which he says,—“looke but uppon the common playes in London, and see the multitude that flocketh to them and followeth them; beholde the *sumptuous theatre houses*, a continuall monument of Londons prodigalitie and folly.” The Queen's Players seem to have acted at the Curtain as well as at the neighbouring theatre. At all events, Tarlton, who belonged to that company, played there, if we may confide in an allusion in one of the Jests. If any credit may be given to the blundering evidences of Aubrey, Ben Jonson also was at one time an actor at the Curtain. According to that biographer,

he "acted and wrote, but both ill, at the Green Curtaine, a kind of nursery or obscure play-house somewhere in the suburbes, I thinke towards Shoreditch or Clarkenwell." Aubrey is the only authority for the theatre ever having been known as the Green Curtain, one probably of that writer's numerous mis-statements.

Is there decisive evidence that the Lord Chamberlain's Servants acted at the Curtain Theatre previously to the erection of the Globe in 1599? The reply to this question depends upon the interpretation given to the words "Curtaine plaudeties" in the well-known lines on stage-struck Luscus in Marston's *Scourge of Villanie*, 1598; whether the word *Curtaine* refers to the playhouse, or whether it is merely a synonyme for *theatrical* in reference to the curtains of the stage. The latter explanation appears to be somewhat forced, while the former and more natural one is essentially supported by the fact that Pope and Underwood, both of them belonging to the Lord Chamberlain's Company, were sharers in the Curtain. If the supposition that Marston speaks of the Curtain Theatre be correct, and no doubt can be fairly entertained on that point, it is certain that Shakespeare's tragedy of *Romeo and Juliet* was there "plaid publicly by the Right Honourable the L. of Hunsdon his Servants," title-page of ed. 1597. Luscus is represented as infatuated with this play, and the allusion to his "courting Lesbia's eyes" out of his theatrical commonplace-book can but refer to Romeo's impassioned rhapsody on the eyes of Juliet. It may then be safely assumed that Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* was acted at the Curtain Theatre some time between July 22nd, 1596, the day on which Lord Hunsdon, then Lord Chamberlain of the Household, died, and April 17th, 1597, when his son, Lord Hunsdon, was appointed to that office (Privy Council Register). During those nine months the Company was known as Lord Hunsdon's, the same body of actors continuing throughout to serve those two noblemen, so that any allusion, if there be one, to the Lord Chamberlain's Servants bearing date between August 6th, 1596, and March 5th, 1597, would refer to a company under the patronage of Lord Cobham, who was the Lord

Chamberlain during that period. That the members of the other Lord Chamberlain's Company transferred their services to Lord Hunsdon on the death of his father in July, 1596, is shown by the following entry in the accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber to Queen Elizabeth,—“to John Hemynge and George Bryan, servauntes to the late Lorde Chamberlayne and now servauntes to the Lorde Hunsdon, upon the Councelles warraunte dated at Whitehall xxj. mo die Decembris, 1596, for five enterludes or playes shewed by them before her Majestie on St. Stephans daye at nighte, the sondaye nighte followeing, Twelwe Nighte, one St. Johns daye and on Shrovesunday at nighte laste, the some of xxxiiij. *li*. vj. *s*. viij. *d*., and by waye of her Majesties rewarde, xvj. *li*. xiiij. *s*. iiij. *d*., in all the some of l. *li*.”

In the early part of the year 1600 arrangements were made for the erection of the Fortune Theatre near Golden Lane, a spot which was at no considerable distance, not much more than half a mile, from the Curtain Theatre. It was considered by the opponents of theatrical amusements that the permission to establish a new theatre in that part of London should be conditional upon the removal of the older one. Strenuous efforts were accordingly made to induce the Privy Council to insist upon the demolition of the Curtain, and orders were given in June, 1600, to that effect; but, like the previous injunction of 1597, they proved to be altogether inoperative. The Lords of the Council seem indeed to have been aware of the possibility of this result, for, in their letters to the Lord Mayor of London and the Justices of Middlesex, they observe,—“as wee have done our partes in prescribinge the orders, so, unlesse yow perfourme yours in lookinge to the due execution of them, we shall loose our labor, and the wante of redresse must be imputed unto yow and others unto whome it apperteyneth,” Privy Council Register, 22 June, 1600. Copies of the Lords' order and their letters will be found in the Appendix, and it appears from the former that Tylney, the Master of the Revels, had stated to the Council “that the house nowe in hand to be builte by the saide Edward Allen is not intended to encrease the number of the playhouses, but to be insteede of another, namely the Curtayne, which is

ether to be ruyned and plucked downe or to be put to some other good use." It is not improbable that Allen was anxious for the suppression of the Curtain as a theatre, and was exerting his influence to accomplish that object. The prospects of the new establishment would of course have been improved had the efforts in this direction been successful, but the combined influences of the City authorities and the Privy Council were ineffectual. On the last day of the following year, 1601, the Lords of the Council made another strenuous but fruitless attempt to persuade the magistrates to enforce their order for the suppression of all but the two selected theatres, the Globe and the Fortune.

In the same year in which the Curtain Theatre was ordered to be abolished, some actor who was in the habit of taking the Clown's part at that establishment published a quaint little tract entitled,—“ Quips vpon Questions, or a Clownes conceite on occasion offered, bewraying a morallised metamorphoses of changes vpon interrogatories ; shewing a litle wit, with a great deale of will : or indeed more desirous to please in it, then to profite by it. Clapt vp by a Clowne of the towne in this last restraint, hauing litle else to doe to make a litle vse of his fickle Muse, and carelesse of carping. By *Clunnyco de Curtanio Snuffe*.—Like as you list, read on and spare not, = Clownes iudge like Clownes, therefore I care not. *Or thus*,—Floute me, Ile floute thee : it is my profession, = To iest at a Iester, in his transgression.—Imprinted at London for W. Ferbrand, and are to be sold at the signe of the Crowne ouer against the Mayden head neare Yeldhall. 1600.” There is an edition of 1601 mentioned in the *Catalogus Bibliothecæ Harleianæ*, 1745, v. 213, and another of 1602 is also noticed in the same work, 1744, iii. 357. The title-page is nearly the most curious part of the book, which consists mainly of dull questions with replies equally unentertaining, both written in verse. There is a burlesque dedication, subscribed *Clunnico Snuffe*, addressed to “the right worthy Sir Timothie Truncheon alias Bastinado, ever my part-taking friende, Clunnico de Curtanio sendeth greeting.” In the spring of the following year, 1601, complaints

were made that the actors at the Curtain Theatre had covertly satirized living individuals of good position in some of their plays. It is not known to which of the companies they belonged. With the view of terminating these irregularities the Lords of the Privy Council addressed the following letter to "certaine Justices of the Peace in the county of Middlesex" on May 10th, 1601,—“wee do understand that certaine players, that use to recyte their playes at the Curtaine in Moorefeildes, do represent upon the stage in their interludes the persons of some gent. of good desert and quallity that are yet alive under obscure manner, but yet in such sorte as all the hearers may take notice both of the matter and the persons that are meant thereby. This beinge a thinge very unfitte, offensive and contrary to such direccion as have bin heretofore taken that no plaies should be openly shewed but such as were first perused and allowed, and that might minister no occasion of offence or scandall, wee do hereby require you that you do forthwith forbidd those players to whomsoever they appertaine that do play at the Courtaine in Moorefeildes to represent any such play, and that you will examine them who made that play and to shew the same unto you, and as you in your discrecions shall thincke the same unfitte to be publiquely shewed to forbidd them from henceforth to play the same eyther privately or publiquely ; and yf upon veiwe of the said play you shall finde the subject so odious and inconvenient as is informed, wee require you to take bond of the cheifest of them to aunswere their rashe and indiscreete dealing before us,” MS. Register of the Privy Council. The performances at the Curtain were no doubt of a very miscellaneous character. Wither, in his *Abuses Stript and Whipt*, 1613, describing a paltry braggadocio, says, perhaps in contempt of the plays there exhibited,—“His poetry is such as he can cull, = From plaies he heard at Curtaine or at Bull.” In the same work there is an allusion to the jigs or ludicrous ballads for which the Curtain Theatre appears to have been celebrated,—“And undeserv’d base fellowes, whom meere time = Hath made sufficient to bring forth a rime, = A Curtaine jigge, a libell or a ballet, = For fidlers or some roagues



with staffe and wallet=To sing at doores." Performances of the legitimate drama were, however, undoubtedly sometimes exhibited at the Curtain Theatre. Guilpin, in his *Skialetheia*, 1598, writes,—“or if my dispose=Perswade me to a play, I'll to the Rose,=Or Curtaine, one of Plautus Comedies, =Or the patheticke Spaniards tragedies ;” in allusion, possibly, to the Comedy of Errors and the Spanish Tragedy. Shakespeare's association with the Curtain probably terminated at the opening of the Globe, and certainly did not continue after the decease of Elizabeth. Throughout the reign of James the former theatre was occupied by actors with whom the great dramatist had no professional connexion.

The puritanical writers of the time of Shakespeare were indignant at the erection of regular theatrical establishments, and the Theatre and Curtain were the special objects of their invective. They are continually named together as sinks of all wickedness and abomination. In Northbrooke's *Treatise*, 1577-8, Youth asks,—“doe you speake against those places also whiche are made uppe and builded for such playes and enterludes, as the Theatre and Curtaine is, and other suche lyke places besides?” Age replies,—“yea, truly, for I am perswaded that Satan hath not a more speedie way and fitter schoole, to work and teach his desire to bring men and women into his snare of concupiscence and filthie lustes of wicked whoredome, than those places and playes and theatres are, and therefore necessarie that those places and players shoulde be forbidden and dissolved and put downe by authoritie, as the brothell houses and stewes are.” The effects of the great earthquake of April, 1580, were felt generally throughout London as well as at the theatres, but Stubbes affects to consider it a “fearfull judgement of God” on the wickedness of the stage,—“the like judgement almost did the Lord shewe unto them a little before, beyng assembled at their theaters to see their baudie enterludes and other trumperies practised, for He caused the yearth mightely to shake and quaver as though all would have fallen downe, wherat the people, sore amazed, some leapt down from the top of the turrets, pinacles and towers where thei stood

to the grounde, whereof some had their legges broke, some their armes, some their backes, some hurt one where, some another, and many sore crusht and brused, but not any but thei went awaie sore afraied and wounded in conscience," *Anatomie of Abuses*, 1583. The allusion to "turrets, pinacles and towers" would seem to be a metaphorical flourish. In the *Refutation of the Apology for Actors*, 1615, pp. 43, 44, where the narrative of Stubbes is quoted, the passage in question is thus altered,— "some leapt downe to the ground from the tops of turrets and galleries where they sate." According to Munday—"at the play-houses the people came running foorth, supprised® with great astonishment," *View of Sundry Examples*, 1580. "The earthquake that hapned in the yeere 1580 on the sixt of April, that shaked not only the scenicall Theatre but the great stage and theatre of the whole land."—*Gardnier's Doomes-day Booke*, 1606. Two days afterwards there was published a ballad entitled,— "Comme from the plaie, = Comme from the playe, = The house will fall, so people saye, = The earth quakes, lett us hast awaye." At the time of this earthquake the only theatres in England were situated in Shoreditch, and there is evidence that the effects of it were felt in that locality. "Also in Shordiche and other places fell chymneys, as at Mr. Alderman Osburns in Fyllpot Lane fell a pece of a chymney," *MS. Diary*, 6 April, 1580. Again, when Field wrote his *Godly Exhortation upon the accident which occurred at Paris Garden* in January, 1583, he could not resist the introduction of adverse criticism on the Shoreditch theatres,— "surely it is to be feared, beesides the distruction bothe of bodye and soule that many are brought unto by frequenting the Theater, the Curtin and such like, that one day those places will likewise be cast downe by God himselfe, and being drawn with them a huge heape of such contempners and profane persons utterly to be killed and spoyled in their bodyes." This is, however, moderate language in comparison with the exaggerated invective of Stubbes in the same year. After alluding to the Theatre and Curtain as "*Venus pallaces*," he writes, here speaking generally of plays and theatres,— "doe they not main-

taine bawdrie, insinuat foolerie and renue the remembraunce of Heathen idolatrie? Doe thei not induce whoredom and uncleannesse? Nay, are thei not rather plaine devourers of maidenly virginitie and chastitie? For prooffe whereof but marke the flockyng and runnyng to Theaters and Curtens daylie and hourelie, night and daie, tyme and tide, to see playes and enterludes, where such wanton gestures, such bawdie specches, suche laughyng and flearyng, suche kissyng and bussyng, suche clippyng and culling, such wincking and glauncing of wanton eyes and the like is used as is wonderfull to beholde," *Anatomic of Abuses*, ed. 1583. This passage is introduced, with variations, in the *Refutation of the Apology for Actors*, 1615, p. 61. Rankins, in his *Mirroure of Monsters*, 1587, observes that "the Theater and Curtine may aptlie be termed for their abhomination, the chappell adulterinum." It was not surprising that these attacks provoked retaliation, so the absurdities of the Martin Marprelate clique were unmercifully ridiculed at the Theatre, as appears from a marginal note, *The Theater*, to the following passage in *Martins Months Minde*, 1589,— "as first, drie beaten and therby his bones broken; then whipt, that made him winse; then wormd and launced, that he tooke verie grievouslie to be made a Maygame upon the stage." It is afterwards stated that "everie stage plaier made a jest of him." Some of these theatrical satires were so virulent that their performance was forbidden. "Would those comedies might be allowed to be plaid that are pend, and then I am sure he would be decyphered and so perhaps discouraged," Pappes with an Hatchet, n. d. The Theatre and Curtain are again named together by Rainolds, in his *Overthrow of Stage Playes*, 1599, written in 1593, but there merely in reference to male actors being permitted to wear the costume of the other sex.

Although the denunciations of the Puritans were grounded upon exaggerated statements, there can be little doubt that both these theatres were frequented by some disreputable characters. "In the playhouses at London," observes Gosson in his *Playes Confuted*, sig. G. 6,— "it is the fashion of youthes to go first into the yarde and to carry their eye through every gallery;

then like unto ravens, where they spye the carion thither they flye and presse as nere to the fairest as they can : instead of pomegranates they give them pippines, they dally with their garments to passe the time, they minister talke upon al occasions, and eyther bring them home to theire houses on small acquaintance or slip into taverns when the plaies are done ; he thinketh best of his painted sheath, and taketh himselfe for a jolly fellow, that is noted of most to be busiest with women in all such places." The independent testimony of the author of the *Newes from the North*, 1579, is to a similar effect,—“I have partely shewed you heere what leave and libertie the common people, namely youth, hath to followe their owne lust and desire in all wantonnes and dissolution of life ; for further prooffe whereof I call to witnessc the Theaters, Courtaines, heaving houses, rifling boothes, bowling alleyes and such places where the time is so shamefully mispent, namely the Sabaoth dayes, unto the great dishonor of God and the corruption and utter destruction of youth." In Anthony Babington's Complaint, written by R. Williams, the former, who was executed in 1586, is represented as saying,—“to bee a good lawier my mynde woulde not frame, = I addicted was to pleasure and given so to game ; = But to the Theatre and Curtayne woulde often resorte = Where I mett companyons fittinge my disporte," MS. Arundel 418. It appears from Nash's *Pierce Penilesse*, 1592, and several other authorities, that the neighbouring village of Shoreditch was distinguished by the number of houses which were inhabited by the frail sisterhood. In *Skialetheia*, 1598, mention is made of an old citizen, “who, comming from the Curtaine, sneaketh in = To some odde garden noted house of sinne ;” and West, in a rare poem, the *Court of Conscience*, 1607, tells a libertine,—“Towards the Curtaine then you must be gon, = The garden alleyes paled on either side ; = Ift be too narrow walking, there you slide." Compare also a line in a poem of the time of James I. in MS. Harl. 2127,—“Friske to the Globe or Curtaine with your trull."

Little is known respecting the dimensions and structure of either the Theatre or the Curtain. In Stockwood's Sermon

Preached at Paules Crosse the 24 of August, 1578, they are alluded to as having been erected at a large cost, while the former is termed a "gorgeous" playing-place,— "what should I speake of beastlye playes againste which out of this place every man crieth out? have we not houses of purpose built with great charges for the maintainance of them, and that without the Liberties, as who woulde say,—there, let them saye what they will say, we wil play. I know not how I might with the godly learned especially more discommende the gorgeous playing place erected in the fieldes than to terme it, as they please to have it called, a Theatre, that is, even after the maner of the olde heathnish theatre at Rome, a shew place of al beastly and filthie matters, to the which it can not be chosen that men should resort without learning thence mucche corruption." The Theatre is mentioned in 1601 as "the late greate howse," and that it was correctly so designated would appear from the proceedings of a Chancery Suit, *Braynes v. Burbage*, 1590, in which it is stated that James Burbage at the time of its erection had borrowed the sum of £600 for the express object of defraying the greater portion of the cost. This agrees with an assertion made by Burbage's descendants in 1635, that "the Theater hee built with many hundred pounds taken up at interest." Allen, the freeholder, stated in 1601 his belief that the Theatre was "erected att the costs and charges of one Braynes, and not of James Burbage, to the value of one thousand markes," that is, between £600 and £700, a large sum at the period at which it was built; and when the building was removed in 1599, Allen estimated its value at £700. This Braynes was the father-in-law of James Burbage. The consideration given for the money advanced by this person must have sadly interfered with the profits derived by Burbage from the Theatre, which was doubtlessly a good speculation in itself. Allen, indeed, speaks of a profit of £2,000 having been realized from it. "And further whereas the complainant," observes Allen, referring to Cuthbert Burbage, "supposeth that the said Jeames Burbage his father did to his great chardges erect the said Theatre, and thereby pretendeth that there should be the

greater cause in equitie to releive him, the complainant, for the same, hereunto the defendant saith that considering the great proffitt and beniffitt which the said Jeames Burbage and the complainant in their severall times have made thereof, which, as the defendant hath credibilie hard, doth amounte to the somme of twoe thousand powndes at the least, the defendant taketh it they have been verie sufficientlye recompensed for their chardges which they have bestowed uppon the said Theatre or uppon anie other buildings there," Answer of Gyles Allen in the suit of Burbage v. Allen, Court of Requests, 42 Eliz. Cuthbert Burbage, in his Replication, denies "that the said James Burbadge or this complaynant hath made twoo thousand poundes proffitt and benefitt by the said theatre." Nothing is here said respecting the material of which the edifice was constructed, but in another paper in the same suit he alludes to "certayne tymber and *other* stuffe ymployed in makinge and erectinge the Theator." That the building was mainly constructed of wood cannot, however, admit of a doubt, it being spoken of continually in the legal papers of more than one of the Burbage suits as a structure of "wood and timber," materials which James Burbage, being a joiner, would naturally have selected. "The said defendant Cuthbert Burbage being well able to justifie the pulling downe, usinge and disposinge of the woodde and tymber of the saide playehowse," Answer of the Burbages, 44 Eliz. The Lord Mayor, in a letter written in April, 1583, speaks, in reference to the Theatre, of "the weakenesse of the place for ruine," alluding perhaps to the wooden scaffolds inside the building."

Although entertainments took place both at the Theatre and at the Curtain during the winter months, there can be but little doubt that the roof in each of these buildings merely covered the stage and galleries, the pit or yard being open to the sky. This was certainly the case in the latter theatre. The author of *Vox Graculi* or Jack Dawe's Prognostication, 1623, describing the characteristics of the month of April, observes,— "about this time new playes will be in more request then old, and if company come currant to the Bull and Curtaine, there

will be more money gathered in one after-noon then will be given to Kingsland Spittle in a whole moneth ; also, if, at this time, about the houres of foure and five it waxe cloudy, and then raine downeright, they shall sit dryer in the galleries then those who are the understanding men in the yard." The after-noon was likewise the usual time for the performances in Shakespeare's day. Chettle, in his *Kind Hartes Dreame*, 1592, alludes to bowling-alleys, situated between the City walls and the Theatre, "that were wont in the after-noones to be left empty, by the recourse of good fellows unto that unprofitable recreation of stage-playing."

The charge for admission to the Theatre was a penny, but this sum merely entitled the visitor to standing room in the lower part of the house. If he wanted to enter any of the galleries another penny was demanded, and even then a good seat was not always secured without a repetition of the fee. None who go, observes Lambard, "to Paris Gardein, the Bell Savage or Theatre, to beholde beare baiting, enterludes or fence play, can account of any pleasant spectacle unlesse they first pay one pennie at the gate, another at the entrie of the scaffold, and the thirde for a quiet standing," *Perambulation of Kent*, ed. 1596, p. 233, one of the passages in that edition not found in ed. 1576. The author of *Pappe with an Hatchet*, 1589, speaks of twopence as the usual price of admission "at the Theater," so the probability is that the penny alone was insufficient for securing places which would be endured by any but the lowest and poorest class of auditors, those who stood in the yard or pit and were there exposed to the uncertainties of the weather. Those of the audience who were in the galleries were at least protected from the rain. There were upper as well as lower galleries in the building, the former being mentioned in the following interesting clause of the proposed lease to Burbage of 1585,—“and further that yt shall or maye be lawfull for the sayde Gyles and for hys wyfe and familie, upon lawfull request therefore made to the sayde Jeames Burbage, his executors or assignes, to enter or come into the premisses and their in some one of the upper romes to have such convenient place

to sett or stande to se such playes as shal be ther played, freely without anythinge therefore payeing, soe that the sayde Gyles, hys wyfe and familie, doe come and take ther places before they shal be taken upp by any others." It appears from this extract that there were seats for the audience as well as standing-room in the galleries.

Neither the Theatre nor the Curtain was used exclusively for dramatic entertainments. "Theater and Curtine for comedies and other shewes," marginal note in Stow's *Survey of London*, ed. 1598, p. 69. Both these theatres were frequently engaged for matches and exercises in the art of fencing. "Edward Harvie playd his provostes priz the five and twentieth daye of August at the Theatour at thre weapons, the two hand sword, the backe sword and the sword and buckeler," 1578, MS. Sloane 2530. "Richarde Fletcher playd his schollers priz at the Curtyn in Holiwell the 25 daye of August at ij. weapons, the longe sworde and the sword and buckeler," 1579, MS. *ibid.* "Vallentin Longe playd his schollers priz at the Curtyn in Holiwell the iiij.th day of February at two kynde of weapons, that is to say, the longe sword and the sworde and buckeler," 1580-1, MS. *ibid.* "Andrew Bello played his schollers prize the tenth daye of Maye at the Curtyn in Holiwell at two weapons," 1582, MS. *ibid.* "Robert Blisse playde his provostes prize at the Theator in Holiwell the firste day of Julye at thre weapons," 1582, MS. *ibid.* "Andrew Bello playd his provostes priz at the Courten in Holiwell the fiveth daye of July, and at thre weapons," 1582, MS. *ibid.* "Vallentyne Longe playde his provostes priz at the Courten in Holiwell the fiveth daye of August at thre weapons," 1582, MS. *ibid.* "John Dewell playd by challenge at the Theator in Holiwell agaynste all provostes and free schollers at thre weapons, the longe sword, the sword and buckeler, and the sword and dagger, the tenth day of Auguste, 1582," MS. *ibid.* "John Harris playd his provostes priz at the Curtine in Holiwell the second day of September, 1582," an entry in the same manuscript, but cancelled as if it were incorrect. "John Norris playd his skollers price the towe and twentye day of Aprill at the Theater in Hollowell at towe weapons," 1583, MS. *ibid.*



"Alexander Reyson playd his maisters prize the laste daye of Aprill, 1583, at the Curteyn in Hollywell, at iiij. kynde of weapons, that is to saye, the longe sworde, the back sworde, the sworde and buckler, and the staffe," MS. *ibid.* "Androwe Dwellyn playde his masteres pryse the xx. daye and xxvj. daye of Maye, at the Theatur in Hollywell, att fower kynde of wepons, that ys to saye, att the longe sworde, the sworde and buckler, sworde and dagger, and raper and dagger," 1585, MS. *ibid.* The curious manuscript from which these extracts are taken seems to be a register of a society formed for the advancement of the science of fencing, in which degrees were granted to those who proved themselves to be the most efficient. It would appear from the original manuscript of Stow's Survey that not only fencers, but tumblers and such like, sometimes exhibited at these theatres. Near the buildings of the dissolved Priory, observes Stow, "are builded two howses for the shewe of activities, comodies, tragidies and histories, for recreation; the one of them is named the Curteyn in Halywell, the othar the Theatre; thes are on the backesyde of Holywell, towards the filde," MS. Harl. 538. It should, however, be observed that the word *activities* is not in the printed edition.

When the fencers engaged the Theatre they sometimes increased their audience by marching "with pomp" through the City. In July, 1582, the Lord Mayor thus writes to the Earl of Warwick respecting one John David, a fencer in the Earl's service, who desired to exhibit his skill at that establishment, — "I have herein yet further done for your servante what I may, that is, that if he may obtaine lawefully to play at the Theater or other open place out of the Citie, he hath and shall have my permission with his companie drumes and shewe to passe openly throughe the Citie, being not upon the sondaye, which is as muche as I maye justifie in this season, and for that cause I have with his owne consent apointed him Monday next," City of London MSS. This permission, as appears from the correspondence, was granted very reluctantly by the Lord Mayor, whose successor in the following year absolutely prohibited any display of the kind. His Lordship thus writes on April 27th,

1583, to one of the Justices of the Peace,—“there ar certain fencers that have set up billes, and meane to play a prise at the Theatre on Tuesday next, which is May eve. How manie waies the same maie be inconvenient and dangerous, specially in that they desire to passe with pomp thorough the Citie, yow can consider; namelie, the statute against men of that facultie, the perill of infection, the danger of disorders at such assemblies, the memorie of Ill May Daie begon upon a lesse occasion of like sort, the weakenesse of the place for ruine, wherof we had a late lamentable example at Paris Garden; for these causes in good discretion we have not ously not geven them licence, but also declared to them the dangers, willing them at their perill to forbear their passing both thorough the Citie and their whole plaieng of such prise.”

It would appear, from these notices of the fencing matches which took place at the Theatre and Curtain, that both establishments were accessible to persons who desired to hire them for occasional purposes. The probability is that they were thus engaged by various companies, and a curious narrative given in the following words in a letter from Fleetwood to Lord Burghley, written in June, 1584, seems to confirm this opinion,—“upon Sonndaie my Lord sent ij. aldermen to the Cowrt for the suppressing and pulling downe of the Theatre and Curten, for all the Lords agréed thereunto, saving my Lord Chamberlen and Mr. Vice-Ch., but we obteyned a lettre to suppress theym all. Upon the same night I sent for the Quenes players and my Lord of Arundel his players, and they all well nigh obeyed the Lordes lettres. The chiefest of her Highnes players advised me to send for the owner of the Theater, who was a stubburne fellow, and to bynd him. I dyd so. He sent me word that he was my Lord of Hunsdens man and that he wold not comme at me, but he wold in the mornynge ride to my Lord. Then I sent the under-shereff for hym, and he browght hym to me, and, at his commyng, he showtted me owt very justice; and in the end I shewed hym my Lord his masters hand, and then he was more quiet; but, to die for it, he wold not be bound. And then I mynding to send hym to prison, he made

sute that he might be bounde to appere at the oier and determiner, the which is to-morowe, where he said that he was suer the court wold not bynd hym, being a counsellers man ; and so I have graunted his request, where he shal be sure to be bounde, or els ys lyke to do worse," MS. Lansd. 41, art. 13. It is not to be assumed that the person who is here mentioned as "the owner of the Theater" was either Burbage or Hyde. He was more probably a temporary occupier of the building. James Burbage is not known to have ever belonged to the company of actors in the pay of Lord Hunsdon, who was at that time Lord Chamberlain of the Household. It may reasonably be gathered from Fleetwood's letter that at least three companies, those of Queen Elizabeth, Lord Arundel and Lord Hunsdon, were playing in June, 1584, at the Theatre or Curtain ; the first and last probably at the Theatre, perhaps acting on alternate days. It is certain that the Queen's Company sometimes performed at the latter, for Laneham and Tarlton, both at one period belonging to that company, are noticed as having acted there. The author of *Martins Months Minde*, 1589, speaks of "twittle twattles that I had learned in ale-houses and at the Theater of Lanam and his fellowes." Tarlton is alluded to, as an actor at the Theatre, in Nash's *Pierce Penilesse*, 1592,— "Tarlton at the Theator made jests of him ;" and again in Harrington's *Metamorphosis of Ajax*, 1596,— "which worde was after admitted into the Theater with great applause by the mouth of Mayster Tarlton, the excellent comedian." The establishment appears to have been noted for its comic entertainments. "If thy vaine," observes the author of *Pappe with an Hatchet*, 1589, "bee so pleasaunt and thy witt so so<sup>n</sup> nimble that all consists in glicks and girds, pen some play for the Theater."

## SHAKESPEARE'S NEIGHBOURS.

Few particulars have been discovered respecting the persons who resided in Shakespeare's immediate neighbourhood, and none at all of the terms on which he lived with them. Although it is known that he had a wide circle of acquaintances in his native town, it is by the merest accident that even the names of any of them have been recorded. Amongst the latter the only one of his neighbours was Julius Shawe, who, having been invited to witness the execution of the poet's will, may be reasonably assumed to have been a somewhat intimate friend. There is, however, an interest in what details can be given of the inhabitants and residences in the vicinity of New Place, and it will be afterwards observed that some of this information is of great value in the determination of the western boundaries of Shakespeare's gardens. In the case of Nash's house, its history is so inextricably connected with those boundaries that it has been continued to the present day ; but it need scarcely be added that no similar prolixity has been necessary in other instances.

The name of Shakespeare's next-door neighbour in Chapel Street, the inhabitant of the tenement now, and as early as the year 1674, known as Nash's house, has not been ascertained. There was a building here at least as early as 37 Henry VIII., then mentioned as the tenement of William Phillips, and one Henry Norman seems to have resided in it in 1618, for in that year his name appears as contributing three shillings for its Church-rate. Thomas Nash, in his will dated August 25th, 1642, proved in 1647, devised to his wife Elizabeth, for her life, "all that messuage or tenemente with thappurtenances scituate, lyeinge and beinge in Stratford uppon Avon in the said County

of Warwicke in a streete there called or knowne by the name of the Chappell Streete, and now in the tenure, use and occupacion of one Johane Norman widowe ;" and, after the death of the said Elizabeth, to his kinsman, Edward Nash, in fee. The house thus became the property of Shakespeare's grand-daughter from 1647 until her death in February, 1669-70, when it devolved upon the relative just mentioned. Edward Nash's will is dated in March, 1678, and was proved in April, 1679, but, owing to the testator referring to, without quoting, a deed of settlement executed three days before the making of the will, there is no mention of the house, which must have been in some way settled upon Nash's grand-daughter Jane, who afterwards married Franklyn Miller, the only child of Sir Nicholas Miller, of Hyde Hall. This gentleman sold the house to Hugh Clopton in May, 1699, when it was described as "all that messuage or tenement with the appurtenances scituate, lying and being, in the Chappell Street within the burrough of Stratford-upon-Avon, wherein Samuells Phillipps did late inhabitt, and now in the tenure of Edward Clopton, esq.," and in the foot of the fine levied on the occasion, it is mentioned as being "one messuage and one garden with the appurtenances in Stratford-on-Avon," Fin. Term. Trin. 11 Gul. III. It appears, however, from a declaration, made in the following October, that Hugh Clopton's name in the deed of 1699 was used in trust for the use of his brother Edward, the latter continuing to be the occupier of Nash's house until March, 1705-6, when he sold it, together with the Great Garden of New Place, a piece of land then also in his occupation, to Aston Ingram, of Little Woolford, the husband of his sister Barbara. In the agreement for this purchase, dated in the preceding January, there is the following interesting description of the properties,—“all that messuage or tenement scituate and being in Stratford upon Avon, wherein the said Edward Clopton now dwells, together with the yard, garden, backside, outhouses, and appurtenances to the same belonging, and alsoe the hangins that are in the chamber over the kitchen, the two furnises in the brewhouse, and the coolers there; and alsoe all that peece of ground to the said messuage

belongeing, called the Greate Garden, heretofore belongeing to New Place, and alsoe the barne, stables, outhouses, and appurtenances to the said Greate Garden belongeing."

Aston Ingram, in his will, 1710, devises Nash's house, then described as in the occupation of one Robert Fawdon, to his wife Barbara in fee, subject to portions to younger children, which were subsequently paid by the sale of the house and the Great Garden. The latter is not specifically named in Ingram's will, but that it was included in the devise of Nash's house is certain from the wording of the release of his sons to their mother Barbara in March, 1728-9, who sold Nash's house, in that year, then described as a "message with the garden and outhouses to the same belonging," to Frances Rose of Stratford, the Great Garden being expressly excluded from this description, as the latter was henceforth restored as part of the New Place estate. "And whereas the said Barbara Ingram hath lately sold, granted and convey'd the said message or tenement called his dwelling house, with the garden and backside to the same belonging, to Frances Rose of the said burrough of Stratford-upon-Avon widow, and allsoe a piece or parcell of ground called the Great Garden, with the barne, stable and yard thereunto belonging, heretofore used with the said message or tenement, to Hugh Clopton of the said burrough of Stratford-upon-Avon," Deed of Release, 24 March, 1728-9.

In November, 1738, Nash's house, "with the garden and outhouses to the same belonging, heretofore in the tenure or occupation of Robert Fawdon, late in the tenure or occupation of Mary Meese, widow, and now of the said Frances Rose," was conveyed by the person last named to Philip Hatton, a mercer of Stratford, in fee. This Hatton, in his will dated February 28th, 1739-40, devised "all that my message or tenement, together with the garden, backside and premises, with their and every of their appurtenances thereunto belonging, situate, standing and being within the borough of Stratford-upon-Avon in a certain street or place there called Chappell Street, all which I lately bought and purchased of Mrs. Rose," to his wife Grace Hatton for life, with remainders to his sons, Philip and

Joseph, and to his son-in-law, Thomas Mortiboys, to be equally divided between them. Joseph, the son, by will dated shortly before his decease in 1745, devised his share of the property to his brother Philip in fee; and in July, 1760, the latter conveyed to Thomas Mortiboys in fee two undivided third parts of "all that messuage or tenement, together with the garden, backside and premises with the appurtenances thereto belonging, situate, standing and being within the borough of Stratford-upon-Avon, in a certain street or place there called Chappel Street." The whole, subject of course to Mrs. Hatton's life-interest, thus became the property of Thomas Mortiboys, who, by his will, dated in 1779, devised it to his daughter Susanna. This lady made a will, but it was not sufficient to pass real estate, as it merely disposed of personalty; and after her death, Nash's house descended to Fanny Mortiboys, who, in March, 1785, conveyed to Charles Henry Hunt in fee "all that messuage or tenement, together with the garden, backside and premises with the appurtenances thereto belonging, situate within the borough of Stratford upon Avon aforesaid, in a certain street or place there called the Chappel Street, heretofore in the occupation of Grace Hatton, widow, afterwards of one Bolton, widow, and now of the Rev. Edmund Rawlins." The premises are described in the same terms in an indenture dated in 1796, and they were then in the occupation of Mrs. Catherine Hunt, the mother of Charles Henry above mentioned. Mrs. Hunt also rented the site of New Place and its smaller garden, the garden of Nash's house having been thrown into and made a part of the latter some time between 1790 and 1800.

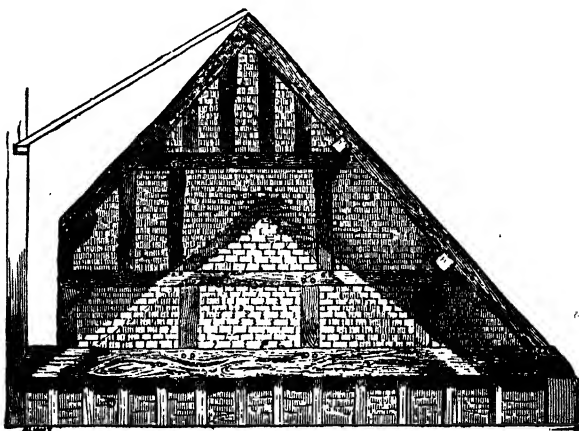
It was in the former year, 1790, that Nash's house became the property of the owner of New Place, Charles Henry Hunt, who, in May, 1807, with other parties, conveyed to Edmund Battersbee and William George Morris (bankers and partners) as tenants in common in fee, along with New Place, "all that messuage or tenement, together with the garden, backside, buildings, and appurtenances thereto belonging, situate, standing and being within the borough of Stratford upon Avon, in the

said county of Warwick, in a certain street or place there called the Chapel Street, heretofore in the occupation of Grace Hatton, widow, afterwards of one Bolton, widow, since then of the Rev. Edmund Rawlins, then late of the said Catharine Hunt, and now of the said William George Morris, all which said hereditaments and premises were heretofore bought and purchased by the said Charles Henry Hunt of and from one Fanny Mortiboys, spinster." At this time, Nash's house and garden, the site of New Place, and the gardens attached to the latter were, and had been since 1805, occupied in one holding by Morris. This arrangement of the properties continued for a considerable time, but afterwards the Great Garden, with some land on the east, two cottages, and the gardens attached to the latter excepted, again became separated from the site and small garden of New Place. In this new division of the property, a trifling portion of the western end of the Great Garden adjoining Chapel Lane was annexed to the site and garden of New Place. This fragment of the Great Garden included a "stable and harness-house" on the west of the two cottages, with land extending to the north-east about seventy feet, the width of the whole plot averaging only about twenty feet. The last piece formed a separate lot when Morris's estates were put up for sale in 1819, and it was then bought by the purchaser of the site of New Place.

Battersbee dying, and Morris becoming a bankrupt, Nash's house and garden, with the portion of the New Place estate as just described, were sold in 1827 to Miss Lucy Smith of Coventry, after whose death they were bought, in 1836, by Mr. David Rice. Upon the decease of the latter in 1860, they again came into the market, and, in the following year, they were purchased by me with moneys collected by public subscription, becoming then and for ever the property of the Corporation of Stratford-on-Avon. The character of the original house, no representation of which is known to exist, may to some little extent be gathered from the annexed engraving of what remains of the upper outside part of its ancient southern end, the lower gable mark denoting the situation where that of New Place



formerly rested against Nash's house, the roof of which was higher than that of Shakespeare's residence. Its gable end overhung the latter, and the purlines, which project about



eleven or twelve inches from the face of the wall, are still visible. From the appearance of the framing of the timbers, there is every reason to believe that this gable is in the same condition as when it was originally constructed. The front of the house has been twice re-built since the time of the great dramatist, and the interior has been greatly modernized, but the massive timbers, the immense chimneys, and the principal gables at the back are portions of the ancient building, and part of the original large opening of the chimney adjoining New Place can still be observed. The foundations appear to have been of sandstone, very similar in quality to that used in the construction of the Guild Chapel.

The house adjoining Nash's on the north side, now as formerly belonging to the Corporation of Stratford, is one of considerable interest, for here resided in Shakespeare's time, at the next house but one to New Place, Julius Shawe, one of the poet's testamentary witnesses in 1616. This house is mentioned

in the time of Henry the Eighth as occupied by one Thomas Fylle, a glover, and in 1591 it was held from the Corporation by one Robert Gybbes, whose interests having been purchased by Shawe in 1597, the Corporation then granted the latter a new lease for twenty-five years. "July Shawe holdeth one tene-mente with a garden, yearly rent xij.s.," Rent Roll, January, 1597-8. The property is also described as a tenement and garden in a survey taken in 1582; more particularly in the same document in the following terms,—“a house, tenure of Robert Gybbes, sufficiently repayered save a lyttelle outt-house lackethe tyllying, and a pese of a baye is thatched which was tyled, but before hys tyme;” and yet at greater length, as it appeared in the poet's days, in a survey of 1599, in which it is noted as “a tenemente in the strete ij. baies tiled, on the backside a barne of ij. baies, with either side a depe lenfoo thatched; more inward, another crosse-backhouse of ij. baies thatched; betwene that and the stret house a range of j. baie thatch, and ij. baies tiled, and a garden answerable in bredth to the house, in length as John Tomlins,” that is, the same length as the garden of Tomlins, Shawe's next-door neighbour on the north. The frontage and interior of these premises are now modernized, but nearly the whole of the outside walls at the back, and the main structure generally except the front, are of framed timber work apparently as old as Shakespeare's time, and in the straggling out-houses adjoining the residence lying on the southern side of the yard or garden is some more framed timber work supported by a stone basement. The eastern terminus of this property is divided from the Great Garden of New Place by a substantial brick wall of considerable age, but one which is extremely unlikely to have formed the boundary in the days of Julius Shawe.

It appears from the vestry-book that Shawe contributed six shillings for his proportion of a church-rate levy on this house in 1617, eight shillings being paid at the same time by Dr. Hall for New Place. It would seem from this circumstance that Shawe's house must have been a substantial residence, or there would have been a wider difference between the two amounts

paid. When the Corporation leased the premises to him in the year 1626, we are told that "the bredth thereof on the streete side is twenty-six foote; item, the bredth thereof at the est end is thirtie ffoote; item, the length thereof is nyne score ffoote." The present dimensions are as follows,—street frontage, twenty-six feet; length, one hundred and seventy-nine feet, three inches; width at east end, twenty-four feet; but the discrepancy of the few inches in the length may readily be accounted for by assuming that the shorter length was taken along the centre of the premises. The difference of six feet in the width of the eastern limit is not so readily explained, but as the modern measurement of the same boundary of the next house, also belonging to the Corporation, is several feet in excess of the ancient computation, it may be assumed that at some period one garden received an augmentation from the other. Fortunately, the question of length as to these premises is the only one of importance in the investigation of the boundaries of Shakespeare's Great Garden.

Julius Shawe, who was born in the year 1571, was the son of a wool-driver of Stratford-on-Avon, one Ralph Shawe, who died when Julius was about twenty years of age. The latter continued his father's business, marrying Anne Boyes in 1594. His position in the following year is thus described—"Julye Shawe usethe the trades of buyinge and sellinge of woll and yorne, and malltinge, and hathe in howse xvij. quarter and halfe of mallte and x. quarters of barley, whereof xx. tie stryke of the mallte is Mr. Watkyns, Mr. Grevylls mans, and v. quarters of one Gylbardes of Reddytche and the reste his owne; there are in howshold iij. persons," MS. Presentments, 1595. He is mentioned as holding seven quarters of corn at his house in Chapel-street in February, 1598. Like many other provincial tradesmen of the time, he appears to have been a kind of general dealer. At all events he is mentioned several times in the Chamberlains' Accounts as the seller of wood, tiles and other building materials, to the Corporation. He was elected a member of the Town Council in 1603, one of the chamberlains for 1609-1610, an alderman in 1613 and bailiff in 1616. Having

prospered in business, in the year last mentioned he purchased land from Anthony Nash for the then considerable sum of £180. His death occurred in June, 1629. He appears to have been much respected, his colleagues in 1613 speaking of "his honesty, fidelity" and their "good opinion of him," MS. Council Book, 4 Jan. 10 Jac. I.

Shawe's next-door neighbour on the northern side in 1599 was one John Tomlins, whose residence is thus described in a survey of that date,—*"a tenemente in the strete side ij. baies tiled, from the stret house to the garden v. baies thatched, his garden in length about xvj. yerdes ; in the old buildinge on Juli Shaues yarde there is a coller-poste broke, and silles wantinge, and an ill gutter ; warninge must be geven for these defaultes, according to his lease."* The dimensions of the garden, as here given, must be erroneous, for when the Corporation granted his widow, Mary Tomlins, a lease of the premises in 1619, a former one of 1608 to her being then surrendered, the following schedule is attached,—*"Imprimis, the bredth therof one the streete syde is thirtie two foote ; item, the bredth of the est end is thirtie foote ; the length therof from the streete to the est end is eight score and seventeene foote."* The same dimensions are given in the Corporation leases up to the year 1774, although, according to the plan attached to one of that date, the street frontage is thirty-two feet five inches, the length one hundred and eighty-five feet nine inches, and the width at the eastern boundary thirty-three feet four inches. These premises, which are mentioned in 1630 (MS. Orders, 2 April) as being then in a very dilapidated state, were leased in 1646 to Henry Tomlins, who covenanted to refront the house within six years, that is, before 1652, to about which period, and not to the Shakespearean, the modernized but still antiquated face of the present structure must be referred. Some of the main features, such as the overhanging upper storey and the covered passage, appear to have been reproduced, but little, if any, of the original work of the sixteenth century is now to be traced. This house was long erroneously considered to have formerly been the residence of Julius Shawe.

The next house towards the north is described in 1620 as a "tenement and garden in the occupacion of George Perrye." In 1647 it belonged to one Richard Lane, who, in the April of that year, sold it to "Thomas Hathway of Stratford-uppon-Avon joyner," under the title of "all that messuage or tenement, backside and garden, in Stratford aforesaide, in a streete there called the Chappell Streete." It was then in the occupation of this Thomas Hathaway, the same person who is mentioned in Lady Barnard's will as her kinsman, and who was therefore connected with the Shakespeare family. He died in January, 1654-5, when the premises became the property of his widow, Jane Hathaway, who, in 1691, was presented at the sessions "for not repaireing the ground before her house in Chappell Street." This lady continued to reside in the house until the time of her death in October, 1696, but some years previously, namely in September, 1692, her grand-daughter Susannah Hathaway sold the reversion in fee accruing to her on Jane's death to Richard Wilson of Cripplegate, London, who, in May, 1698, conveyed the estate to Edward Clopton in a deed in which they are described as, "all that messuage or tenement with the appurtenances thereunto belonging, situate and being in the Chappell Street in the said borough of Stratford upon Avon being late the messuage or tenement of one Jane Hathaway, widow, and lyes between a messuage or tenement of one Richard Holmes on the north part, and a messuage or tenement late of one William Baker, gentleman, deceased on the south part." These premises, afterwards known by the sign of the Castle, were rebuilt by Edward Clopton, and now contain no vestiges of the architectural work of the Shakespearean period.

The determination of the western boundaries of the New Place estate has been alone rendered possible by a careful enquiry into the measures of the spaces occupied by the properties above described. Although the boundary marks of the garden formerly attached to Nash's house have long been removed, their positions can be ascertained with nearly mathematical exactitude. That Shakespeare's garden was originally, as it is now, contiguous to the eastern limits of the

other properties, is shown decisively by the terms of a nearly contemporary lease of the third house from New Place; and, as those premises have belonged to the Corporation from the sixteenth century to the present time, it is all but impossible that their boundaries should have been changed without a record of the fact having been made. No evidence of any such alteration is to be discovered amongst the town muniments. The lease referred to was granted to Mary Tomlins in 1619, the house being therein described as,—“all that messuage or tenement and garden with thappurtenaunces wherein the said Marye now dwelleth, scittuate and beinge in Stratford aforesaide in a certaine place or streete there called Chappell Streete, betweene the tenement and garden of the saide Bayliffe and Burgesses in the occupacion of Julyus Shawe one the south parte, the tenement and garden in the occupacion of George Perrye one the north parte, *the garden or orchard of Mr. John Hall one thest parte*, and the saide streete one the west.” Another testimony to the same effect occurs in the conveyance mentioned at p. 388 of the house and garden in Chapel Street from Richard Lane to Thomas Hathaway in 1647, in which the property sold is described as consisting of, “all that messuage or tenement, with the backside and garden, and all other thappurtenaunces thereunto belonging, scittuate, lyeing and being in Stratford aforesaide in a street there called the Chappell Streete, betweene the dwelling howse of John Loach on the north side, and the howse of Henry Tomlins on the south, *the land of Mrs. Hall on the east*, and the said streete on the west partes thereof, and now in the occupacion of the said Thomas Hathway.” So again, in an indenture referring to the same property, dated in September, 1692,—“all that messuage or tenement with the backside and garden, and all other the appurtenaunces thereunto belonging, scittuate, lyeing and being in Stratford in a streete there called the Chappell Streete, betweene the dwelling-house now or heretofore of John Loach on the north side, and the house now or heretofore of Henry Tomlins on the south, *and the land now or heretofore of Mr. Hall on the east*, and the said streete on the west part thereof.”

Opposite to New Place, on the north-west end of Chapel Street and at the corner of Scholar's Lane, was, in Shakespeare's time, a private residence, which was afterwards, some time between the years 1645 and 1665, converted into a tavern distinguished by the sign of the Falcon. At the last-mentioned date, it was kept by one Joseph Phillips, who issued a token in that year, the sign, a falcon, being in the centre. It was probably this individual who first used the house as an inn, and the sign, there can hardly be a doubt, was adopted in reference to Shakespeare's crest, even if it be a mere conjecture that the landlord was descended from William Phillips, the maternal grandfather of Thomas Quiney, and in that way remotely connected with the poet's family. The most ancient title-deed yet discovered which refers to this house is dated in 1640, and the premises are therein described as consisting of a house and garden "latelie in the tenure, use and holdinge of Mrs Katherine Temple and nowe in the use and occupation of Joseph Boles, gent." It was then evidently a private house, and it is similarly described in a deed of 1645. In 1681 it is mentioned as "all that messuage or tenement with the apurtenances called by the name of the Falcon;" in 1685, as "comonly called by the name of the Falcon house;" and in 1687, as "all that messuage, or tenement, or inne, comonly called or knowne by the name of the Falcon, scituate and beinge in a certaine street there comonly called or knowne by the name of the Chappell Street, and now in the occupacion of Joseph Phillips." The Falcon has been twice modernized within the last hundred years, and no reliable representation of it in its original state is known to be preserved. The view of it given by Ireland in 1795, with lattice windows on the ground floor, is at all events inaccurate, if not chiefly fanciful, and the same observation will apply to engravings of the ancient tavern in more recent works. That writer speaks of the house as "built of upright oak timbers with plaister," adding unfounded statements that it was kept, in Shakespeare's days, by Julius Shawe, and that the poet, passing much time there, had "a strong partiality for the landlord, as well as for

his liquor," *Views on the Warwickshire Avon*, 1795, p. 204. It may be just worth mentioning that there is still preserved a shovel-board table, sixteen feet and a half in length, which is asserted to have belonged to the Falcon Inn in olden times, and at which Shakespeare is said to have often played. That the table came from the Falcon there is no doubt : as to its implied age there is much uncertainty ; while the tradition connecting it with the poet is unquestionably a modern fabrication.





## THE NEW PLACE.

There is a vellum roll, which was written in the year 1483, in which mention is made of a tenement at Stratford-on-Avon *juxta Capellam modo Hugonis Clopton generosi*; but the earliest distinct notice of the large house in that town, situated at the corner of Chapel Street and Chapel Lane, generally referred to in the old records as the New Place, the term *place* being used in old English in the sense of residence or mansion, occurs in the will of Sir Hugh Clopton, an eminent citizen and mercer of London in the fifteenth century. In that document, which was proved in October, 1496, very shortly after the testator's death, the building is devised in the following terms,—“to William Clopton I bequeith my grete house in Stratford-upon-Avon and all other my landes and tenementes being in Wilmecote, in the Brigge Towne and Stratford, with reversion and servyces and duetes thereunto belonging, remayne to my cousin William Clopton, and for lak of issue of hym to remayne to the right heires of the lordship of Clopton for ever being heires mailles.” That the “grete house” refers to New Place clearly appears from the inquisition upon Sir Hugh Clopton's death, taken at Stratford-on-Avon in 1497, in which he is described as being seized “de uno burgagio jacente in Chapell Strete in Stretford predicta *ex opposito Capelle ex parte boriati*.” Sir Hugh had previously granted a life-interest in the estate to one Roger l'aget, in whose possession it was vested in 1496. The William Clopton, to whom the reversion in fee was bequeathed in the same year, was the son of John Clopton, and the grandson of Thomas Clopton, the brother of Sir Hugh. Livery of seizin in respect to New Place was granted to him in July, 1504, probably after the death of Paget; Rot. Pat. 19 Hen. VII. He died in 1521,

bequeathing all his lands and tenements in Stratford-upon-Avon to his wife Rose for her life in the following terms—"I will that the said Rose my wel-beloved wif shall have for terme of hir lif and to hir assignes my manors of Ruyn Clyford and Brygtown with thappurtenaunces, and all my landez and tenementes with their appurtenaunce in Stratford-upon-Haven in the countie of Warwyke, and all other my landez, tenementes, rentes, revercions and servicez, with all and singler theire membres and appurtenaunces in Ruyn Clyfforde, Briggetown and Stratford-upon-Haven in the foresaid countie of Warwyke which now be, or at any tyme were or have bene reputed, taken or knowen as percell of any of the said maners, or letten or taken to and with the said maners, or any of theym." In the inquisition taken on his death, held in September, 1521, he was found to be possessed of one tenement in Chapel Street situated to the north of the Chapel of the Guild,—"*necnon de et in uno burgagio jacente in strata vocata Chapel Strete in Stratford super Avene ex parte boriali Capelle Sancte Trinitatis in Stratford predicta,*" Inq. 13 Henry VIII. William Clopton, in the same will, leaves "all such maners, londes and tenementis which were sumtyme of thenheritance of myne auncettours navyng the name and names of Clopton to those of the heirez males of my body comyng, and for defaulte of suche heire male of my body comyng, to the use of the heires malez of my said auncettours of the name of the Cloptones, accordyng to the old estates of intaylez and willis hertofore therof had, made and declared by my said auncettours, or any of theym." This devise seems to include New Place, otherwise there would be no provision for its descent after the death of Rose Clopton in 1525, when it became the property of William Clopton, son of the above-named William. It is alluded to as his freehold estate in an inquisition taken on his death in 1560, and as consisting of one tenement or burgage with the appurtenances in Chapel Street, now or late in the tenure of William Bott,—"*de et in uno tenemento sive burgagio cum pertinentiis in Stratford-super-Aven in dicto comitatu Warwici, in vico ibidem vocato le Chappell strete modo in tenuta sive occupacione Willielmi Bott,*" Escheat. 2 Eliz.

Leland, who visited Stratford-on-Avon about the year 1540, describes New Place as an elegant house built of brick and timber. His words are,—“ There is a right goodly chappell in a fayre street towards the south ende of the towne, dedicated to the Trinitye ; this chappell was newly re-edified by one Hugh Clopton, major of London ; this Hugh Clopton builded also by the north syde of this chappell a praty house of bricke and tymbre wherein he lived in his latter dayes and dyed.” Leland perhaps means that upright and cross pieces of timber were used in the construction of the house, the intervening spaces being filled in with brick. This writer appears, however, to have been misinformed when he made the statement that Sir Hugh lived at New Place in the latter part of his life, and that he died there. It seems evident from his having been buried at St. Margaret's in Lothbury, as recorded by Stow, that he died in London, for he expressly stipulates in his will that if Stratford was the place of his death, he should be buried in that town. New Place, as previously mentioned, was not even in Sir Hugh's possession at that period, it having been sold or given by him to one Roger Paget for the life of the latter ; so that, in fact, the house did not revert to the Cloptons until after the death of Paget. It may be doubted if any members of the Clopton family lived there in the sixteenth century, for they are generally spoken of as residing at Clopton, and in no record of that century yet produced is there any evidence that they were living in Stratford. In November, 1543, William Clopton let New Place on lease for a term of forty years to Dr. Thomas Bentley, who had been more than once President of the College of Physicians in its very early days, the Doctor paying for the house, including some lands in the neighbourhood, a yearly rent of ten pounds. Some time afterwards this lease was surrendered, and a new one granted at the same rental to continue in force during the lives of Dr. Bentley and his wife Anne, or during her widowhood should she survive her husband. Dr. Bentley died in or about the year 1549, leaving New Place *in great ruyne and decay and unrepayryd*. His widow married one

Richard Charnocke, and the lease by this event being forfeited, Clopton entered into possession of the premises, a circumstance which occasioned a suit in Chancery, the result of which is not stated, but there can be little doubt that it terminated in some way in favour of the defendant, William Clopton, who devised his estates at Stratford-on-Avon to his son in 1560,—“I will, give and bequeth to William Clopton my sonne all that my mannor of Rion Clyfforde and Bridgetowne withe thappurtenaunces in Ryon Clyfforde and Bridgetowne, with all and singuler my landes, tenementes and hereditamentes, medowes, moores, fedinges, pastures, wooddes, underwooddes, rentes and revercions and services, with all and singuler their appurtenaunces, situat lyinge and beinge in Ryen Clyfforde and Bridgetowne and Stratford-upon-Aven, to have and to holde the saide mannour, landes, tenementes and all other the premisses, with all and singuler thappurtenaunces, unto the saide William Clopton my sonne, and to the heires of his bodie lawfully begotten.” This devise was encumbered with a number of heavy legacies, in consequence of which the testator’s son was compelled to part with some of the estates, which he did in 1563 to one William Bott, who had previously resided at New Place and in that year became its owner. It may be assumed that the latter was living there in 1564, when his name occurs in the Council-book of Stratford as contributing more than any one else in the town to the relief of the poor. His transactions with Clopton were mysterious and extensive, but there is no good reason for a supposition that New Place was obtained in other than an honourable manner. Clopton’s embarrassments appear to have arisen from his father burdening his estates with legacies of unusual magnitude, hence arising the necessity for a recourse to a friendly capitalist.

During the time that Bott was in possession of New Place he brought an action of trespass against Richard Sponer, accusing the latter of entering into a close in Chapel Lane belonging to Bott called the *barne yarde nigh le New Place gardyn*, and taking thence by force twelve pieces of squared timber of the estimated value of fourty shillings. This act is

stated to have been committed on June 18th, 1565, and the spot referred to was clearly an enclosed space of ground in which stood a barn belonging to New Place, a little way down Chapel Lane next to the garden of that house. Sponer was a painter living at that time in Chapel Street in the third house from New Place and on the same side of the way, a fact which appears from a lease granted by the Corporation on May 28th, 1563, to "Rychard Sponer of Stratford peynter" of "a tenement wyth appurtenaunces scytuate and beinge in the borrough of Stratford aforseid, in a strete there callyd the Chapell Strete, nowe in the tenure and occupacion of the seid Richard, and also a gardyn and bacsyde adjoynynge to the seid tenemente now lykwyse in the tenure and occupacion of the seid Richard." It appears from an endorsement that the house was the same which was afterwards held by John Tomlins, the garden of which extended to the western side of what was afterwards the Great Garden of New Place (see p. 387). "John Tomlins holdeth one tenemente with thappurtenaunces late in the tenure of Richârd Sponer," Kent Roll, January, 1597-8. Now, in all probability, the timber was taken by Sponer from a spot close to his own garden, the division between the premises being in those days either a hedge or mud-wall, not a fence of a nature which would have rendered the achievement a difficult one. In his defence he admits having taken away six' pieces of timber, but asserts that the plaintiff had presented the same to one Francis Bott, who had sold them to the defendant. This statement is declared by William Bott to be false, but it is reiterated by Sponer in the subsequent proceedings. The result of the action is not recorded, but it was settled, probably by compromise, at the close of the year. Several papers respecting this suit have been preserved, but the only one of interest in connexion with the New Place is the following plea which Bott filed against Sponer on September 12th, 1565,—"*Willielmus Bott queritur versus Ricardum Sponer de placito transgressionis, et sunt plegii de prosequendo, videlicet Johannes Doo et Ricardus Roo, unde idem Willielmus, per Jacobum Woodward attornatum suum,*

dicat quod predictus Ricardus, xvij. die Junii, anno regni domine Elizabethe Dei gracia Anglie Francie et Hibernie regine, fidei defensoris, etc., septimo, vi et armis, etc., clausum ipsius Willielmi Bott vocatum *le barne yarde*, jacens et existens in Stretford predicta juxta *le newe place gardyn*; in quodam<sup>®</sup> venella vocata Dede Lane apud Stretford predictam, infra jurisdictionem hujus curie, fregit et intravit, et duodecim pecias de meremiis vocatas *xij. peces of tymber squaryd and sawed* precii quadraginta solidorum de bonis cattallis<sup>®</sup> ipsius Willielmi Bott adtunc et ibidem inventas cepit et asportavit, unde idem Willielmus dicit quod deterioratus est et dampnum habet ad valenciam centum solidorum, et unde producit sectam, etc." The first mention of there being a garden attached to New Place occurs in this document; but there could not have been a very large one belonging to the house during the early part of the century, for a portion, if not the whole, of what was afterwards called the Great Garden belonged to the Priory of Pinley up to the year 1544. In deeds of 12 Henry VI. and 21 Henry VI., the Clifford Charity estate is described as adjoining the *land* of the Prioress of Pinley; but, in 12 Edward IV., that term is changed into *tenement*,—"inter tenementum Abbathie de Redyng ex parte una et tenementum priorisse de Pynley, nunc in tenura Johannis Gylbert, ex parte altera." From this period until some time after 1544, the probability is that there were a cottage and garden between New Place and the Clifford estate. As to the exact period when the cottage was pulled down, and its site with the garden attached to New Place, it would be in vain now to conjecture.

In July, 1567, the New Place estate was sold by William Bott and others to William Underhill for the sum of £40, being then described as consisting of one messuage and one garden; and in a return to a commission issued out of the Exchequer for the survey of the possessions of Ambrose earl of Warwick, made in 1590, it is stated that "Willielmus Underhill generosus tenet libere quandam domum vocatum *the newe place* cum pertinentiis pro redditu per annum *xij. d. sect. cur.*" The estate continued in the hands of the Underhill family until

the year 1597, when it was purchased by Shakespeare, being then described as consisting of one messuage, two barns, and two gardens. The following is a copy of the foot of the fine levied on this occasion,—“Inter Willielmum Shakespeare querentem et Willielmum Underhill generosum deforciantem, de uno mesuagio, duobus horreis, et duobus gardinis, cum pertinentiis, in Stratford-super-Avon, unde placitum convencionis summonitum fuit inter eos in eadem curia, Scilicet quod predictus Willielmus Underhill recognovit predicta tenementa cum pertinentiis esse jus ipsius Willielmi Shakespeare, ut illa que idem Willielmus habet de dono predicti Willielmi Underhill, et illa remisit et quietam clamavit de se et heredibus suis predicto Willielmo Shakespeare et heredibus suis in perpetuum; et preterea idem Willielmus Underhill concessit pro se et heredibus suis quod ipsi warrantizabunt predicto Willielmo Shakespeare et heredibus suis predicta tenementa cum pertinentiis in perpetuum. Et pro hac recognicione, quietam clamancia, warranto, fine et concordia idem Willielmus Shakespeare dedit predicto Willielmo Underhill sexaginta libras sterlingorum,” Pasch. 39 Eliz. Another fine was levied on New Place in 1602, for the same property is unquestionably referred to, notwithstanding the addition of the words, *et duobus pomariis*, in the foot of the fine,—“Inter Willielmum Shakespeare generosum querentem et Herculem Underhill generosum deforciantem, de uno mesuagio, duobus horreis, duobus gardinis, et duobus pomariis cum pertinentiis, in Stretford-super-Avon; unde placitum convencionis summonitum fuit inter eos in eadem curia, Scilicet quod predictus Hercules recognovit predicta tenementa cum pertinentiis esse jus ipsius Willielmi, ut illa que idem Willielmus habet de dono predicti Herculis, et illa remisit et quietam clamavit de se et heredibus suis predicto Willielmo et heredibus suis in perpetuum. Et preterea idem Hercules concessit pro se et heredibus suis quod ipsi warrantizabunt predicto Willielmo et heredibus suis predicta tenementa cum pertinentiis contra predictum Herculem et heredes suos in perpetuum; et pro hac recognicione, remissione, quietam clamancia, warranto, fine et concordia idem Willielmus dedit predicto Herculi sexaginta



libras sterlingorum," Mich. 44 & 45 Eliz. In the absence of the deed which would explain the object of this fine, it can only be conjectured that, after Shakespeare had bought New Place, it was discovered that Hercules Underhill had some contingent interest in the property which was conveyed to the poet by this second transaction.

There is evidence, in the list of corn and malt owners, dated a few months after Shakespeare's purchase of New Place, that he was then the occupier of that residence, and there is no doubt that it continued to be in his possession until his death in 1616. In the latter year he devised "all that capitall messuage or tenemente, with the appurtenaunces, called the New Place," to his daughter Susanna Hall for life, remainders to her male issue in strict entail, remainder to his grand-daughter, Elizabeth Hall, then a little girl of eight years of age, and her male issue, remainder to his daughter Judith and her male issue, remainder to the testator's own heirs for ever. No further dealings with the estate took place until the early part of the year 1639, when, on the death of the two surviving sons of Judith Quiney, that lady herself being fifty-four years of age, the poet's devise of remainders to her children was accepted as void. Within a few weeks after this unexpected occurrence, Susanna Hall joined with Mr. and Mrs. Nash in making a new settlement of the Shakespeare entails. Under a deed of May 27th, 1639, New Place and the other settled estates were confirmed "to the onelie use and behoofe of the said Susan Hall for and during the terme of her naturall life, and after her decease, to the use and behoofe of the said Thomas Nash and Elizabeth his wife for and during the terme of their naturall lives, and the life of the longest liver of them, and after their deceases, to the use and behoofe of the heires of the bodies of the said Thomas Nash and Elizabeth his wife betweene them lawfullie begotten or to bee begotten, and for default of such issue, to the use and behoofe of the heires of the bodie of the said Elizabeth lawfullie begotten or to bee begotten, and for default of such issue, to the use and behoofe of the said Thomas Nash and of his heires and assignes for ever, and to none other use or uses, intent or pur-

pose whatsoever." I cannot discover any note of a fine of this date, and, notwithstanding the wording of the settlement, much doubt if one was levied upon this occasion. The estate tail and remainders do not appear to have been effectually barred until the year 1647.

In the month of July, 1643, New Place was the temporary residence of Queen Henrietta Maria in the course of her triumphant march from Newark to Keinton. This fact, which there is no reason to dispute, rests upon a tradition told by Sir Hugh Clopton to Theobald early in the last century, and the anecdote exhibits a continuation in the family of the sincere loyalty which the favours of previous sovereigns must have riveted to the poet's own affections. According to Theobald, the Queen "kept her Court for three weeks in New Place," Preface to his edition of Shakespeare, ed. 1733, p. xiv. She was, however, at Stratford only three days, arriving there on July 11th, at the head of upwards of two thousand foot and a thousand horse, with about a hundred waggons, and a train of artillery. This was a memorable day for Stratford, for here the Queen was met by Prince Rupert at the head of another body of troops, the most stirring event of the kind the ancient town has ever witnessed. The Corporation appear to have been at the expense of entertaining Henrietta and her retinue. In a list of "monyes disbursed and payd when the Queene Majestye laye in the towne," we find notes of thirty shillings "payd to six footemen for their fee;" a like sum "to the cochmen and porters;" four shillings for as many quails; five and fourpence for three hens, one cock, and eight chickens; five pounds "for cakes presented to the Queene;" three pounds eighteen shillings and sixpence for meat; fifteen and eightpence for beer; one pound two for beans and oats; and two shillings to the bellringers. Henrietta left Stratford on the 13th of the same month, meeting the King in the vale of Keinton, near the site of the battle of Edgehill; and on the following day they entered Oxford in triumph.

Thomas Nash appears to have considered the settlement of 1639 as one entitling him to dispose of Shakespeare's estates by

will, perhaps on the supposition that he would outlive his mother-in-law, and to a period at which it was unlikely for his wife to have issue, and with the knowledge that the terms of the devise in his will would not affect the life-interest of his wife as secured by that settlement. However that may be, it is certain that he devised New Place in 1642 to his kinsman Edward Nash, just as if it were his own property,—“item, I give, dispose and bequeath unto my kinsman Edward Nash and to his heires and assigns for ever one messuage or teneement with the appurtenances comonly called or knowen by the name of the Newe Place scituate lyeing and being in Stratford-uppon-Avon aforesaid in the said county of Warwicke in a streete there called or knowen by the name of the Chappell Streete, togeather alsoe with all and singuler howses, outhowses, barnes, stables, orchardes, gardens, easementes, proffittes and comodities to the same belonginge or in anie wise appertayninge, or reputed, taken, esteemed or enjoyed as thereunto belonging, and nowe in the tenure, use and occupacion of mee the said Thomas Nashe.” In a nuncupative codicil, made very shortly before his death on April the 4th, 1647, he declares that the land given in the will to Edward Nash, including doubtlessly the estate of New Place, should be by him settled, after his decease, upon Edward’s son Thomas. He was clearly a man of very considerable wealth, which is even specifically alluded to in the lines inscribed on his tombstone in the chancel of Stratford church. Shakespeare’s grand-daughter Elizabeth was his sole executrix and residuary legatee, but most of the other terms of the will indicate a partiality in favour of his own relatives, the disposition to whom of the poet’s estates does not appear to be equitable. The codicil mentions the then handsome legacy of £50 to his mother-in-law, Shakespeare’s daughter; and it also exhibits him on friendly terms with other members of his wife’s family, there being several bequests to the Hathaways and Quineys.

So full of civil troubles were those days that, at the very time of her husband’s death, Mrs. Nash had soldiers quartered upon her at New Place. One of these was

implicated in a robbery of two deer from the park of Sir Grevil Varney, which took place on the last day of April, 1647. A man named "Tailor had one of them, and a souldier quartering with Mrs. Nash of Stratford had the other." She duly proved her husband's will in the following June, but the entail of New Place having been barred in 1639, and resettled on her and her issue, and as she, at her husband's decease, was not thirty-nine years of age, she declined to carry out Nash's will so far as that estate and two others were concerned. She therefore without delay,—in fact, within two or three weeks after her husband's decease,—joined with her mother in levying a fine (Easter Term, 23 Car. I.) on New Place, and resettling it on June 2nd, 1647, "to the onlie use and behoofe of the said Susan Hall for and duringe the terme of her naturall life, and after her decease, to the use and behoofe of the said Elizabeth Nash, and the heires of her body lawfully begotten or to be begotten, and for default of such issue, to the use and behoofe of the right heires of the said Elizabeth Nash for ever." In Michaelmas of the same year a recovery of the same estate was prosecuted. It is worth mentioning that Mrs. Nash was not present when the will was signed at New Place on August the 25th, 1642, and unless the devise of that estate were made with her full knowledge and consent, she might naturally have felt herself at liberty to endeavour to secure a residence associated with the memories of her father and grandfather.

Edward Nash, the devisee under his uncle's will, naturally desired to place the new settlement made by Susanna Hall and her daughter on one side; and, to effect this purpose, he filed a bill in Chancery on February 12th, 1647-8, against Elizabeth Nash and other legatees, to compel them to produce and execute the provisions of the said will. The defendant, in her answer, admits the contents of the will, but denies that Thomas Nash had the power to dispose of any interest in New Place, asserting that the estate could not be so devised, because it was the inheritance of William Shakespeare, her grandfather, who was seized thereof in fee simple long before her marriage with Nash,

bequeathing it to Susanna Hall, the daughter and coheir of the said William, for her life. and after her death to her and her issue. She then proceeds to mention that Susanna Hall, to whom the property was devised by Shakespeare, was yet living and enjoying the same ; that she and her mother, after Nash's death, levied a fine and recovery on the estate to the use of Susanna for life, remainder to herself; and that she only disputed that portion of her husband's will which had reference to New Place, the land in Old Stratford, and the house in London. Mrs. Nash also admits that she "hath in her hands or custodie many deeds, evidences, writings, charters, escripts and muniments which concerne the lands and premises which the defendant claymeth as her inheritance, and other the lands which are the defendant's joynture, and are devised to her by the said Thomas Nash." Amongst these were the title-deeds of New Place.

The answer of Elizabeth Nash was taken by commission at Stratford, no doubt at New Place, in April, 1648, and on June 10th, process of duces tecum having been previously awarded against the defendants "to bringe into this Court the will, evidences and writinges confessed by their answere to be in their custody, or att the retourne thereof to shewe unto this Courte good cause to the contrary," it was ordered "that the will be brought into this Court to the end the plaintiff may examine witnesses therupon, and then to be delivered back to the defendant, and that the defendant shall allsoe bring the said evidencies and writinges into Court upon oath the first day of the next terme there to remaine for the equall benefitt of both parties, and shall within ten daies after notice deliver unto the plaintiff a true schedule thereof." Elizabeth Nash had been married to John Barnard in the same month, at Billesley, a village about four miles from Stratford-on-Avon. The will of Thomas Nash was produced before the examiners in Chancery in November, and Michael Johnson, one of the witnesses, was examined at length as to its authenticity ; but it seems that Elizabeth Barnard defied altogether the above-named order in respect to the title-deeds of the estates in dispute.

It appears from an affidavit filed at the Six Clerks' Office in December, 1649, that the writ of execution of the order of the tenth of June was personally served upon her on July the sixth, and there is a note in the books of the same office, dated November the 20th, to the effect that she had paid no attention to the order or to the writ. There was clearly an indisposition to allow the evidences in her possession respecting the property to be deposited in the Court.

In the midst of these legal proceedings, and a few days after the order of the tenth of June was served upon Mrs. Barnard, her mother, Susanna Hall, expired. After this event, assuming the settlement of 1647 to have been valid, New Place became the property of Mrs. Barnard, and there is every reason to believe that the litigation terminated in the latter part of the year 1650. It appears from the books in the Six Clerks' Office that no replication was ever filed, and no decree in the suit can be found. In November, 1650, an order for the publication of the evidence was granted, so it is clear that after that date the pleadings were closed, and henceforth no more is heard of the suit. The terms of the compromise can only be conjectured, but as Lady Barnard, in her will, in directing her trustees to dispose of New Place and other estates, provides "that my loving cousin Edward Nash esq shall have the first offer or refusal thereof, *according to my promise formerly made to him,*" it may be presumed that the dispute was amicably adjusted, this promise having probably been elicited on the occasion. The estate tail and remainders appear to have been so effectually barred by the fine and recovery of 1647, it is most likely that Edward Nash found that his efforts to retain the property would be ineffectual.

A few weeks previously to the termination of the suit between the Nashes, a fine, dated in 1650, was levied on New Place, the only effect, however, of which seems to have been to place the latter with one Henry Smith as trustees of the settlement of 1647, in the stead of Richard Lane, whose colleague, William Smith of Balsall, appears to have been dead. This explanation is offered, however, with hesitation, fines being as a

rule merely auxiliary to deeds explaining their object, which otherwise can often only be conjectured. In 1652, another fine was levied, and a settlement made whereby New Place was confirmed "to the use of John Barnard and Elizabeth his wife for and dureing their naturall lives, and the life of the longest liver of them, and to the heires of the body of the said Elizabeth lawfully begotten or to be begotten, and for defaulte of such issue, to the use of such person or persons, and for such estate and estates, as the said Elizabeth by any writeing either purporteing her last will or otherwise, sealed and subscribed in the presence of two or more credible witnesses, shall lymitt and appoint ; and from and after such nominacion or appointment, or in defaulte of such nominacion or appointment, to the use and behoofe of the right heires of the survivor of them, the said John and Elizabeth, for ever." In pursuance of this power, Mrs. Barnard, in April, 1653, executed a deed conveying New Place, after the death of her husband and the decease of herself without issue, to trustees, who were directed to sell the estate, and apply the proceeds "in such manner, and by such some or somes, as I, the said Elizabeth, shall by any wrighting or noate under my hand, truly testified, declare and nominate."

John Barnard, who was knighted by Charles the Second in November, 1661, owned the manor of Abington, near Northampton, at which place he and his wife resided at the time of her death in 1670. How long after their marriage they occupied New Place does not appear, but it is mentioned as in Sir John's tenure in 1652, and from the names of the witnesses, it may be perhaps assumed that Mrs. Barnard was living at Stratford when she executed the deed of April, 1653. From a list of fire-hearths made in 1663, it would seem that Francis Oldfield, gentleman, was then living at the house, and he continued to occupy it until at least 1670, but in 1674 a Mr. Greene is returned as holding it. Sir John Barnard was presented for a nuisance in Chapel Lane in 1670, but probably as owner, not as occupier. Oldfield, there is reason to believe, removed from New Place either in 1670 or early in 1671, for on June 16th, 1671, he requested to be released from being an alderman "in

respect he hath removed his habitacion into another county, and liveth att that distance from this burrough that hee is incapacitated to doe that respect and duty which belongs to his said office or place of alderman, as formerly hee hath done," a request, however, which was not complied with until September, 1672. The usual place of residence of Sir John and Lady Barnard, during the later years of their lives, appears to have been at the chief mansion in the small and retired village of Abington. The house, which is situated very near the church, still remains, but in a modernised state, the only relics of the Barnards consisting of carved oak panelling in the old dining-room, and a fine hall of the sixteenth century, the latter remaining in the original state, with the exception that some modern village carpenter has added pieces of wood placed crosswise between the spaces of the original work.. No tradition respecting the Barnards has been preserved in the neighbourhood, as I ascertained many years ago from careful enquiries amongst the then old inhabitants. Lady Barnard executed her will there on January 29th, 1669-70, being probably in a delicate state of health, for she died in the following month, and was buried at Abington on February 17th. "Madam Elizabeth Bernard, wife of Sir John Bernard kt., was buried 17<sup>o</sup> Febr. 1669," Abington register. In her will she requests her surviving trustee, after the death of her husband, to sell New Place to the best bidder, and to make the first offer of it to Edward Nash. She also directs that the executors or administrators of Sir John Barnard "shall have and enjoy the use and benefit of my said house in Stratford, called the New Place, with the orchards, gardens, and all other the appurtenances thereto belonging, for and during the space of six months next after the decease of him the said Sir John Barnard." There is a little bit of traditional evidence leading to the not at all improbable conclusion that this will gave dissatisfaction to the Harts. "I have been told by Thomas Hart," says Jordan, in one of his manuscripts, "his great-grandfather George attempted to recover New Place by virtue of his great uncle's (the poet's) will." If George Hart meditated, which is not unlikely, an attempt of the kind, it



probably never came into court, the entail having been too successfully barred to lead us to believe that much progress in any legal proceedings in his favour could have been made.

No sepulchral monument of any description was erected in commemoration of the last descendant of Shakespeare. The memory of her husband, who died at Abington early in 1674, was not so neglected, but his remains, with probably those of Lady Barnard, have long since disappeared, for beneath his memorial slab is now a vault belonging to another family. Administration of his effects was granted on November 7th, 1674, to his son-in-law, Henry Gilbert of Locko, co. Derby, the husband of his daughter Elizabeth, and to his two other surviving daughters. By these, or some of these, New Place was no doubt kept possession of during the six months named by Lady Barnard.

Edward Nash not purchasing the estate, it was sold by Lady Barnard's surviving trustee to Sir Edward Walker, at one time Secretary at War to Charles the First, and then Garter King at Arms. In the conveyance, dated May 18th, 1675, it is described as "all that capitall messuage or tenement, with appurtenances, scituate and being in Stratford-upon-Avon, comonly called or knowne by the name of the New Place, scituate in part in a street there called Chappell Street, and in part in a lane there called Chappell Lane, and all gardens, orchards, courts, yards, outlets, backsides, barnes, stables, outhouses, buildings, walls, mounds and fences to the same belonging, or in any wise of right apperteyning or therewithall formerly comonly used or enjoyed, or reputed as parcell or member therof, or belonging therunto." It appears from the Stratford records and from Dugdale's Diary that Sir Edward did not reside at New Place, when he was in Warwickshire, but at Clopton House, an ancient mansion which, of course, externally at least, must have been familiar to Shakespeare, although no reliance is to be placed on the recently asserted, and most likely conjectural, tradition that he visited there. The house, which has long been modernized, was a large rambling gabled edifice, said to have been originally moated.

It is situated on the brow of the Welcombe Hills, amidst land of trivial undulation, within two miles of Stratford-on-Avon.

Sir Edward Walker did not long retain the enjoyment of his Shakespearian purchase. He died in 1677, devising New Place to his daughter Barbara, wife of Sir John Clopton, for her life, with remainder to the testator's senior grandson, Edward Clopton; but the rental of the premises for the term of ten years was to be reserved "towards raising portions for my female grandchildren, Agnes and Barbara Clopton." The terms of the bequest to his daughter and grandson are,—"I give unto my said deare daughter after the expiracion of tenn yeares the house called the New Place, with the gardens, barnes, &c., lying in the borough of Stratford, during her naturall life, and then to come to my eldest grandsonn, Edward Clopton and his heires." Barbara died in 1692, when the estate devolved on her son Edward, who became the occupier of New Place about two years afterwards, previously to which time the premises had been tenanted successively by persons named Joseph Hunt and Henry Browne. It appears from a deed quoted at p. 380, that Edward Clopton removed to Nash's House some time previously to May, 1699, continuing, nevertheless, to hold the Great Garden that belonged to New Place. A few months afterwards he gave the rest of the New Place estate to his father, Sir John Clopton, conveying to him, in January, 1699-1700, for his life "all that messuage or tenement and premises, with the appurtenances, situate, lying and being in Chapel Street and Chapel Lane in the borough of Stratford-upon-Avon, commonly called or known by the name of the New Place, then in the tenure of John Wheeler gent.," with remainder to the use of Hugh Clopton in fee. It is worthy of remark that no garden at all is here mentioned. Sir John appears shortly after this period to have pulled down the original building, for in September, 1702, he settled New Place upon Hugh Clopton and his intended wife, in anticipation of Hugh's marriage with Elizabeth Millward, and it was then described as "one new house standing and being in Stratford-upon-Avon, which house is intended for them the said Hugh

Clopton and Elizabeth his intended wife to live in, but the same haveing been lately built is not finished, or fitted up, and made convenient for them to inhabitt in." Sir John engaged to complete the house for habitable use by the following Lady Day, and New Place was henceforward the residence of Hugh Clopton. In all probability, the old house was given to the former by his son Edward shortly before the conveyance of January, 1700, was executed, and in consequence of some family arrangements.

It is evident from the indenture of settlement of 1702 above-mentioned that the second house of New Place was erected in or very shortly before that year, for it is therein described as "lately built" and as being altogether in an unfinished state in the month of September. In fact, Sir John Clopton then agreed to complete by the following March the "finishing both as to glaseing, wainscoateing, painteing, laying of flores, makeing the starecase, doors, walls and pertitions in and about the said house, brewhouse, stables, coachhouse and other buildings, and alsoe wallinge the garden, and layeing gravell walkes therein, and doeing all other things proper and reasonable in and about the said house to make the same inhabitable." Some few of the materials of the ancient building were used in the construction of the new one, and portions of the old foundations were suffered to remain, but Sir John Clopton clearly rebuilt the house, substituting underground kitchens in the place of the ancient cellars, and erecting the new house on a different ground-plan. The excavations that have been made establish these facts beyond a doubt, a circumstance it may be well to state decisively, it having been confidently asserted on what appeared to be good authority that the old house was merely refronted and altered. In fact, in respect to most of the basement, the old fabric was removed altogether, while as to the greater portion of the rest, the foundations only, to the height of about fifteen inches, were allowed to remain. A curious demonstration of this occurs in the remains of the south-east room, where a fire-place built by Sir John Clopton is to be observed crossing over the foundations of the ancient walls, the latter two feet wide.

When the rebuilding of New Place was completed and it was fitted for residence in 1703, it was occupied by Hugh Clopton with the small back garden and premises attached to it, while his brother Edward occupied the adjoining house and garden, together with the Great Garden. They continued neighbours until 1706, when Nash's House, together with the large garden, became, as has been previously noticed at p. 380, the property of Aston Ingram. Hugh Clopton did not re-annex the Great Garden to New Place until March 21st, 1728-9, when, in the conveyance from his sister Barbara, the widow of Ingram, as recited in an old abstract of title, it is described as, "all that piece or parcel of ground, lying and being within the borough of Stratford upon Avon, called the Great Garden, and which did formerly belong to New Place, the house wherein he the said Hugh Clopton did then inhabit and dwell, and was near adjoining to the said house and backside thereof, which said garden contained by estimation three quarters of an acre more or less, together also with all barns, stables, outhouses, brick walls, edifices, buildings, ways, waters, &c., to the same premises belonging." The word *near* used in this description must not be understood to imply that the Great Garden did not actually join the back premises of New Place, for in the conveyance of Nash's house from Ingram to Rose, 1729, the former is described as "the plot or peice of ground called or knowne by the name of the Great Garden, being or being reputed three quarters of an acre, bee the same more or less, with the yard, barnes, stables, and outhouses to the same belonging, standing, lyeing and being on the east side the house called the New Place, now in the possession of the said Hugh Clopton, and some years since belonging to or was a part of that house or premisses thereunto belonged."

In June, 1732, Hugh Clopton settled New Place and its grounds to himself for life, with various remainders over. He died in 1751, and, in 1756, the then owners of the estate under that settlement conveyed to the Rev. Francis Gastrell in fee, "all that capital messuage or mansion house called the New Place, situate and being in Chapel Street and Chapel Lane

within the borough of Stratford-upon-Avon in the county of Warwick, with the kitchen-garden heretofore purchased of William Smith, gentleman, as also the Great Garden and yard thereto adjoining, together with the buildings erected thereon, some time since purchased of Barbara Ingram widow, now in the tenure of the said Henry Talbott, and also all the pews and seats in the Church and Chapel of Stratford-upon-Avon aforesaid usually held and enjoyed by the said Sir Hugh Clopton and his domesticks as appurtenant to the said messuage; and also all the fixtures and ornaments fixed to and belonging to the said capital messuage, with their incidents and appurtenances." It was this Gastrell who pulled the modern non-Shakespearean house down to the ground in the year 1759.

In the settlement of 1732, the estate is particularly described as "all that capitall messuage called the New Place, scituate in Chappel Street, adjoining to Chappel Lane, within the Burrough of Stratford-upon-Avon, in the county of Warwick, together with the kitchin garden heretofore purchased of William Smith Gent., as also the Great Garden and yard thereto adjoining, together with the buildings erected thereon, and lately purchased of Barbara Ingram, widdow, together with all outhouses, edifices, buildings, barns, stables, and edifices thereunto belonging, or in anywise appertaining, or therewith usually held, occupied or enjoyed, and now in the occupation of the said Hugh Clopton." Mention is here first made of the kitchen garden formerly belonging to William Smith gent., perhaps the individual of that name and rank who died at Stratford-on-Avon in 1708, but there is no trace to be found respecting its situation or of the date of purchase. In the absence of other documents, either can only be a subject of conjecture, but the former was, in all probability, the small indented plot at the north-west of the Great Garden. With this exception, there is no reason for doubting that the northern boundary-line of the original Shakespeare estate has been unaltered to the present day. Had any change been made, the fact could hardly have escaped notice in the title-deeds, but no absolute evidence is at present accessible, the most anxious search having failed to

unearth the old indentures referring to the property between that line and Sheep Street, the only records that would be likely to enable us to arrive at a definite conclusion.

The Great Garden of New Place was bounded on the east by a slip of land which long before the time of Shakespeare, and for many generations afterwards, belonged to the trustees of the Charity of Clifford Chambers, a village near Stratford. It had been given to the parish of Clifford for charitable purposes by Hugh Chesenale, who was the priest of that village in the time of Henry the Seventh. This little estate measured only sixty feet in length and thirty feet in width, and is described in a deed of the year 1472 as, "*burgagium cum suis pertinentiis scituatum in vico vocato Dede Lane in Stratford inter tenementum Abbathie de Redyng ex parte una et tenementum priorisse de Pynley nunc in tenuta Johannis Gylbert ex parte altera.*" In 1572, it is mentioned as consisting of a barn and garden, and a lease was granted in that year by the Trustees, amongst whom was one named in the deed John Shaxber, to Lewis ap Williams of Stratford ironmonger, of "one barne with a garden to the same belonginge in Stretforde aforesaid, in a lane ther commonlye caled Deadd lane alias Walker<sup>e</sup> stret, nowe in the tenure and occupation of Robarte Bratte or his assignes," such lease to commence at the expiration of one formerly granted to Robert Bratte. The annual rental was five shillings and ninepence, and Williams covenanted to keep the barn and garden in good order, and to pay all chief rents and other outgoings. This barn is mentioned in 1590 in a return to a commission issued out of the Exchequer for the survey of the possessions of Ambrose earl of Warwick,—"*inhabitantes de Clyfford unum horreum, vj. d.*" the sixpence being the chief rent paid to the Lord of the Manor. In 1619, the estate was occupied by one John Beesly alias Coxe, carpenter, who in or shortly before that year pulled down the barn, in the place of which he erected a small cottage of two bays, and in defiance of orders then in vogue at Stratford, roofed the tenement with thatch. On the back of the lease above-named is an endorsement that may be assigned to the

period of the first James, which contains one of the very few contemporary written notices of the great poet, and it is important as proving decisively that the Great Garden of New Place was occupied by Shakespeare himself. The memorandum is as follows,—“the barne on the west sid bounds by Mr. William Shaxpeare of Pynley Holt and the est sid on the Kinges land William Wyatt of Stratford yoman.” This means that the western side of the Clifford estate was bounded by property of William Shakespeare which had belonged to the Priory of Pinley Holt, and the eastern side by crown land belonging to William Wyatt. The orthography of the poet's name in this old memorandum may be thought perhaps an evidence of the local pronunciation.

Another evidence that the western side of this small estate adjoined the Great Garden of New Place is contained in a lease dated March the 25th, 1622, between the Clifford Trustees and the above-named John Beesley, in which it is witnessed that the former “for and in consideration that the said John Beesley alias Cox hath already at his owne proper costes and charges newlie erected and builde up two bayes of new buyldinges, and for diverse other good causes and consideracions them especiallie moveing, have demised, sett, and to farme lett, and by theise presentes doe graunte, demise, sett and to farme lett, unto the saide John Beesley alias Cox all that now cottage or tenemente newlie erected by the said John Beesley alias Cox, containinge by estimacion two bayes, with a backside or garden plote to the same belonging, contayninge in length three score yardes, and in breadth tenn yardes, all which lie in a streete called Deade Lane or Chappell Lane, and now Walkers Streete in Stratforde aforesaid, *and is bounded on the west side with the now land of John Hawle, gent.*, sometyme the lande of the dissolved Priorie of Pynley Houlte, and on the easte side with the lande sometyme belonging to the Abbie of Reading, and now the land of William Wyate gent.” In 1656, a new lease of the premises was granted to the same person and his son, in which they are described as “all that messuage or tenement with th'appurtenances, scituate and

being in Stratford-upon-Avon aforesaid, in a place there called Dead Lane and Chappell Lane and Walkers Street, with the garden plott and backside thereunto belonging, now or late in the tenure or occupation of the said John Cox otherwise Beesley, or of his assignee or assignes, and was lately used as two tenements, and which premisses conteyne three score yards in length, and ten yards in breadth by the streete side, or neare thereabouts, *and are bounded on the west side with the land late of John Hall, gent.,* being sometyes the land of the late dissolved Priory of Pinley Holt and on the east side with the land sometye belonging to the Abbey of Reading, and now or late the land of Nicholas Ryland gent." The same description of the property occurs in an indenture of 1667. In August, 1758, Gastrell, having previously bought the land on the eastern side of this estate, induced the Trustees of Clifford Chambers to give it up to him in exchange for a more valuable holding in Sheep Street, and we hear the last of the former as a separate estate in the deed of exchange executed on that occasion, wherein it is recited that the Trustees had leased it in March, 1739, to John Spurr blacksmith, for forty-two years, and that Gastrell has purchased his interests. The property is described in the deed of exchange as, "all that messuage or tenement, with a garden orchard or backside, situate, lying and being within the borough of Stratford-upon-Avon, in a place or street called Dead Lane, Chappell Lane or Walkers Street, all which demised premises then (1739) or late were in the tenure or occupation of Sarah Spurr widow, and theretofore used as two messuages or tenements, and contained in length sixty yards, and in breadth ten yards by the street side, or thereabouts, and was bounded on the west side by the lands then (1739) of Sir Hugh Clopton and now of the said Francis Gastrell, and on the east side by the land late of the said John Spurr, and now of the said Francis Gastrell." After this exchange was made, Gastrell was the owner of the land on the north side of the lane extending from the south-west corner of New Place to the Corporation property upon which now stands the Infirmary.



The slip of land situated between the Clifford estate and the town property on the east, belonged in 12 Henry VI., 1434, and probably long previously, to the Abbey of Reading. It is described in 1622 as "the lande sometye belonging to the Abbie of Reading, and now the land of William Wyate gent.;" and, in 1656, as "the land sometye belonging to the Abbey of Reading, and now or late the land of Nicholas Ryland gent." There is no evidence to show that Wyat's property extended on the north beyond the boundaries of that belonging to Clifford, but in all probability it did, and, including a larger piece of land on the north-east, extended from Chapel Lane to Sheep Street. At all events, it is certain that Nicholas Ryland owned such an estate, which, in September 1681, he or his son sold for £153 to Thomas Maides of Stratford upon Avon felmonger, and which is described in the conveyance recited in an old abstract of title as, "all that messuage or tenement and malthouse, with the gardens, orchard and backside thereunto belonging, situate, lying and being in Stratford-upon-Avon, in a certain street called the Sheep Street, and one piece or parcel of ground belonging to the said messuage and lying behind and southward from the same then lately planted with hopps, and was then in the tenure of Joseph Hunt gent., all which premises was then in the tenure or occupation of the said Thomas Maides his assigns or undertenants; and also all that barn to the said messuage belonging, situate, lying and being in Stratford-upon-Avon aforesaid in a certain street called Walkers Street or Chapel Lane then in the tenure or occupation of one William Greenway or his undertenants." This proves decisively that the barn on the Ryland estate stood in Chapel Lane, but the "one piece or parcel of ground then (1681) lately planted with hopps" was not included in the portion of the estate sold to Spurr in 1707. It was situated at the back of the premises in Sheep Street, a portion of it most likely adjoining the northern boundary of the ancient Clifford estate in Chapel Lane. This appears from the following description of the Sheep Street estate, when it passed from Michael Goodrich to Joseph Smith in 1709,— "all that messuage or tenement and malthouse with

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th' appurtenances scituate lyeing and being in Stratford-upon-Avon in a certaine streete there called the Sheepe Streete, late in the severall occupacions of the said Michaell Goodrich, Jane Washbrooke and Frances Williams, or some or one of them, and alsoe all that peece or parcell of ground lyeing behind the said messuage, and southward from the same, formerly planted with hopps." All the property here described was bought by Gastrell in 1758 of Elizabeth Barodale, who inherited from the Smiths. It was then divided into three tenements, two of which, those lying to the eastward, were given by Gastrell to the Clifford Trustees in the same year, 1758, in exchange for their small estate in Chapel Lane.

In December, 1692, Mary, the widow of the above-named Thomas Maides, with other parties, conveyed the Ryland estates to Michael Goodrich the younger. They are then described as consisting of "all that messuage or tenement and maulthouse with thappurtenances scituate and being in Stratford-upon-Avon, in a certaine streete there called the Sheep Streete, and one peece or parcell of ground belonging to and lyeing behind the said messuage and southward from the same, formerly planted with hopps, and then in the tenure of Joseph Hunt gen., and all that barne to the said messuage belonging scituate in Stratford aforesaid in a certaine streete there called the Walkers Streete or Chappell Lane, formerly in the tenure of one William Greenway, all which premises were heretofore purchased by the said Thomas Maides of one Nicholas Ryland, and such interest, title, estate, use and advantage as the said Thomas Maides formerly had or might have into out of and through the gatehouse belonging to one Samuell Ryland formerly in the occupacion of one John Izod glazior, adjoyneing to the west side of the said messuage, togeather alsoe with all houses, out-houses, edifices, buildings, barnes, stables, orchards, courts, yards, backsides, profits, comodities and advantages to the said messuage or tenement, barne and premises, or any of them belonging or apperteyneing, or therewithall occupied or enjoyed." This gatehouse did not form part of the Goodrich estate, but a right of way through it, through a yard called Izod

Yard, to the premises at the back of Goodrich's property in Sheep Street, was always carefully provided for. In the year 1704, at the back of the house adjoining this gateway on the east was first a yard, then a newly erected barn, then a garden called the Little Garden, which latter was divided from another called the Great Garden, this Great Garden adjoining the northern boundaries of the Clifford Chapel Lane estate and the yard afterwards sold by Goodrich to Spurr. The passage under the gateway and through Izod Yard is now an alley, and known as Emms' Court.

The barn in Chapel Lane occupied by William Greenway in 1681, with a back yard, were sold by Michael Goodrich, the son, probably, of the Michael above named, to Edward Spurr in October, 1707. The yard extended to the southern boundary of Goodrich's garden attached to his premises in Sheep Street, from which garden it was divided by a hedge. The barn and yard are described in 1707 as then "having the tenement now in the tenure of the said Edward Spurr on the west side and the barne of Richard Tyler gent. now in the occupacion of John Hunt gent. on the east side thereof," and further as, "all and singuler the said recited barne and yard, as the same is now devided from the garden belonging to the messuage of the said Michaell Goodrich by an old quicksett hedge, togeather with the passage att the end of the said barne leading out of the said streete called Walkers Streete alias Chappell Lane into the said yard lying behind the said barne, which said barne and yard are now in the tenure or occupacion of Thomas Woolmore gent. and John Hunt gent., and are scituate lying in the said streete called Walkers Streete alias Chappell Streete, and were purchased by Michaell Goodrich deceased, father of the said Michaell Goodrich, party to these presents, to him and his heires, of one Mary Maides, widdow of Thomas Maides, late of Stratford felmonger, deceased." The yard and barn continued with the Spurrs until April, 1758, when John the eldest son of Edward Spurr, in consideration of £30, conveyed to the Rev. Francis Gastrell in fee, "all that barn and yard situate and being in a certain streete or

lane in Stratford-upon-Avon called Walkers Street alias Chappell Lane, together with the passage at the end of the said barn leading out of the said street called Walkers Street alias Chappell Lane into the said yard lying behind the said barn, which said yard and barn were heretofore in the tenure of Thomas Woolmore gentleman and John Hunt gentleman, and are now in the possession of the said Francis Gastrell." The barn no doubt adjoined Chapel Lane, for in the year 1694, Michael Goodrich was "presented for not repairing the ground before his barne in the Chappell Lane."

To the east in Chapel Lane of the slip of land sold by Michael Goodrich to Edward Spurr in 1707, were three estates belonging to the Corporation, the only one which is of importance in the present enquiry being of course that nearest to New Place. It adjoined the property of Goodrich, and is said in a deed of 1723 to have measured one hundred and eighty feet on that, its western side, but in a later one of 1763, as one hundred and eighty-two feet eight inches. These premises are described in 1599 as "all that barne and backside thereunto belonging with thappurtenaunces whatsoever scituate, lienge and beinge in Stretforde aforeseyd in a certeyne lane there called the Chappell Lane or Walkers Strete, and nowe in the tenure or occupacion of Abraham Strelley or his assignes." Early in the seventeenth century, they were occupied by William Mountford, and in 1619 were leased to Richard Mountford for sixty years, then described as consisting of a barn, garden and workhouse, although from another document of the same date it is certain that the barn had been recently destroyed. Some time after the destruction of the latter, a smaller one was erected which occupied a portion only of the frontage in Chapel Lane, leaving an open plot of land between the new barn and the barn on the Corporation estate on the east side, so that the latter is described in 1689 as bounded by "*the land* of Samuel Tyler gent." William Greeneway, who occupied the adjoining barn, afterwards Spurr's, in 1681, also at that time rented the estate formerly Mountford's, which latter was in 1682 leased by the Corporation to Samuel Tyler. The person last-named died

in May, 1693, and the premises were occupied by Richard Tyler at and after this date, the latter being succeeded in the occupation by John Hunt in or before 1707. In a poor-rate levy made in July, 1697, "Mr. Tiler his barne and garden" are valued at £3 per annum. In the year 1723 these premises were leased by the Corporation to John Hunt gentleman, and were then described as consisting of, "all that their barne, plotts of ground and workehouse to the same belonging, scituate lying and being in a certaine lane there called the Chappell Lane, heretofore in the tenure or occupacion of Samuel Tyler Gent., but now in the tenure or occupacion of the said John Hunt, his assignes or undertenants, and is abutted and bounded as hereinafter mencioned, viz. The breadth towards the street Eastward going bevell ninteen yards and a halfe and one inch, the length from the barne to the end of Richard Hulls ground eight and fifty yards, the length from the lane next the barne now in the possession of Thomas Woolmer Gent, to the ground of Mr. John Woolmer of Gainsburrrough on the other side thereof sixty yards, and the breadth on the lane side ninteen yards and one foote." This description is important, because it proves that Thomas Woolmer's barn adjoined this property, thus removing all doubt as to the locality of the one conveyed by Goodrich to Spurr in 1707. The land of John Woolmer of Gainsborough was on the north and north-east of this Corporation estate, which Gastrell afterwards desired to annex to the New Place, Clifford and Spurr properties.

After the second New Place was pulled down, the estate, including its site, its small garden, the Great Garden, and the Clifford and Spurr lands, is described, in a lease granted of the whole to William Hunt in March, 1762, as "all those two gardens or peices of ground, as the same are now walled in, and now in the several tenures or occupations of William Baylies, John Broom, Judd, Stevens, Saulsbury Goode, John Halford, and George Willes, and also all that barn standing upon the largest of the said gardens or peices of ground, and now in the occupacion of the said John Halford." The rent paid by Hunt was but six guineas, and there appear to have

been seven tenants ; but it would seem from the description of the estate that at this period, 1762, the Clifford and Spurr lands had been thrown into the Great Garden. It is not surprising that after Gastrell had purchased the two last-named properties, and thrown them into the New Place estate, the exact situations of the former should be lost sight of in a succeeding generation. We accordingly find that the solicitors who were engaged in the years 1819 and 1826 to draw up abstracts of title of the cottages heretofore the barn of New Place, were ignorant of the history of the locality, and took it for granted that they were built on portions of the Clifford and Spurr properties. There is, indeed, a memorandum in the later abstract of title, that of 1826, clearly showing that the person who constructed it had no intimate acquaintance with the facts of the case ; for after reciting the indentures of lease and release between Spurr and Gastrell of April, 1758, he adds the marginal note,—“as it may be doubtful whether the purchase made by Michael Prentice does not include a small part of the property conveyed by these deeds as well as the deeds of 28 and 29 August, 1758, and the 9th of March, 1764, abstracts of the whole are given.” In other words, it was assumed that Prentice's cottage was a portion of Spurr's estate, and it was conjectured that there was a possibility of a small piece of his garden having once been a part of the Clifford Charity land, and another small portion of it a part of an estate purchased by William Hunt, of William Smith maltster in 1764. That the note is merely conjectural, and written without an examination into facts, is shown by the circumstance that the indenture of March 9th, 1764, refers to property on the southern side of Chapel Lane, the side of the lane opposite to the gardens of New Place. Prentice's cottage, moreover, was the one on the side nearest to New Place, and the less likely to have included in its garden any portion of the Clifford estate.

The only record of the extent of the Great Garden of New Place towards the east by any one who remembered it before the boundaries of the adjoining Clifford estate were removed, occurs in a memorandum made by the compiler of an abstract

of the title of the property in 1807 to this effect,—“the garden belonging to New Place extended nearly into the middle of the garden now occupied by Mr. Morris, and the houses in possession of Irewood and Prentice were made from the barn belonging to the same premises.” The writer no doubt refers here to the large garden at the back of the cottages extending eastward of those cottages into Chapel Lane ; but his estimate would make the width of the Clifford and Spurr estates about a hundred feet, or forty feet more than above conjectured. He was evidently acquainted with the general disposition of the properties, for, in another note, he is careful to mention that the land upon which the barn and dove-house were standing, mentioned in the deed of 1775, never belonged either to the Clifford trustees or to Spurr. His account, however, given from memory, of the width of the New Place Great Garden, must not be too hastily confided in, it being at variance with the extent of that garden, three quarters of an acre, given in the old deeds. That estimate is probably an exaggerated one, but, assuming that the widths of the Clifford and Spurr estates were together not more than sixty feet, the Great Garden of New Place would have measured not very much less than three quarters of an acre.

It is deeply to be regretted that the dimensions of the small estate sold by Goodrich to Spurr in 1707 are not given in any of the deeds referring to it. Its exact size must, therefore, be a matter of conjecture. \* The frontage in Chapel Lane could not have been extensive, for the barn is referred to as adjoining the Corporation property on the east, while, on the western side, between the barn and the Clifford land, there was only a passage leading to the back-yard. It is extremely unlikely that if this yard was very wide towards the north-east end, the whole property could have been sold in 1707 for the small sum of £24, or in 1758 for £30, the purchase moneys paid respectively by Spurr and Gastrell. It may, therefore, be assumed that it consisted of a long narrow slip of land, the average width being that required for a barn and side-passage. Taking this width at the lowest estimate of thirty feet,—it was

probably rather more,—it follows that on the east of the New Place estates as thrown into one property by Gastrell there is a slip of land, *at least* sixty feet in width, which certainly neither belonged to Shakespeare, nor was ever in his occupation.

The history of the New Place estate after the death of Gastrell remains to be told. By his will dated in 1768, and proved in 1772, he devised to his wife, Jane Gastrell, in fee, all his estates in Stratford-on-Avon. In March, 1775, his widow conveyed to William Hunt, of Stratford-upon-Avon, gentleman, in fee, “all that large garden or parcel of land near the Chappel, upon part of which a capital messuage lately stood, as the same is now walled in, together with the barn and dovehouse standing thereupon,” this description, although it has been otherwise stated, certainly including the Clifford and Spurr estates. The latter owner of New Place, by will dated in January, 1767, devised it to trustees for sale, and it was accordingly purchased from them in September, 1790, by Charles Henry Hunt, who, in May, 1807, with other parties, conveyed it to Messrs. Battersbee and Morris, bankers of Stratford, it being then, and having been “for some time past,” in the occupation of Morris, with the exception of the two cottages in Chapel Lane made out of the barn of New Place. These cottages were included in the purchase of 1807, but they had been “then and for some time past in the occupation of Solomon Irewood and Joseph Prentice.” Irewood’s cottage was on the east, farthest from New Place.

All the property above-mentioned was submitted to auction in 1819, but the purchases were not completed until 1827, when that part of the Shakespeare estate which adjoined Nash’s house and garden was, as previously stated at p. 383, bought by a Miss Smith, afterwards becoming vested in the Corporation of Stratford-on-Avon. In the same year, 1827, the portion of the Great Garden at the back of the premises of Irewood and Prentice, with the rest of the land lying to the east, were conveyed to Edward Leyton of the same town. The property sold to the latter was then described as consisting of, “all that piece or parcel of land or ground enclosed, lately a large



garden, but now used as a bowling-green, situate and being within the borough of Stratford-upon-Avon adjoining to certain cottages or tenements, hereditaments and premises, heretofore in the tenure or occupation of Solomon Irewood and Joseph Prentice, and now of Henry Haynes and Joseph Prentice, and the lane or street called Chapel Lane, otherwise Walker's Street, together with the greenhouse standing thereon heretofore in the tenure or occupation of William Hunt, then since of John Lord gent., afterwards of William George Morris, then since of Thomas Kemp and now of the said Edward Leyton." This John Lord occupied for a short time the large garden lying to the north and east of the cottages.

Irewood's cottage was purchased by Thomas Webb, and in the deed of conveyance executed in January, 1827, it is thus particularly described,—“all that messuage, cottage or tenement and garden thereunto belonging as now staked out, situate and being within the borough of Stratford-on-Avon, and fronting the lane or street called Chapel Lane, otherwise Walker's Street, formerly in the occupation of Solomon Irewood, since then and at the time of the before-mentioned sale in the occupation of widow Taylor, afterwards of Thomas Webb, and now of Henry Haynes; and the said messuage, cottage or tenement, and part of the garden, is the same messuage, cottage, tenement and garden as mentioned and described in the before in part recited indentures of the 14th and 15th May, 1807, and therein stated to be in the tenure or occupation of the said Solomon Irewood, and the remaining part of the said garden comprised a small part of the large garden or parcel of land also mentioned and described in the said last-mentioned recited indentures, and which said messuage, cottage and garden, hereditaments and premises hereby released or intended so to be, is bounded by the said large garden purchased at the before-mentioned sale by Edward Leyton and now in his possession on or towards the north and east, by the said lane or street called Chapel Lane otherwise Walker's Street on or towards the South, and by the said messuage, cottage, tenement and garden purchased by Michael Prentice and now in his possession on or towards the

west, together with all outhouses, &c." Thomas Webb in 1832 devised all his estates to trustees for sale, and Irewood's cottage and garden were purchased from them by Leyton in 1834.

Michael Prentice, the occupier of the adjoining cottage, became its owner at a sale of part of Morris's estates in 1826, a small piece of the Great Garden of New Place having been added to the cottage premises. The conveyance to Prentice was executed in January, 1827, and in his will, dated in February, 1837, he devised the estate to his sister, Mary Wyatt, in fee. The latter sold it to Leyton in 1838, who thus became possessed of the two cottages and all Morris's land situated to the north and east. This gentleman, in April, 1827, sold a small piece of the land abutting on Chapel Lane, upon which an ugly building, occasionally used for theatrical entertainments, was afterwards erected. All the remainder was settled by him upon his daughter, Mrs. Loggin, on the occasion of her marriage in 1844, and from her trustee it was purchased by me in October, 1861, with moneys collected by public subscription. Some years afterwards I had the satisfaction of reversing the divorce of 1827 in respect to the fragment of land which was separated in that year from the rest. Thus, after a number of intricate vicissitudes, the whole of Shakespeare's estate of New Place once more became an individual property. to be held for ever in memory of the great dramatist by the Corporation of his native town.



## THE CHAPEL LANE.

This narrow road, known also formerly as Walker Street or Dead Lane, skirted one end of Shakespeare's house and the longest side of his garden. Evidences of the insalubrious state of the lane in the poet's time are, therefore, of interest in estimating the probable cause of his fatal illness. Its appearance was then essentially different from that now to be observed, for, with the single but important exception of the Guild Chapel, there is not a vestige left of its ancient character or surroundings. Passing through it was a streamlet, the water of which turned a mill that is alluded to in rentals of the town property dated in 1545 and 1604, as also in the Ministers' Accounts, co. Warw., 2 Edw. VI. The sanitary condition of the lane was execrable, and with its bad road, fetid gutters, dunghills, pigsties, mud walls and thatched barns, it must have presented an extremely squalid appearance. The "gutteres or dyches" are mentioned as requiring to be cleansed in a record dated as early as 1553,—"*Item, that every tenaunt in Chapell lane or Ded lane do scour and kep cleane ther gutteres or dyches in the same lane befor thassencyon day, and so from thensfurthe from tyme to tyme to kepe the same in peyn of every offender to forfeit for every deffalt iij.s. iiij.d., and that every tenaunt do ryd the soyelles in the stretes of logges and blokes ther lyenge and beyng to the noysaunce of the kynges leage people by the same day in lyke payne.*" A comparison of this entry with others in the same manuscript would lead to the belief that Chapel Lane was then one of the, if not the, dirtiest locality in the town. In 1558, William Clopton, residing at New Place was fined for not keeping clean "the gutter alonge the Chappell in Chappell Lane;" and in the following year, 1559, it was

ordered that no inhabitant of the ward "dwellynge neer unto the Chappell from hensfurthe use to ley eny muk in eny other place in the Chappell Lanes, but only in the gravell pyt in the Chappell Lane," under a penalty of three shillings and four pence for each offence. The following entries respecting the former state of the lane are extracted from the records of Stratford and from the rolls of the manor court;—"1554. That every the tenauntes or ther famyly from hensfurthe do carry ther mucke to the commen dunghylles appwntyd, or elles into Meychyn's yard or in the gravell pyttes in Chappell Lane.—1556. Thomas Godwyn, fletcher, Sir William Brogden, clericus, for not scouryng ther gutter in Ded Lone they be amersyd. — 1558. That non dyg from hensfurthe eny gravell in the gravell pyttes in Chappell Lane, under the peyne vj.s. viij.d.—That the chamburlens do ryd the mukhyll in Chappell Lane, nye unto the Chappell at the goodwyf Walker's hous end, before the Assensyon day under the peyn of vj.s. viij.d.—1560. That every tenaunt in Ded Lone do scoure and kep cleane ther dyches and the lane before ther soylles from tyme to tyme.—1561. John Sadler, mylner, for wynnowyng his peas in Ded lane and levyng the chaf in the lane, and bryngeyng hys swyne into the same lane, and not scouryng the dyche ther, he stands amerced, xvj.d.—that every tenaunt kep cleane ther gutturs and dyches as well in the stæts as in Ded lane under pene vj.s. viij.d.—1605. It is agreed that the Chamberlaines shall gyve warning to Henry Smyth to plucke downe his pigges cote which is built nere the chapple wall and the house of office there, and that hee forbear to kepe anie swine about the house which hee holdeth of Mr. Aspinall or the Chapple yard, and this to be done before the next hall.—1605-6. Henrye Smythe (presented) for nott makinge cleane the water couarsse before his barne in Chapple Laine.—Johne Perrie for a muckhill in the Chapple Laine." It will be observed from some of these notices that even the surroundings of the Guild Chapel itself were no exceptions to the general squalidity. The only later notices of the state of the lane in the poet's time which have been dis-

covered relate to a pigsty which John Rogers, the vicar, had commenced to erect, about the year 1613, immediately opposite the back court of New Place. Some of the inhabitants, most probably including Shakespeare, the person most interested in the suppression of the impending nuisance, had complained of this addition to the engendering causes of a villanous compound of bad smells, and the vicar accordingly besought the Corporation that they "would consent to the finishinge of that small plecke which I have begunne in the lane, the use whereof was noe other but to keepe a swine or two in, for about my howse there is noe place of convenience without much annoyance to the Chappell, and how farre the breedeinge of such creatures is needefull to poore howskeepers I referre myselfe to those that can equall my charge ; moreover the highway will be wider and fayrer, as it may now appeare."

The original streamlet of Chapel Lane appears to have gradually undergone deterioration until it became a shallow fetid ditch, an open receptacle of sewerage and filth. There is a curious account of this ditch, as it appeared in the last century, in a letter written for the purposes of a law-suit in 1807, and, although of so recent a date, it is worth giving as confirmatory, notwithstanding the changes that had taken place in the interval, of some of the early notices of the lane. "I very well remember," says the writer, "the ditch you mention fourty-five years, as after my sister was married, which was in October, 1760, I was very often at Stratford, and was very well acquainted both with the ditch and the road in question. The ditch went from the Chapel, and extended to Smith's house. I well remember there was a space of two or three feet from the wall in a descent to the ditch, and I do not think any part of the new wall was built on the ditch. The ditch was the receptacle for all manner of filth that any person chose to put there, and was very obnoxious at times. Mr. Hunt used to complain of it, and was determined to get it covered over, or he would do it at his own expence, and I do not know whether he did not. Across, the road from the ditch to Shakespeare Garden was very hollow and always full of mud, which is now covered over, and

in general there was only one waggon tract along the lane, which used to be very bad, in the winter particularly. I do not know that the ditch was so deep as to overturn a carriage, and the road was very little used near it, unless it was to turn out for another, as there was always room enough." Thomas Cox, a carpenter, who lived in Chapel Lane from 1774, deposed to remembering the open gutter from the Chapel to Smith's cottage, "that it was a wide dirty ditch choaked with mud, that all the filth of that part of the town ran into it, that it was four or five feet wide and more than a foot deep, and that the road sloped down to the ditch." According to other witnesses, the ditch extended to the end of the lane, where, between the road-way and the Bancroft, was a narrow creek or ditch through which the overflow from Chapel Lane no doubt found a way into the river.

Smith's house, above alluded to, was the Getley copyhold tenement which once belonged to Shakespeare. On the south of the ditch, on the side opposite to New Place, between the Getley estate and the Guild Chapel, there was originally a mud wall, such a one having been on that site at least as early as 1590, and it is occasionally alluded to in the local records of the last century. About the year 1807, the Corporation, having taken in a small piece of waste ground when they filled in the ditch and built a new wall, they subjected themselves to an action on the plea that they had exceeded their strictly legal rights. In their defence, made at the Warwick summer assizes of the year last mentioned, they assert that,—“about twenty years ago this lane was a narrow and almost impassable road, and very little used. There was a wide open ditch running from the Chapel to a house in the tenure of Samuel Smith, and so on to the bottom of the lane on the south side thereof, which was generally filled with mud and stagnant water, and became the receptacle for all the filth and rubbish of the town ; and on the side of this ditch, between that and the mud wall, heaps of manure, ashes, and broken crockery-ware were continually thrown by the inhabitants. The space between the ditch and the old mud wall was between two or three feet, and went sloping

to the edge of the ditch, and was the lord's waste, and never was part of the road, and the ditch itself was so bad that no carriage could safely go within two feet of the brink or edge of it on the lane side," that being on account of the ground sloping down towards the ditch. The evidences differ as to the exact time when the ditch was covered over, but it was probably somewhere about the year 1780. The "lord's waste" seems to have been an uncertain slip of land on either side the lane, probably all that was not actually used by vehicles passing through, presumed to belong to the lord of the manor; and continually subjected to encroachments by the owners of the adjoining properties.

In Shakespeare's time, Chapel Lane ran almost exclusively through gardens and barns, the latter being the storehouses for corn so numerous in Stratford before the various enclosures of the common lands in the neighbourhood. On the New Place side, there was first the poet's garden, and then the barn in which, in February, 1598, he had stocked ten quarters of corn. This building is thus mentioned in 1590, in a return to a commission issued out of the Exchequer for the survey of the possessions of Ambrose earl of Warwick,—"*Willielmus Underhill generosus tenet libere unum horreum, viij.d., vicus voc. Walkers Streete*, nine other barns being mentioned in the same list as being in Chapel Lane. On the site of Shakespeare's barn stood in 1556 a tenement that had belonged to the priory of Pinley; Warw. Survey, Longbridge MS. Immediately adjoining the Great Garden of New Place was the barn on the Clifford Charity estate, which was pulled down about the year 1619. There then appears to have been, in the poet's time, a small plot of land, afterwards Spurr's, unbuilt upon; but on the Corporation estate adjoining this on the east there was a barn attached to each of three holdings. Next to Spurr's estate, divided from it by a quickset hedge, the usual kind of fence about here in the days of Shakespeare, was a slip of land on which stood a barn, leased by the Corporation to Abraham Strelley in 1599 for twenty-one years. It had previously been in the tenure of one Nicholas Barnhurst, and is described in



1582 as "a barne with backesyde in tenure of Nicholas Barnshurst, sufficiently repayred, and j. ellme groweing thereon." It was thatched and of four bays, occupying the entire frontage in Chapel Lane; and in the back premises was a thatched hovel of two bays, in many of the deeds termed a workhouse, and sometimes a wood-house. This barn and two others on the east had been destroyed by fire shortly before the year 1619. Their history may to some extent be gathered from a lease granted in that year to Alice Smith widow, of the premises in the middle of the three holdings into which the property was divided. In this deed of 27 Sept., 17 James I., it is recited that, in consideration of the surrender of a former lease, and "that the saide Alice Smith hath at her owne costes and charges newlie erected, built and tyled, the saide barne, the same beinge heertofore consumed by ffyer," the Corporation grant her, for a period of sixty years, "all that barne and garden with thappurtenaunces, scituate and beinge in Dead Lane alias Walkers Streete, betweene a garden and plott of grownd wheron late stood a barne of the said bayliffe and burgesses late in the occupation of William Mountford, deceased, one the west parte, and the garden and plott of grownd wherone late stood a barne of the saide bayliffe and burgesses in the occupacion of Mr. Tyler one the est parte, and the gardens of the said bayliff and burgesses in the occupacions of Charles Rooke and William Byddle one the north, and the said streete or lane one the south." Next to these premises were a barn and piece of land, which were leased by the Corporation in 1591 to Richard Tyler for twenty-one years. "Richard Tiler, a barne of v. baies thatchd, a backside in bredth answerable, in length about liij. yerdes," survey dated 1599. This barn having been destroyed, the land was leased to William Shawe in 1623 on the condition that he should, within three years, build "a good, substantiall, and sufficient well-tymbered barne conteineing foure bayes, and cover the same with tyles or slates." Sketches of one or two of the later barns of Chapel Lane have been preserved, but none of those of the Shakespearean period are known to exist.

## THE MULBERRY-TREE.

For nearly a century and a half it has been the unvarying tradition at Stratford-on-Avon that the great dramatist planted a mulberry sapling at New Place with his own hands. The truth of this circumstance, in itself highly probable, may be said to be all but confirmed by the early belief in its accuracy, and by the reverence locally entertained so long ago for the tree, facts testified by the excessive displeasure exhibited by the inhabitants of the town at its removal. The tree was cut down in or about 1758, and early in the following year, if not before, tobacco-stoppers made of its wood were publicly sold as Shakespearean relics by one Moody, a toy-seller at Birmingham ; Hull's *Select Letters*, 1778, i. 251. The gift of one of these relics made by Percy through Shenstone to a mutual friend in 1759 was the occasion of a silly hoax practised upon the credulity of the latter, Shenstone accompanying the present with a surreptitious correspondence respecting the tree. There can, therefore, be no doubt that very soon after it was felled, it was known as Shakespeare's mulberry-tree and that relics made from it were exposed for sale. It may be observed in confirmation of these facts that in the following year, 1760, the Corporation presented an inkstand made of the wood to the Steward of the Court of Record, who thus expresses his thanks in a letter to the Town-Clerk, dated August 2nd, 1760,—" I really want words to express the sense I have of this great instance of regard which the Corporation of Stratford have honoured me with by their Chamberlain ;—I do not know any present that could have been so agreeable to me—not only as a testimony of respect to me from the Corporation, which I shall always pride myself upon, but also as it falls in with what, if I had

known how to have wished, I should most certainly have wished for ;—the standish of Shakespeare's planting is the fittest ornament for an hermitage." A person named Sharp owned a large quantity of the wood of the mulberry-tree, and his original bill, dated in 1760, against the Corporation for the portions supplied on this and on some other similar occasion is preserved in their archives. A lady who visited Stratford-on-Avon in the spring of the same year, 1760, after quoting the epitaph on Shakespeare's monument, that part of it referring to "envious death," proceeds to say,—“death, however, in taking Shakespear from the world so early, is, I think, far outdone by a man now living in or near this town ; for there was till lately the house in which Shakespear lived and a mulberry-tree of his planting ; the house large, strong and handsome ; the tree so large that it would shade the grass-plat in your garden, which I think is more than twenty yards square, and supply the whole town with mulberries every year. As the curiosity of this house and tree brought much fame and more company and profit to the town, this man, on some disgust, has pulled the house down so as not to leave one stone upon another, and cut down the tree and piled it as a stack of firewood, to the great vexation, loss and disappointment of the inhabitants. However, an honest silversmith bought the whole stack of wood, and now makes many odd things of this wood for the curious.” These evidences show that the wood was highly esteemed almost immediately after the destruction of the tree. There is a story that Sharp merely bought the remains for firewood, and that, shortly after the purchase, some of the wood being seen on the fire, a gentleman happening to be present and suggesting the profit that could be made by converting it into saleable relics, Sharp seized the hint directly and even snatched away the log that was burning. This anecdote was related to me in 1863 by Thomas Gibbs, who was for many years one of Sharp's assistants, and so had an opportunity of being well-informed on the subject. If Sharp really did buy the remains of the tree at a firewood price, the fact is undoubted that he very soon discovered their importance, and that the Corporation as early as 1760 acknowledged the

value of his purchase. A few years afterwards he was accused of having used spurious wood, and the report was deemed of sufficient moment to be contradicted in the year 1768 by the special declaration of a person from whom he was said to have purchased it. Sharp, in an affidavit, states that Gastrell "cut down the mulberry-tree and cleft it as firewood, when the greatest part of it was purchased by me the said Thomas Sharp, who employed one John Luckman to convey it to my own premises, where I have worked it into many curious toys and usefull articles from the same." Notices of mulberry-tree relics dated previously to 1768 are exceedingly rare, but after the latter year they are as plenty as blackberries. A history of these relics might be compiled at great length, but would hardly be of interest to any but the owners of such memorials.

Sir Hugh Clopton, who resided at New Place during the first half of the last century, died in 1751, and in 1756 the estate was sold by his representatives to the Rev. Francis Gastrell, who, in 1759, as has been previously observed, pulled the residence then on the site of Shakespeare's house down to the ground. Shortly before the removal of that building, the reverend owner of New Place had felled the mulberry-tree to the great annoyance of the inhabitants of the town. The late R. B. Wheler tells us that he recollects his father saying that, when a boy, he assisted in breaking Gastrell's windows in revenge for the fall of the tree, which latter act, however, may be accounted for without attaching wilful blame to Gastrell, an impetuous person who obviously had little sympathy with Shakespearean enthusiasts. Several accounts agree in stating that it had attained a great magnitude with overhanging boughs, the trunk being in a state of decay, and indeed it is most probable that a tree of a century and a half's growth would have been of a very considerable size, the soil of Stratford being peculiarly favourable to the luxuriant growth of the mulberry. If planted at all near the house, its boughs would certainly have overshadowed some of the rooms at the back. Davies, in his *Life of Garrick*, the first edition of which appeared in 1780, expressly asserts that "the mulberry-tree planted by the poet's own

hand became an object of dislike to this tasteless owner of it because it overshadowed his window, and rendered the house, as he thought, subject to damp and moisture." Here is a plausible reason given for the removal of the tree, which may have been accomplished somewhat thoughtlessly, without a presentiment of the indignation the act would excite at Stratford ; and the statement made by Davies is supported by the fact that the mulberry-tree was situated in the small garden at the back of New Place, the one near the house. One Charles Oakes, in an affidavit made in a lawsuit in 1807, supported by recollections of Stratford extending to the period of Gastrell's residence there, says that the garden which was opposite the vicar's garden wall, the latter near the Chapel and in Chapel Lane, "was called the Shakespeare Garden, being the garden on the north side of the lane, and so called from the mulberry-tree planted by Shakespeare growing therein." At this time the site of the tree had been generally forgotten, and most people took it for granted that the mulberry-tree now in the Great Garden was in the situation of the old one. In a plan of Stratford made in 1802 the "spot on which grew Shakspeare's mulberry" is marked as being in that garden, but apparently at some little distance westward from the present tree. There is evidence of what was the belief at Stratford-on-Avon only twenty years after the tree was cut down, in a paper accompanying a letter from the Rev. Richard Jago, vicar of Snitterfield, to the Town-clerk of Stratford, written in 1778, in which he gives an extract from a pretended work entitled, *Acts and Monuments of the Fairies*, consisting of a decree from King Oberon to his loving fairy subjects respecting their revels held in the poet's garden,— "and whereas by the wilful and malicious destruction of the said mulberry-tree, as before recited, and other damage at New Place, late the mortal residence of the said William Shakespear of immortal memory, the sports and recreations of our good subjects have been grievously disturbed and interrupted, now we, taking the same into our serious consideration, have ordered and ordained, and by these presents do order and ordain, that the said sports and re-

creations formerly kept and held by our good people under the said mulberry-tree *do forthwith cease at the place where the said mulberry-tree stood*, and that from henceforth they be duely celebrated and observed with accustomed rites *in the piece of ground next thereunto adjoining*, being part or parcel of the terrestrial estate of the said William Shakespear, and now belonging to our beloved William Hunt, of whose affection for us and our people we have undoubted assurance, as likewise of his care to cultivate the same with all manner of productions agreeable to us, and to cause the same to be laid in proper places with clean and close-binding gravel, and the grass thereof to be neatly and frequently mowed for the better accommodation of our good subjects in celebrating the said rites; and our royal will and pleasure further is that a part of the said ground lying nearest to the river Avon, and appropriated hereby to the celebration of the said rites, shall henceforth be called Fairy Lawn, and that a fair pedestal or tablet of stone shall be erected in the centre of the said lawn, and an inscription, recording our affection and regard for the said William Shakespear, and our determination herein, engraven thereon." This document, written by a person well acquainted with the locality for the amusement of one who must have been familiar with all the Stratford testimony on the subject, furnishes conclusive evidence that the site of the original tree was in the smaller garden. The one now in the Great Garden is said to have been raised from a scion of Shakespeare's tree, but this tradition is at least doubtful. Enquiries have not succeeded in tracing its existence previously to William Hunt's tenancy, some considerable time after the removal of the older tree, and that Gastrell took sufficient interest in the matter to plant a sapling from the latter is improbable, nor is there any record to that effect. It is obvious that if Gastrell had cared in the least for the preservation of a Shakespearean relic, he would never have committed the vandalic act of cutting down the original tree. The late R. B. Wheler, who was better acquainted with the subject than any one else, distinctly asserts that—"it is well-known that neither of these trees (that at New Place and one in Old Town),

nor that growing in the Lion garden, nor any other reported as such, ever sprung from Shakespeare's tree ; many people are willing enough to affirm their own as a scion from the celebrated tree, but unfortunately their tales are foolish and improbable when examined."

No written or printed record of Shakespeare's mulberry-tree has been discovered of a date previously to its destruction, but there is a story, resting on the testimony of a very old man, that Sir Hugh Clopton entertained friends under it about the year 1744. The statement has been repeated in many works with slight variations, but the only good authority for it appears to be an unpublished letter from Malone to Davenport, dated in April, 1788, in which he says,—“old Mr. Macklin the player, who is now playing with wonderful vigour in the eighty-eighth year of his age, informs me that Mr. Garrick and he paid a visit to Stratford about the year 1744, and were hospitably entertained by Sir Hugh Clopton, then a very old gentleman ; his memory, however, is by no means accurate.” Malone, referring to the mulberry-tree in another part of the same letter, adds,—“old Mr. Macklin says he was entertained under it by one of the Clopton family in 1744.” It has also been generally stated that Denis Delane the actor was in company with Garrick and Macklin on the occasion, the earliest authority for which statement seems to be a passage in Ireland's Views, 1795, p. 201. Then there is the testimony of Jordan saying that “the mulberry-tree in the garden of New Place, planted by Shakespeare, was grown to a very large size, with wide spreading boughs that shaded many yards of ground, under which were placed benches to sit on in the shade, and which I have heard Sir Hugh Clopton took great delight in shewing to the nobility and gentry whose curiosity excited them to visit the last memorial of immortal Shakespeare ;” MS. at Stratford-on-Avon, repeated in nearly the same words in another MS. by the same writer. There appears to be little doubt of the fact that Sir Hugh Clopton, who, as is known from the evidence of Theobald, took an interest in the traditions respecting New Place, valued the mulberry-

tree on account of its having been planted by Shakespeare. Thomas Sharp, the relic-carver, in a declaration made upon oath shortly before his death in 1799, asserted,—“that I was personally acquainted with Sir Hugh Clopton, knight, barrister at law and one of the Heralds at Arms, who was son of Sir John Clopton, knight, that purchased a certain messuage or house near the Chapel in Stratford, called the New Place, of the executors of Lady Elizabeth Barnard, and grand-daughter of Shakespeare; and that I have often heard the said Sir Hugh Clopton solemnly declare that the mulberry-tree which grew in his garden was planted by Shakespeare, and he took pride in shewing it to and entertaining persons of distinction whose curiosity excited them to visit the spot known to be the last residence of the immortal bard.” The story told to Malone by Davenport, on the information of one Hugh Taylor, is so inconsistent with known facts that it cannot be received. “The Rev. Mr. Davenport,” observes Malone, “informs me that Hugh Taylor, who is now (1790) eighty-five years old, and an alderman of Warwick, says, he lived when a boy at the next house to New Place; that his family had inhabited the house for almost three hundred years; that it (the fact of Shakespeare planting the tree) was transmitted from father to son during the last and the present century; that this tree, of the fruit of which he had often eaten in his younger days, some of its branches hanging over his father’s garden, was planted by Shakespeare; and that, till this was planted, there was no mulberry-tree in that neighbourhood. Mr. Taylor adds that he was frequently when a boy at New Place, and that this tradition was preserved in the Clopton family as well as in his own,” *Life of Shakespeare*, ed. 1790, p. 118. There was a family of the name of Taylor living in the same ward, but not in the house adjoining New Place, at the time here named, so that the old man’s memory must have failed him. It is not impossible that he may have been, when a boy, on some occasion in the garden of Nash’s house, and eaten of the mulberries from the branches of the New Place tree there overhanging.





## THE RATSEY EPISODE.

*"A pretty Prancke passed by Ratsey upon certaine Players that he met by chance in an Inne, who denied their owne Lord and Maister, and used another Noblemans Name." This is the title of the following interesting chapter in Ratseis Ghost, here taken from the unique copy of that work preserved in the library of Earl Spencer at Althorp, co. Northampton There is no date to this curious little quarto tract, but it was entered at Stationers' Hall on May the 31st, 1605. In all probability Shakespeare is included amongst the players who are mentioned as having arrived in London from the provinces in an impecunious condition, and afterwards risen to wealth.*

Gamaliell Ratsey and his company travailing up and downe the countrey, as they had often times done before, *per varios casus et tot discrimina rerum*, still hazarding their severall happes as they had severall hopes, came by chance into an inne where that night there harbored a company of players, and Ratsey, framing himselfe to an humor of merriment, caused one or two of the chieftest of them to be sent for up into his chamber, where hee demanded whose men they were, and they answered they served such an honorable personage. I pray you, quoth Ratsey, let me heare your musicke, for I have often gone to plaies more for musicke sake then for action; for some of you not content to do well, but striving to over-doe and go beyond yourselves, oftentimes, by S. George, mar all; yet your poets take great paines to make your parts fit for your mouthes, though you gape never so wide Other-some, I must needs confesse, are very wel deserving both for true action and faire deliverie of speech, and yet, I warrant you, the very best have sometimes beene content to goe home at night with fifteene pence

share apeece. Others there are whom Fortune hath so wel favored that, what by penny-sparing and long practise of playing, are growne so wealthy that they have expected to be knighted, or at least to be conjunct in authority and to sit with men of great worship on the bench of justice. But if there were none wiser then I am, there should more cats build colledges and more whoores turne honest women then one before the world should be filled with such a wonder. Well, musicke was plaide, and that night passed over with such singing, dauncing and revelling, as if my Lord Prodigall hadde beene there in his ruines of excesse and superfluitie. In the morning, Ratsey made the players taste of his bountie, and so departed. But everie day hee had new inventions to obtaine his purposes, and as often as fashions alter so often did he alter his stratagems, studying as much how to compasse a poore mans purse as players doe to win a full audience. About a weeke after, hee met with the same players, although hee had so disguised himselfe with a false head of hayre and beard that they could take no notice of him, and lying, as they did before, in one inne together, hee was desirous they should play a private play before him, which they did not in the name of the former noblemans servants; for, like came-lions, they had changed that colour; but in the name of another, whose indeede they were, although afterwarde, when he heard of their abuse, hee discharged them and tooke away his warrant. For being far off, for their more countenance they would pretend to be protected by such an honourable man, denying their lord and maister, and comming within ten or twenty miles of him againe, they would shrowd themselves under their owne lords favour. Ratsey heard their play, and seemed to like that, though he disliked the rest, and verie liberally out with his purse and gave them fortie shillings, with which they held themselves very richly satisfied, for they scarce had twentie shillings audience at any time for a play in the countrey. But Ratsey thought they should not enjoy it long, although he let them beare it about them till the next day in their purses; for the morning beeing come, and they having packt away their

luggage and some part of their companie before in a waggon, discharged the house and followed them presently. Ratsey intended not to bee long after, but having learned which way they travailed, hee, being verie wel horsed and mounted upon his blacke gelding, soone overtooke them ; and when they saw it was the gentleman that had beene so liberall with them the night before, they beganne to doe him much courtesie and to greete his late kindnesse with many thanks. But that was not the matter which he aymed at. Therefore he roundly tolde them they were deceived in him,—hee was not the man they tooke him for. I am a souldier, sayth he, and one that for meanes hath ventured my fortunes abroade, and now for money am driven to hazard them at home ; I am not to bee played upon by players ; therefore be short, deliver mee your money ; I will turne usurer now ; my fortie shillings againe will not serve without interest. They beganne to make many faces, and to cappe and knee, but all would not serve their turne. Hee bade them leave off their cringing and complements and their apish trickes, and dispatch, which they did for feare of the worst, seeing to begge was bootelesse ; and having made a desperate tender of their stocke into Ratseyes handes, he bad them play for more, for, sayes hee, it is an idle profession that brings in much profite, and every night where you come your playing beares your charges and somewhat into purse. Besides, you have fiddlers fare, meat, drink and mony. If the worst be, it is but pawning your apparell, for as good actors and stalkers as you are have done it, though now they scorne it ; but in any case heereafter be not counterfaites, abuse not honorable personages in using their names and countenance without their consent and privitie ; and because you are now destitute of a maister, I will give you leave to play under my protection for a senights space, and I charge you doe it, lest when I meet you again, I cut you shorter by the hams and share with you in a sharper manner then I have done at this time. And for you, sirra, saies hee to the chiefest of them, thou hast a good presence upon a stage ; methinks thou darkenst thy merite by playing in the country. Get thee to London, for, if one man were dead, they will have

much neede of such a one as thou art. There would be none in my opinion fitter then thyselfe to play his parts. My conceipt is such of thee, that I durst venture all the mony in my purse on thy head to play Hamlet with him for a wager. There thou shalt learne to be frugall,—for players were never so thriftie as they are now about London—and to feed upon all men, to let none feede upon thee ; to make thy hand a stranger to thy pocket, thy hart slow to performe thy tongues promise ; and when thou feelest thy purse well lined, buy thee some place or lordship in the country, that, growing weary of playing, thy mony may there bring thee to dignitie and reputation ; then thou needest care for no man, nor not for them that before made thee proud with speaking their words upon the stage. Sir, I thanke you, quoth the player, for this good counsell ; I promise you I will make use of it, for I have heard, indeede, of some that have gone to London very meanly, and have come in time to be exceeding wealthy. And in this presage and propheticall humor of mine, sayes Ratsey, kneele downe,—Rise up, Sir Simon Two Shares and a Halfe ; thou art now one of my knights, and the first knight that ever was player in England. The next time I meete thee I must share with thee againe for playing under my warrant, and so for this time adiew. How ill hee brooked this new knighthood, which hee durst not but accept of, or liked his late counsell, which he lost his coine for, is easie to be imagined ; but whether he met with them againe, after the senights space that he charged them to play in his name, I have not heard it reported.

## THE ONLY SHAKE-SCENE.

*I. From a little work entitled,—“Greens Groats-worth of Wit, bought with a Million of Repentaunce. Describing the follie of youth, the falshood of makeshift flatterers, the miserie of the negligent, and mischieses of deceiuing Courtezans. VVritten before before his death and published at his dying request. — Felicem fuisse infaustum. — London, — Printed by Thomas Creede, for Richard Oliue, dwelling in long long Lane, and are there to be solde. 1596.” This is the earliest edition known, but it was originally published in 1592, having been entered at Stationers’ Hall on the 20th of September in that year. The following is a copy of the writer’s address—“To those Gentlemen, his Quondam acquaintance, that spend their wits in making Plaies, R. G. wisheth a better exercise, and wisdom to freuent his extremities.”*

If wofull experience may moove you (Gentlemen) to beware, or unheard of wretchednes intreate you to take heed : I doubt not but you will looke backe with sorrow on your time past, and endeavour with repentance to spend that which is to come. Wonder not, for with thee wil I first begin, thou famous gracer of tragedians, that Greene, who hath said with thee, like the foole in his heart, there is no God, should now give glorie unto His greatnesse : for penetrating is His power, His hand lies heaue upon me, He hath spoken unto me with a voice of thunder, and I have left®, He is a God that can punish enimies. Why should thy excellent wit, His gift, be so blinded, that thou shouldst give no glory to the giver ? Is it pestilent Machiuiian pollicie that thou hast studied ? O punish follie ! What are his rules but méere confused mockeries, able to extirpate in small time the generation of mankinde. For if *sic volo, sic iubeo*, hold in those that are able to command : and if it be law-

full *fas et nefas* to doe any thing that is beneficiall ; onely tyrants should possesse the eath ; and they, striving to excéede in tyranny, should each to other bée a slaughter man ; till the mightiest outliving all, one stroke were left for death, that in one age mans life should ende. The brother of this diabolicall atheisme is dead, and in his life had never the felicitie he aimed at : but as he began in craft, lived in feare, and ended in despaire. *Quum inscrutabilia sunt Dei judicia ?* This murderer of many brethren had his conscience seared like Caine ; this betrayer of him that gave his life for him, inherited the portion of Judas ; this apostata perished as ill as Julian : and wilt thou, my friend, be his disciple ? Looke unto me, by him perswaded to that libertie, and thou shalt finde it an infernall bondage. I knowe the least of my demerits merit this miserable death ; but wilful striving against knowne truth excéedeth al the terrors of my soule. Defer not (with me) till this last point of extremitie ; for little knowest thou how in the end thou shalt be visited.

With thee I joyne young Juvenall, that byting satyryst, that lastlie with mee together writ a comedie. Swéete boy, might I advise thee, be advised, and get not many enemies by bitter words ; inveigh against vaine men, for thou canst do it, no man better ; no man so wel ; thou hast a libertie to reprove all, and name none ; for one being spoken to, al are offended ; none being blamed, no man is injured. Stop shallow water still running, it will rage ; tread on a worme, and it will turne ; then blame not schollers vexed with sharpe lines, if they reprove thy too much libertie of reprove.

And thou, no lesse deserving then the other two, in some things rarer, in nothing inferiour ; driven (as myselfe) to extreame shifts ; a little have I to say to thee ; and were it not an idolatrous oth, I would sweare by swéet S. George thou art unworthie better hap, sith thou dependest on so meane a stay. Base minded men al thrée of you, if by my miserie ye be not warned ; for unto none of you (like me) sought those burses to cleave ; those puppits (I meane) that speake from our mouths, those anticks garnisht in our colours. Is it not strange that I, to

whom they al have béene beholding, is it not like that you to whome they all have béene beholding, shall (were ye in that case that I am now) be both at once of them forsaken. Yes, trust them not ; for there is an upstart crow, beautified with our feathers, that with his *Tygers heart wrapt in a Players hide*, supposes he is as well able to bumbast out a blanke verse as the best of you ; and being an absolute *Johannes fac totum*, is in his owne conceit the onely Shake-scene in a countrie. O that I might intreate your rare wits to be employed in more profitable courses ; and let these apes imitate your past excellence, and never more acquaint them with your admired inventions. I know the best husband of you all will never prove an usurer, and the kindest of them all wil never proove a kinde nurse ; yet, whilst you may, séeke you better maisters ; for it is pittie men of such rare wits should be subject to the pleasures of such rude groomes.

In this I might insert two more, that both have writ against these buckram gentlemen ; but let their owne works serve to witnesse against their owne wickednesse, if they persever to maintaine any more such peasants. For other new commers, I leave them to the mercie of these painted monsters, who (I doubt not) will drive the best minded to despise them ; for the rest, it skils not though they make a jeast at them.

But now returne I againe to you three, knowing my miserie is to you no news ; and let me heartily intreate you to bee warned by my harmes. Delight not (as I have done) in irreligious oaths ; for from the blasphemers house a curse shall not depart. Despise drunkennes, which wasteth the wit and making® men all equal unto beasts. Flie lust, as the deathsman of the soule, and defile not the temple of the Holy Ghost. Abhorre those epicures, whose loose life hath made religion lothsome to your eares ; and when they sooth you with tearmes of maistership, remember Robert Greene, whome they have often so flattered, perishes now for want of comfort. Remember, gentlemen, your lives are like so many lighted tapers, that are with care delivered to all of you to maintaine ; these with wind-puft wrath may be extinguisht, which drunkennes put out, which



negligence let fall ; for mans time of itselfe is not so short, but it is more shortened by sin. The fire of my light is now at the last snuffe, and the want of wherwith to sustaine it ; there is no substance left for life to feede on. Trust not then (I beseech yee) to such weake staies ; for they are as changeable in minde as in many attires. Well, my hand is tired, and I am forst to leave where I would begin ; for a whole booke cannot containe their wrongs, which I am forst to knit up in some few lines of words.—*Desirous that you should live, though himselfe be dying.*  
—Robert Greene.

*II. The Preface to — “ Kind-Harts Dreame. Containing fve Apparitions, vvith their Inuectiues against abuses raigning. Deliuered by seuerall Ghosts vnto him to be publisht, after Piers Penilesse Post had refused the carriage.—Inuita Inuidiæ. --by H. C.—Imprinted at London for William Wright.” This interesting work is undated, but it was entered at Stationers’ Hall on December the 8th, 1592.*

*To the Gentlemen Readers.*—It hath beene a custome, gentlemen, in my mind commendable, among former authors, whose workes are no lesse beautified with eloquente phrase than garnished with excellent example, to begin an exordium to the readers of their time : much more convenient I take it, should the writers in these daies (wherein that gravitie of enditing by the elder excercised, is not observ’d, nor that modest decorum kept which they continued) submit their labours to the favourable censures of their learned overseers. For seeing nothing can be said that hath not been before said, the singularitie of some mens conceits, otherwayes excellent well deserving, are no more to be soothed than the peremptorie posies of two very sufficient translators commended. To come in print is not to seeke praise, but to crave pardon ; I am urg’d to the one, and bold to begge the other ; he that offendes, being forst, is more excusable than the wilfull faultie ; though both be guilty, there is difference in the guilt. To observe custome, and avoid, as I may, cavill, opposing your favors against my feare, Ile shew reason for my present writing, and after proceed to sue for pardon. About three moneths since died M. Robert Greene, leaving

many papers in sundry booke sellers hands, among other his Groatworth of Wit, in which a letter, written to divers play-makers, is offensively by one or two of them taken ; and because on the dead they cannot be avenged, they wilfully forge in their conceites a living author ; and after tossing it two and fro, no remedy but it must light on me. How I have all the time of my conversing in printing hindred the bitter inveying against schollers, it hath been very well knowne ; and how in that I dealt, I can sufficiently prove. With neither of them that take offence was I acquainted, and with one of them I care not if I never be. The other, whome at that time I did not so much spare as since I wish I had, for that, as I have moderated the heate of living writers, and might have usde my owne discretion (especially in such a case) the author beeing dead, that I did not I am as sory as if the originall fault had beene my fault, because my selfe have seene his demeanor no lesse civill, than he exelent in the qualitie he professes : Besides, divers of worship have reported his uprightnes of dealing, which argues his honesty, and his facetious grace in writing, that aprooves his art. For the first, whose learning I reverence, and, at the perusing of Greenes booke, stroke out what then in conscience I thought he in some displeasure writ ; or, had it beene true, yet to publish it was intollerable ; him I would wish to use me no worse than I deserve. I had onely in the copy this share : it was il written, as sometime Greenes hand was none of the best ; licensd it must be ere it could bee printed, which could never be if it might not be read. To be breife, I writ it over ; and, as neare as I could, followed the copy ; onely in that letter I put something out, but in the whole booke not a worde in ; for I protest it was all Greenes, not mine nor Maister Nashes, as some unjustly have affirmed. Neither was he the writer of an Epistle to the second part of Gerileon, though by the workemans error T. N. were set to the end : that I confesse to be mine, and repent it not.

Thus, gentlemen, having noted the private causes that made me nominate my selfe in print ; being as well to purge

Master Nashe of that he did not, as to justifie what I did, and withall to confirme what M. Greene did ; I beseech yee accept the publike cause, which is both the desire of your delight and common benefite ; for though the toye bee shadowed under the title of Kind-hearts Dreame, it discovers the false hearts of divers that wake to commit mischief. Had not the former reasons been, it had come forth without a father ; and then shuld I have had no cause to feare offending, or reason to sue for favour. Now am I in doubt of the one, though I hope of the other ; which, if I obtaine, you shall bind me hereafter to bee silent, till I can present yee with some thing more acceptable.—*Henric Chettle.*

## THE LATER THEATRES.

The following are copies of documents which relate to the Blackfriars and Globe Theatres, the establishments with which the great dramatist was specially connected in the later period of his metropolitan career.

*I. Deed of Feoffment from Sir William More of Loseley, co. Surrey, to James Burbage, 4 February, 1596, conveying to the latter that portion of a large house in Blackfriars which was afterwards converted by him into a theatre.*

This indenture made the fourth daye of Februarie in the eighte and thirtyth yeaere of the raigne of our Sovereigne lady Elizabeth, by the grace of God Queene of Englande, Fraunce and Irelande, Defendor of the Fayth, &c., betwene Sir William More of Loseley in the County of Surrey, Knight, of thone partye, and James Burbage of Hollowell in the Countye of Middlesex, gentleman, of thother partye, Witnesseth that the said Sir William More, for and in consideracyon of the some of sixe hundreth poundes of lawfull money of England to him by the said James Burbage at and before thensealinge of theis presentes truelye payd, whereof and wherewith he the said Sir William More dothe acknowledge and confesse himselfe fully satysfied and paid, and thereof and of every parte thereof doth cleirely acquite and discharge the said James Burbage, his heyres, executors and administrators, and every of them, by theis presentes hath bargayned, sold, alyened, enfeofed and confirmed, and by theis presentes doth fully and cleirelye bargaine, sell, alyen, enfeoffe and confirme to the said James Burbage, his heires and assignes, for ever, all those seaven greate upper romes as they are nowe devided, beinge all uppon one flower and sometyme

beinge one greate and entire rome, with the rouse over the same covered with lead, together also with all the lead that doth cover the same seaven greate upper romes, and also all the stone stayres leading upp unto the leades or rouse over the said seaven greate upper romes out of the said seaven greate upper romes, and also all the greate stone walles and other walles which doe enclose, devid and belonge to, the same seaven greate upper romes, and also all that greate payre of wyndinge stayres, with the stayre case thereunto belonging, which leadeth upp unto the same seaven greate upper romes out of the greate yarde there which doth lye nexte unto the Pype Office, which said seaven greate upper romes were late in the teanure or occupacyon of William de Lawne, Doctor of Phisick, or of his assignes, and are scituate, lyeinge and beinge, within the precincte of the late Blackfryers Preachers nere Ludgate in London ; together also with all the waynescott, glasse, dores, lockes, keyes and boltes to the same seaven greate upper romes and other the premisses by theis presentes bargayned and sold incident or apperteyning, or beinge fixed or fastened thereunto ; togeather also with the easemente and commoditie of a vaulte beinge under some parte of the sayde seaven greate upper romes, or under the entrye or voyde rome lyeing between those seaven greate upper romes and the sayde Pipe Office, by a stole and tonnell to be made into the same vault in and out of the greate stone wall in the ynnere side thereof next and adjoyneinge to the said entry or voide rome, beinge towards the south ; and alsoe all those romes and lodgings, with the kitchin thereunto adjoyning, called the Midle Romes or Midle Stories, late beinge in the tenure or occupacion of Rocco Bonnetto, and nowe being in the tenure or occupacyon of Thomas Bruskett, gentleman, or of his assignes, conteyninge in length fyftie twoo foote of assize more or lesse, and in bredith thirtie seaven foote of assize more or lesse, lyeing and beinge directlye under parte of those of the sayd seaven greate upper romes which lye westwardes ; which said Mydle Romes or Mydle Stories doe extende in length southwardes to a parte of the house of Sir George Cary, Knight ; and also all

the stone walles and other walles which doe enclose, deuide and belonge to, the same Midle Romes or Midle Stories, together alsoe with the dore and entrey which doe lye nexte unto the gate entring into the house of the said Sir George Cary, and used to and from the said Midle Romes or Midle Stories out of a lane or waye leadinge unto the house of the sayd Sir George Cary, with free waye, ingres, egres, and regres, into and from the said Midle Romes or Midle Stories in, by and through, the waies nowe used to the said house of the said Sir George Cary ; and also all those twoo vaultes or sellers late being in thoccupacyon of the said Rocco Bonnetto, lyeinge under parte of the said Midle Romes or Midle Stories at the north end thereof, as they are nowe devided, and are nowe in the teanure or occupation of the said Thomas Bruskett and of John Favor, and are adjoyneing to the twoo lytle yardes nowe in thoccupacyons of Peter Johnson and of the sayd John Favor, together also with the stayres leading into the same vaultes or cellers out of the foresaid kitchen in thoccupacyon of the said Thomas Bruskett ; and also all those two upper romes or chambers with a lytle buttrey at the north end of the said seaven greate upper romes and on the weste side thereof, nowe being in thoccupacyon of Charles Bradshawe, together with the voyd rome, waye and passage, nowe thereunto used from the said seaven greate upper romes ; and also all those twoo romes or loftes now in thoccupacion of Edward Merry, thone of them lyeing and being above or over the said two upper romes or chambers in thoccupacion of the said Charles Bradshawe, and on thest and north parte thereof, and having a chimney in it, and thother of them lieinge over parte of the foresaid entrey or voyde rome next the foresaid Pipe Office, together with the stayres leading from the foresaid romes in thoccupacion of the foresaid Charles Bradshawe upp unto the foresaid two romes in thoccupacyon of the said Edward Merry ; and also all that lytle rome now used to laye woode and coles in, being aboute the midle of the said stayers westwardes, which said litle rome laste mencyoned is over the foresaid buttrey nowe in thoccupacyon of the sayd Charles Bradshawe, and is now in thoccupacyon of the said Charles

Bradshawe ; and also all that rome or garrett lyeing and being over the said twoo romes or loftes laste before mencyoned in thoccupacyon of the said Edward Merry, together with the dore, entrye, void grounde, waye and passage and stayres leading or used to, with or from. the said romes in thoccupacyon of the said Edward Merry up unto the said rome or garrett over the said twoo romes in thoccupacyon of the said Edward Merrie ; and also all those twoo lower romes, now in thoccupacyon of the said Peter Johnson, lying directlye under parte of the said seaven greate upper romes ; and also all those twoo other lower romes or chambers nowe being also in the tenure or occupacion of the said Peter Johnson, being under the foresaid romes or chambers in thoccupacyon of the said Charles Bradshawe ; and also the dore, entry, waye, voyd grounde and passage leading and used to and from the said greate yard next the said Pipe Office into and from the said fouer lower romes or chambers ; and also all that litle yard adjoyneing to the said lower romes as the same is nowe enclosed with a bricke wall, and nowe beinge in thoccupacyon of the said Peter Johnson, which said foure lower romes or chambers and litle yard doe lye betwene the said greate yard nexte the sayd Pipe Office on the north parte, and an entery leading into the messuage which Margaret Pooley, widdow, holdeth for terme of her lyefe, nowe in the occupacyon of the said John Favor, on the west parte, and a wall deviding the said yard now in the occupacyon of the said Peter Johnson and the yard nowe in thoccupacion of the said John Favor on the south parte ; and also the stayres and staire case leadinge from the said litle yard nowe in thoccupacyon of the sayde Peter Johnson up unto the foresaid chambers or romes nowe in thoccupacyon of the said Charles Bradshawe ; and alsoe all that litle yard or peice of void grounde, with the bricke wall thereunto belonging, lyeinge and beinge nexte the Queenes highewaye leadinge unto the ryver of Thamys, wherein an old privy nowe standeth, as the same is nowe enclosed with the same bricke wall and with a pale next adjoyneinge to the house of the said Sir William More, nowe in thoccupacyon of the right honorable the Lord Cobham, on the east parte, and the streete

leadinge to the Thamys there on the west parte, and the said yarde nexte the said Pipe Office on the south parte, and the house of the saide Lorde Cobham on the north parte,—All which premisses before in theis presentes mencyned to be hereby bargayned and sold are scituate, lyeinge and beinge, within the saide prescincte of the said late Blackfryers Preachers ; together also with all libertyes. privedges, lightes, watercourses, easementes, commodities and appurtenaunces to the foresaid romes, lodgings and other the premisses before in theis presentes mencyned to be hereby bargained and sold belonging or in any wyse apperteyninge. And also the sayd Sir William More, for the consyderacyon aforesayd, hath bargayned, sold, alyened, enfeoffed and confirmed and by theis presentes doth bargayne, sell alyen, enfeoffe and confirme unto the said James Burbage, his heires and assignes for ever, free and quiett ingres, egres and regres, to and from the streete or waye leadeing from Ludgate unto the Thamys over, uppon and thoroughe, the same greate yarde next the said Pipe Office by the wayes nowe thereunto used into and from the sayde seaven greate upper romes, and all other the premisses before in and by theis presentes mencyned to be bargayned and sold, and to and from every or any parte or parcell thereof, together alsoe with free libertye for the said James Burbage, his heires and assignes, to laye and discharge his and their wood, cole and all other carriages, necessities and provisions in the same greate yarde laste before mencyned for conveniente tyme, untill the same maye be taken and carried awaie from thence unto the premisses before by theis presentes mencyned to be bargayned and sold, and so from tyme to tyme and at all tymes hereafter the sayd James Burbage, his heyres and assignes, leavinge convenyent waies and passages to goe and come in, uppon and through, the said greate yarde from tyme to tyme to and from the said Pipe Office, and to and from the garden and other houses and romes of the said Sir William More not hereby bargayned and sold, out of the streete leadeinge to the said ryver of Thamys, so that the said wood, cole, carriages and provisyons so layed and discharged in the said yarde last



mencyoned by the said James, his heyres or assignes, be removed and avoided out of and from the said yarde within three dayes next after it shal be broughte thither, without fraude or further delaye. And further, the said Sir William More, for the consideration aforesaid, doth by theis presentes graunte, bargayne and sell, unto the said James Burbage, his heyres and assignes, for ever, the revercyon and revercyons, remainder and remainders, of all and singuler the premisses before by theis presentes mencyoned to be heareby bargained and sold, and every parte and parcell thereof, excepte and reserved unto the said Sir William More, his heyres and assignes, one rome or stole as the same is now made in and out of the foresaide wall nexte the said entrey adjoyneinge to the said Pipe Office into the foresaid vault. All which said seaven greate upper romes, and all other the premisses with thappurtenaunces above by theis presentes mencyoned to be bargayned and sold, amonge others Sir Thomas Cawarden, knighte, deceased, late had to him, his heyres and assignes, for ever, of the guifte and graunte of the late Kinge of famous memorie Edwarde the Sixte, late Kinge of England, as in and by his letters Patentes under the Greate Seale of Englande, beareinge date at Westminster the twelveth daye of Marche, in the fourth yeare of his raigne, more at lardge appeareth; and all which said premisses above by theis presentes mencyoned to be bargayned and sold, the said Sir Thomas Cawarden, in and by his last will and testamente in writing, beareinge, date in the daye of St. Barthilmew the apostle in the yeare of our Lord God, 1559, amonges other thinges dyd will and declare his intente to be that his executors, with the consente of his overseers, should have full power and auctoritye to bargaine sell and alyen for the performance of his said last will and testamente; and also in and by the same his said laste will and testamente dyd ordeyne and make Dame Elizabeth his then wyef and the said Sir William More, by the name of William More of Loseley, in the County of Surrey, esquier, executors of his said last will and testamente, and Thomas Blagrave and Thomas Hawe overseers of the same, as in and by his said last will and testament more at large appereth;

and all which premisses above mencyned to be hereby bargayned and sold, amonges others, the said Dame Elizabeth Cawarden and William More, executors of the said laste will and testament, by and with thassent, consent, agreement and advise, of the said Thomas Hawe and Thomas Blgrave, overseers of the said last will, in accomplyshment thereof dyd bargayne and sell unto John Byrche, gentleman, John Awsten and Richard Chapman, and their heyres for ever, as in and by their deed indented of bargaine and sale thereof made, beareinge date the twentieth day of December in the second yere of the raigne of our said soveraigne lady the Queenes Majestie that nowe is, and enrolled in her Majesties High Courte of Chauncerie more at lardg appeareth; and all which said premisses with thappurtenaunces above mencioned to be hereby bargayned and sold amonges others, the said John Birche, John Awsten, and Richard Chapman, did by their deed indented of bargaine and sale, beareinge date the twoo and twentieth daie of December in the said second yere of the raigne of our said Soveraigne lady the Queenes Majestye that nowe is, bargaine and sell to the said Dame Elizabeth Cawarden and Sir William More and their heires for ever, as in and by the same deed indented of bargaine and sale last above recited, and also enrolled in her Majesties said Highe Courte of Chancery, more at lardge also appeareth; which said Dame Elizabeth is longe sithence deceased, by reason whereof all and singuler the same premisses in and by theis presentes mencyned to be hereby bargayned and sold, are accrued and come unto the said Sir William More and his heires by righte of survivorshippe; To have and to hold all the said romes, lodgings, cellers, vaultes, stayres, yardes, waies, and all and singuler other the premisses, with all and singuler their appurtenaunces before in theis presentes mencyned to be hereby bargained and sold, excepte before excepted, to the said James Burbage his heires and assignes for ever, to the onelye use and behoofe of the said James Burbage his heires and assignes for evermore. And the said Sir William More doth covenante and graunte for himself, his heires, executors and administrators,

to and with the said James Burbage, his heires and assignes, by theis presentes, that he, the said Sir William More, is and standeth at the tyme of thensealinge and deliverye of theis presentes lawfully and absolutelye seysed of the sayd romes, lodgings, yarges, and of all and singuler other the premisses in and by these presentes mencyoned to be bargayned and sold in his demeasne as of fee simple, and that the sayd romes, lodgings, cellers, vaultes, stayres, yarges, and all and singuler other the premisses before in and by these presentes mencyoned to be hereby bargayned and sold, excepte before excepted, the daye of the date heareof are and at all tymes, and from tyme to tyme for ever heareafter, shall stande, contynue and remayne to the said James Burbage, his heyres and assignes, for ever, cleirely acquitted, exonerated and dischargdged, or els by the said Sir William More, his heyres, or assignes, uppon reasonable requeste thereof to him or them made by the sayd James Burbage, his heyres or assignes, sufficyently saved or kepte harmeles of and from all former bargaynes, sales, guiftes, grauntes, joynctures, dowers, leases, estates, anuytyes, rentes-chardge, arrerages of rentes, statutes merchaunte, and of the staple recognizaunces, judgments, execucyons, yssues, fees, fynes, amercyamentes, and of and from all other chardges, tytles, troubles and incomberances whatsoever ha<sup>d</sup>, made, comitted or done by the sayd Sir William More and by the foresaid Sir Thomas Cawarden, knyghte, deceased, or by eyther of them, or by any other person or persons, by, with or under, their or any of their estate, righte, tittle, assente, consente. acte, meanes or procuremente. And alsoe that he, the sayde James Burbage, his heyres and assignes, shall or maye from henceforthe for ever peaceably and quietlye have, hold, occupye, possesse, enjoye and keepe, all the sayd romes, lodgings, cellers, yarges, and all and singuler other the premisses, with the appurtenaunces, before by these presentes mencyoned to be hereby bargayned and sould, and every parte and parcell thereof, excepte above excepted, without any lett, troble, vexacyon, eviccyon, recoverye inter-upcyon or contradiccion of the sayd Sir William More his heyres or assignes, or of any of them, and without any lawfull

lett, troble, vexacyon, eviccion, recoverye or interrupcyon of any other person or persons whatsoever lawfullye haveinge or claymeinge, or which heareafter shall lawfully have or clayme, any estate, righte, tytle or interest in or to the said romes, lodgings, and all other the premisses before by these presentes mencyned to be bargayned and sold, or in or to any parte or parcell thereof, by, from or under, the sayd Sir William More and Sir Thomas Cawarden, or any of them, or their or either of their estate, righte, tytle or interest. And the said Sir William More dothe alsoe covenante and graunte, for himselfe, his heyres, executors and assignes, to and with the said James Burbage, his heyres and assignes, by these presentes, that he the said Sir William More and his heyres shall and will from tyme to tyme, duringe the space and terme of three yeres next ensueinge after the date heareof, at or uppon reasonable requeste thereof to him or them or any of them to be made by the said James Burbage, his heyres or assignes or any of them, well and truelye doe knowledge, execute, cause and suffer to be made, done and executed, all and every such further acte and actes, thinge and thinges, devise and devises, assuraunce and assurances, in the lawe whatsoever for the further and more better assurance, suertye and more suer makeinge, of the sayd romes, lodgings and all other the premisses with the appurtenaunces before in these presentes mencyned to be hereby bargayned and sold unto the sayd James Burbage, his heyres and assignes for ever, to thonlye use and behoofe of the sayd James Burbage his heyres and assignes for evermore be it by deed or deedes indented or inrolled, or not inrolled, thinrollment of theis presentes, fyne, feoffement, recoverye with single or double voucher. releas, confirmacion or otherwise, with warrantie onelye of the sayd Sir William More and his heyres againste him the sayd Sir William More and his heires, or all or as many of theis wayes or meanes or any other, as by the said James Burbage, his heyres or assignes or any of them, or by his or their or any of their learned Counsell in the lawe, shal be reasonably advised or devised and required, at thonlye costes and chardges in the lawe of the sayd James

Burbage, his heyres or assignes, so as the same assurance or assuraunces in forme aforesaid, to be had and made by the sayd Sir William More or his heyres, to the said James Burbage his heyres or assigns, doe not comprehend in them or any of them any furder or greater warrantie then onely againste the said Sir William More and his heyres, and the heyres of the sayd Sir Thomas Cawarden ; and so as the sayd Sir William More and his heyres, or any of them, be not compelled to travell in person any furder then to the Cittyes of London and Westminster, or any of them, for the makeing, knowledging or executeinge, of the sayd assurances in forme aforesaid to be had or made. And furthermore the sayd Sir William More doth by theis presentes authorize, nominate and appointe, George Austen, gentleman, and Henrye Smyth, merchantaylor, to be his lawefull deputyes and attorneys joynctly and severallye for him and in his name to enter into all the sayd romes, lodgings, cellers, and other the premisses before in theis presentes mencyoned to be hereby bargayned and sold, and into every parte thereof, and peaceable possession and seazen thereof for him and in his name to take, and after such possessyon and seazon thereof so had and taken, to delyver possessyon and seazon thereof, and of every parte thereof, unto the sayd James Burbage, his heires and assignes, accordinge to the purporte, effecte, true intente and meaninge of theis presentes ; and all and whatsoever his said attorneys, or either of them, shall by vertue of theis presentes doe or cause to be done in his name in execucion of the premisses, he the sayd Sir William More and his heyres shall and will ratifye, confirme and allowe, by theis presentes. In witnes whereof the partyes firste above named to theis indentures sonderlye have sett their seales the daye and yeare firste above written.

*II. A Petition to the Privy Council from the inhabitants of the Blackfriars, November, 1596, against the theatre which was then about to be established by Burbage in that locality. From the State Papers, Domestic, Eliz., cclx. 116. This manuscript is not the original Petition, but an undated copy of it made in or about the year 1631, as is ascertained by a compari-*

*son of the handwriting with that in transcripts of other documents in the State Papers, Dom. C. I., ccv. 32. The date of the original is shown by the Order of 1619 given hereafter.*

To the right honorable the Lords and others of her Majesties most honorable Privy Councell,—Humbly shewing and beseeching your honors the inhabitants of the precinct of the Blackfryers, London, that whereas one Burbage hath lately bought certaine rooms in the same precinct neere adjoyning unto the dwelling houses of the right honorable the Lord Chamberlaine and the Lord of Hunsdon, which romes the said Burbage is now altering and meaneth very shortly to convert and turne the same into a comon playhouse, which will grow to be a very great annoyance and trouble, not only to all the noblemen and gentlemen thereabout inhabiting but allso a generall inconvenience to all the inhabitants of the same precinct, both by reason of the great resort and gathering together of all manner of vagrant and lewde persons that, under cullor of resorting to the playes, will come thither and worke all manner of mischeefe, and allso to the greate pestring and filling up of the same precinct, yf it should please God to send any visitation of sicknesse as heretofore hath been, for that the same precinct is allready growne very populous, and besides that the same playhouse is so neere the Church that the noyse of the drummes and trumpetts will greatly disturbe and hinder both the ministers and parishioners in tyme of devine service and sermons; in tender consideracion wherof, as allso for that there hath not at any tyme heretofore been used any comon playhouse within the same precinct, but that now all players being banished by the Lord Mayor from playing within the Cittie by reason of the great inconveniences and ill rule that followeth them, they now thincke to plant themselves in liberties; that therfore it would please your honors to take order that the same roomes may be converted to some other use, and that no playhouse may be used or kept there; and your suppliants as most bounden shall and will dayly pray for your Lordships in all honor and happines long to live. Elizabeth Russell, dowager, G. Hunsdon, Henry Bowes, Thomas Browne, John Croke, Will. Meredith, John Robinson,

Thomas Homes, Ric. Feild, Will. Watts, Henry Boice, Edward Ley, Stephen Egerton, Richard Lee, . . . . Smith, William Paddy, William de Lavine, Francis Hinson, John Edwards, Andrew Lyons, Thomas Nayle, Owen Lochard, John Clarke, Will. Bispham, Robert Baheire, Ezechiell Major, Harman Buckholt, John Le Mere, John Dollin, Ascanio de Renialmire, John Wharton.

*III. Contract between Henslowe and Allen, on the one Part, and Peter Street, Carpenter, on the other Part, for the erection by the latter of the Fortune Theatre near Golden Lane, January 8th, 1599-1600. This document incidentally reveals to some extent the nature of the construction of the Globe Theatre.*

This Indenture made the eighte day of Januarye, 1599, and in the two and fortyth yeare, of the reigne of our soveraigne ladie Elizabeth, by the grace of God Queene of England, Fraunce and Ireland, defender of the fayth, &c., between Phillipp Henslowe and Edward Allen of the parishe of St. Saviours in Southwark, in the countie of Surry, gentlemen, on thone parte, and Peter Streete citizen and carpenter of London, on thother parte,—Witnesseth that, whreas the said Phillipp Henslowe and Edward Allen the day of the date hereof have bargained, compounded, and agreed with the said Peter Streete for the erectinge, buildinge, and setting up of a new house and stage for a play-howse, in and uppon a certeine plott or peece of grounde appoynted oute for that purpose, scituate and beinge near Goldinge Lane in the parish of Saint Giles without Cripple-gate of London ; to be by him the said Peter Streete, or some other sufficient workmen of his providing and appovntment, and att his propper costes and chardges, for the consideration hereafter in these presents expressed, made, builded. and sett upp, in manner and form following ; that is to saie, the frame of the saide howse to be sett square, and to containe fowerscore foote of lawfull assize everye waie square without, and fiftie five foote of like assize square everye waie within, with a good, suer, and stronge foundation of pyles, brick, lyme, and sand, both withoute and within, to be wrought one foote of assize at the leiste above the ground ; and the saide frame

to containe three stories in heighth, the first or lower storie to containe twelve foote of lawful assize in heighth, the second storie eleaven foote of lawful assize in heighth, and the third or upper storie to containe nine foote of lawful assize in height. All which stories shall containe twelve foote and a half of lawful assize in breadth throughoute, besides a juttey forwards in eyther of the saide two upper stories of tene ynches of lawful assize ; with fower convenient divisions for gentlemens roomes, and other sufficient and convenient divisions for twoo-pennie roomes ; with necessarie seates to be placed and sett as well in those roomes as throughoute all the rest of the galleries of the said howse ; and with suche like steares, conveyances, and divisions, without and within, as are made and contrived in and to the late-erected play-howse on the Bancke, in the said parish of Saint Saviours, called the Globe ; with a stadge and tyreinge-howse, to be made, erected and sett upp within the saide frame ; with a shadowe or cover over the saide stadge ; which stadge shall be placed and sett, as alsoe the stearcases of the said frame, in such sorte as is prefigured in a plott thereof drawn ; and which stadge shall containe in length fortie and three foote of lawfull assize, and in breadth to extende to the middle of the yarde of the said howse ; the same stadge to be paied in belowe with good stronge and sufficyent new oken boardes, and likewise the lower storie of the said frame withinsied, and the same lower storie to be alsoe laide over and fenced with stronge yron pyles ; and the saide stadge to be in all other proportions contrived and fashioned like unto the stadge of the saide playhouse called the Globe ; with convenient windowes and lights glazed to the saide tyreynge-howse. And the saide frame, stadge, and stearcases to be covered with tyle, and to have a sufficient gutter of leade, to carrie and convey the water from the coveringe of the said stadge, to fall backwards. And alsoe all the saide frame and the stearcases thereof to be sufficyently enclosed without with lathe, lyme, and haire. And the gentlemens roomes and two-pennie roomes to be seeled with lathe, lyme, and haire ; and all the flowers of the saide galleries, stories, and stadge to be boarded with good and sufficient newe deale boardes of the whole thicknes, where



neede shall be. And the saide howse, and other thinges before mentioned to be made and doen, to be in all other contrivitions, conveyances, fashions, thinge and thinges, effected, finished and doen, according to the manner and fashion of the saide howse called the Globe; saveinge only that all the princypall and maine postes of the saide frame, and stadge forward, shall be square and wrought palaster-wise, with carved proportions called satiers to be placed and sett on the topp of every of the same postes; and saveinge alsoe that the saide Peter Streete shall not be charged with anie manner of paynteinge in or aboute the saide frame, howse, or stadge, or anie parte thereof, nor rendering the walles within, nor seelinge anie more or other roomes then the gentlemens roomes, twoo-pennie roomes, and stadge, before mentioned. Nowe thereuppon the saide Peter Streete doth covenante, promise, and graunte for himself, his executors, and administrators, to and with the said Phillip Henslowe and Edwarde Allen, and either of them, and the executors and administrators of them, by these presents, in manner and forme followeing, that is to say; that he the saide Peter Streete, his executors or assigns, shall and will, at his or their owne proper costes and chardges, well, workmanlike, and substantially make, erect, sett upp, and fullie finnishe in and by all thinges, accordinge to the true meaninge of theis presents, with good stronge and substancyall new tymber and other necessarie stuff, all the said frame and other works whatsoever in and uppon the saide plott or parcell of ground, beinge not by anie authoritie restrayned, and having ingres, egres, and regres to doe the same, before the five and twentyth daye of Julie next comeing after the date hereof; and shall alsoe, att his or their like costes and chardges, provide and find all manner of workmen, tymber, joysts, rafters, boords, dores, bolts, hinges, brick, tyle, lathe, lyme, haire, sânde, nailes, lead, iron, glass, workmanship and other thinges whatsoever, which shall be needful, conveyent and necessarie for the saide frame and works and everie parte thereof; and shall alsoe make all the saide frame in every poynte for scantlings lardger and bigger in assize then the scantlings

of the timber of the saide newe-erected howse called the Globe. And alsoe that he the saide Peter Streete shall furthwith, as well by himselfe as by suche other and soe manie workmen as shall be convenient and necessarie, enter into and uppon the saide buildinges and workes, and shall in reasonable manner procede therein, withoute anie wilfull detraction, untill the same shall be fully effected and finished. In consideration of all which buildings, and of all stuff and workmanshipp thereto belonginge, the said Phillip Henslowe and Edward Allen, and either of them, for themselves. theire and either of their executors and administrators, doe joyntlie and severallie covenante and graunt to and with the saide Peter Streete, his executors and administrators, by theis presents, that the said Phillipp Henslowe and Edward Allen, or one of them or the executors, administrators, or assigns of them or one of them, shall and will well and truelie paie or cause to be paie unto the saide Peter Streete, his executors or assignes, att the place aforesaid appoynted for the erectinge of the said frame, the full some of fower hundred and fortie poundes of lawfull money of Englande, in manner and forme followinge; that is to saie, at suche tyme and whenas the tymber woork of the saide frame shall be raysed and sett upp by the saide Peter Streete, his executors or assignes, or within seaven daies then next followinge, twooe hundred and twentie poundes; and att suche time and whenas the said frame-work shall be fullie effected and finished as is aforesaid, or within seaven daies then next followinge, thother twooe hundred and twentie poundes, withoute fraude or coven. Provided allwaies, and it is agreed betwene the said parties, that whatsoever some or somes of money the said Phillip Henslowe or Edward Allen, or either of them, or the executors or assigns of them or either of them, shall lend or deliver unto the saide Peter Streete, his executors or assignes, or anie other by his appoyntment or consent, for or concerninge the saide woork or anie parte thereof, or anie stuff thereto belonginge, before the raiseing and setting upp of the saide frame, shall be reputed, accepted, taken and accompted in parte of the first payment aforesaid of the said some of fower

hundred and fortie poundes ; and all such some and somes of money as they, or anie of them, shall as aforesaid lend or deliver betwene the razeing of the said frame and finishing thereof, and of all the rest of the said works, shall be reputed, accepted, taken and accounted in parte of the laste payment aforesaid of the same some of fower hundred and fortie poundes ; anie thing above-said to the contrary notwithstanding. In witness whereof the parties above-said to theis present indentures interchangeably have sett their handes and scales. Yeoven the daie and yeare first above-written.

*IV. An Order of the Lords of the Privy Council "for the restrainte of the imoderate use and Companye of Playehouses and Players," June 22nd, 1600. From the original Register of the Privy Council. There is another transcript of this Order preserved in the archives of the City of London. In the latter copy the word "too" is in the place of "so" in the third line of the third paragraph. This is the only variation worthy of notice.*

Whereas divers complaintes have bin heretofore made unto the Lordes and others of her Majesties Privye Counsell of the manyfolde abuses and disorders that have growen and do con-  
tynue by occasion of many houses erected and employed in and about the cittie of London for common stage-playes, and now verie latelie by reason of some complainte exhibited by sundry persons againste the buyldinge of the like house in or near Golding-lane by one Edward Allen, a servant of the right honorable the Lord Admyrall, the matter as well in generaltie touchinge all the saide houses for stage-playes and the use of playinge, as in particular concerninge the saide house now in hand to be buylte in or neare Golding-lane, hath bin broughte into question and consultacion amonge their Lordships ; forasmuch as it is manifestly knowen and graunted that the multitude of the saide houses and the mys-government of them hath bin and is dayly occasion of the ydle, ryotous and dissolute living of great nombers of people, that, leavinge all such honest and painefull course of life as they should followe, doe meete and assemble there, and of many particular abuses and

disorders that doe thereupon ensue ; and yet, nevertheless, it is considered that the use and exercise of such playes, not beinge evill in ytself, may with a good order and moderacion be suffered in a well-governed state, and that her Majestie, beinge pleased at somtymes to take delight and recreation in the sight and hearinge of them, some order is fitt to be taken for the allowance and mayntenaunce of such persons as are thought meetest in that kinde to yealde her Majestie recreation and delighe, and consequently of the houses that must serve for publike playinge to keepe them in exercise. To the ende, therefore, that both the greate abuses of the playes and playinge-houses may be redressed, and yet the aforesaide use and moderation of them retayned, the Lordes and the reste of her Majesties Privie Counsell, with one and full consent, have ordered in manner and forme as followeth,—

Firste,—that there shal be aboute the Cittie two houses and no more allowed to serve for the use of the common stage-playes, of the which houses one shal be in Surrey in that place which is commonly called the Banckeside or therabouts, and the other in Middlesex. And forasmuch as their Lordships have bin enformed by Edmund Tylney, Esqr., her Majesties servante and Master of the Revells, that the house nowe in hand to be builte by the saide Edward Allen is not intended to encrease the number of the playhouses, but to be insteede of another, namely the Curtayne, which is ether to be ruyned and plucked downe or to be put to some other good use, as also that the scytuation thereof is meete and convenient for that purpose, it is likewise ordered that the saide house of Allen shal be allowed to be one of the two houses and namely for the house to be allowed in Middlesex for the company of players belonging to the Lord Admirall, so as the house called the Curtaine be, as it is pretended, either ruynated or applyed to some other good use. And for the other house allowed to be on Surrey side, whereas their Lordships are pleased to permitt to the company of players that shall play there to make their owne choice which they will have of divers houses that are there, choosing one of them and no more, and

the said company of plaiers, being the servantes of the Lord Chamberlain, that are to play there, have made choise of the house called the Globe, it is ordered that the saide house and none other shal be there allowed ; and especially it is forbidden that any stage-playes shal be played, as sometymes they have bin, in any common inne for publique assembly in or neare aboute the Cittie.

Secondly,—forasmuch as these stage-plaies, by the multitude of houses and company of players, have bin so frequent, not servinge for recreation but invitinge and callinge the people dayly from their trade and worke to myspend their tyme, it is likewise ordered that the two severall companies of players assigned unto the two houses allowed may play each of them in their severall house twice a weeke and no oftener, and especially they shall refrayne to play on the Sabbath-day upon paine of imprysonment and further penaltie ; and that they shall forbear altogether in the tyme of Lent, and likewise at such tyme and tymes as any extraordinary sicknes or infection of disease shall appeare to be in or about the cittie.

Thirdly,—because these orders wil be of little force and effecte unlesse they be duely putt in execution by those unto whome it appertayneth to see them executed, it is ordered that severall copies of these orders shal be sent to the Lord Maior of London and to the Justices of the Peacc of the counties of Middlesex and Surrey, and that lettres shal be written unto them from their Lordships straightly charginge them to see to the execution of the same, as well by commyttinge to prison any owners of play-houses and players as shall disobey and resist these orders as by any other good and lawfull meanes that in their discretion they shall finde expedient, and to certifie their Lordships from tyme to tyme as they shall see cause of their proceedings heerein.

*V. The Letter from the Lords of the Privy Council to the Justices of the Peace for the County of Surrey, June 22nd, 1600, referred to in the preceding Order. From the original Register of the Privy Council.*

By occasion of some complaintes that of late have bin made

unto us of the multitude of houses servinge for common stage-playes in and aboute the Citty of London, and of the greate abuses and disorders growen by the overmuch haunte and resorte of many licentious people unto those houses and places, we have entred into consideration of some fitt course to be taken for redresse of the saide disorders by suppressing dyvers of those houses, and by some restraunte of the imoderate use of the plaies, for which cause wee have sett downe certaine orders to be duely henceforth observed and kept, a copy whereof we sende yow here inclosed, and have sent the like to the Lord Maior of London and to the Justices of the Peace of Middlesex; but as wee have done our partes in prescribinge the orders, so, unlesse yow perfourme yours in lookinge to the due execution of them, we shall loose our labor, and the wante of redresse must be imputed unto yow and others unto whome it apperteyneth; and, therefore wee doe hereby authorize and require you to see the saide orders to be putt in execucion and to be continued, as yow do wish the amendement of the aforesaide abuses and will remove the blame thereof from yourselves.

*VI. A Letter from the Lords of the Council to the Lord Mayor of London in reply to a complaint made by the latter of the number of playhouses, 31 December, 1601. From the Privy Council Register.*

Wee have received a lettre from yow renewing a complaint of the great abuse and disorder with:n and about the cittie of London by reason of the multitude of play-howses, and the inordinate resort and concourse of dissolute and idle people daielie unto publique stage plaies; for the which information, as wee do commende your Lordship because it betokeneth your care and desire to reforme the disorders of the Cittie, so wee must lett yow know that wee did muche rather expect to understand that our order sett downe and prescribed about a yeare and a half since for reformation of the said disorders upon the like complaint at that tyme had bin duellie executed, then to finde the same disorders and abuses so muche encreased as they are. The blame whereof, as wee cannot but impute in great part to the Justices of the Peace or some of them

in the counties of Middlesex and Surrey, who had special direction and charge from us to see our said Order executed for the confines of the Cittie, wherein the most part of those play-houses are scituate, so wee do wishe that it might appeare unto us that any thing hath bin endeavoured by the predecessors of yow the Lord Maior, and by yow, the Aldermen, for the redresse of the said enormities and for observation and execution of our said Order within the Cittie. Wee do therefore once againe renew hereby our direction unto yow, as wee have donne by our lettres to the justices of Middlesex and Surrey, concerninge the observation of our former Order, which wee do praie and require yow to cause duellie and dilligentlie to be put in execution for all poyntes thereof, and especially for the expresse and streight prohibition of any more playhouses then those two that are mentioned and allowed in the said Order, charging and streightlie commanding all suche persons as are the owners of any the howses used for stage-plaies within the Cittie not to permitt any more publique plaies to be used, exercised or shewed, from hencefoorth in their said howses, and to take bondes of them, if yow shall finde it needeful, for the perfourmaunce thereof; or if they shall refuse to enter into bonde or to observe our said Order, then to committ them to prison untill they shall conforme themselves thereunto. And so praying yow, as yourself do make the complaint and finde the enormitie, so to applie your best endeavour to the remedie of the abuse, wee bidd, &c.

*VII. A letter from the Lords of the Council to the Magistrates of Surrey and Middlesex, severely censuring them for not having enforced the Order of June, 1600, and desiring them to amend their negligence without delay. From the Privy Council Register, 31 December, 1601.*

Two lettres of one tenour to the Justices of Middlesex and Surrey. It is in vaine for us to take knowledg of great abuses and disorders complayned of and to give order for redresse, if our directions finde no better execution and observation then it seemeth they do, and wee must needes impute the fault and blame thereof to yow or some of yow, the Jus-

tices of the Peace, that are put in trust to see them executed and performed; whereof wee may give yow a plaine instance in the great abuse contynued or rather encreased in the multitude of plaie-houses and stage-plaies in and about the cittie of London. For whereas about a yeare and a half since, upon knowledge taken of the great enormities and disorders by the over-much frequentinge of plaies wee did carefullie sett downe and prescribe an order to be observed concerninge the number of play-houses and the use and exercise of stage-plaies, with lymytacion of tymes and places for the same, namely, that there should be but two howses allowed for that use, one in Middlesex called the Fortune and the other in Surrey called the Globe, and the same with observacion of certaine daies and times, as in the said order is particularly expressed, in such sorte as a moderate practice of them for honest recreation might be contynued and yet the inordinate concourse of dissolute and idle people be restrayned; wee do now understande that our said order hath bin so farr from taking dew effect, as, insteede of restraunte and redresse of the former disorders, the multitude of play-houses is much encreased, and that no daie passeth over without many stage-plaies in one place or other within and about the Cittie publiquellie made; the default of perfourmance of which our said order we must in greate parte the rather impute to the Justices of the Peace, because at the same tyme wee gave earnest direction unto yow to see it streightly executed and to certifie us of the execution, and yet we have neither understoode of any redresse made by yow, nor received any certificate at all of your proceedings therein, which default or omission wee do now pray and require you forthwith to amende, and to cause our said former order to be putt duely in execution; and especially to call before you the owners of all the other play-houses, excepting the two howses in Middlesex and Surrey aforementioned, and to take good and sufficient bondes of them not to exercise, use or practise, nor to suffer from henceforth to be exercised, used or practized, any stage-playinge in their howses, and, if they shall refuse to enter into such bondes, then to comitt them to prison untill they shall conforme themselves. And so, &c.



*VIII. A Letter from the Lords of the Council to the Lord Mayor of London and the Magistrates of Surrey and Middlesex, desiring them to sanction performances at the Globe, Fortune and Curtain Theatres, April, 1604. From a contemporary transcript preserved at Dulwich College.*

After our hartie . . . . . Wheras the Kings Majesties Plaiers have given . . . . . highnes good service in ther quallitie of playnge, and for as much lickwise as they are at all times to be employed in that service, whensoever they shal be commaunded, we thinke it therfore fitt, the time of Lent being now past, that your Lordship doe permitt and suffer the three Companies of Plaiers to the King, Queene and Prince, publicklic● to exercise ther plaies in ther severall and usuall howses for that purpose and noe other ; viz., the Globe scituate in Maiden Lane on the Banckside in the Countie of Surrey, the Fortune in Goldinge Lane, and the Curtaine in Hollywelle in the Cowntie of Midlesex, without any lett or interruption in respect of any former Lettres of Prohibition heertofore written by us to your Lordship, except ther shall happen weeklie to die of the plague above the number of thirtie within the Cittie of London and the Liberties therof, att which time wee thinke itt fitt they shall cease and forbear any further publicklic to playe untill the sicknes be againe decreaced to the saide number; and so we bid your Lordship hartilie farewell. From the Court at Whitehalle, the ix.th of Aprill, 1604.

Your very loving Friends,

To our verie good L. the Lord	Nottingham.
Maior of the Cittie of Lon-	Suffolk.
don, and to the Justices of	Gill, Shrowsberie.
the Peace of the Counties of	Ed. Worster.
Middlesex and Surrey.	W. Knowles.
	J. Stanhopp.

*IX. "A Sonnett upon the pittifull burneing of the Globe playhowse in London." First printed by Haslewood, under his customary pseudonym, in the Gentleman's Magazine, 1816, and there said to have been "copied from an old manuscript volume of poems." Doubts having been suggested respecting the genuine-*

*ness of this poem, it is important to state that the present edition of it is taken from an early seventeenth-century manuscript, of unquestionable authenticity, preserved in the library of Sir Mathew Wilson, Bart., of Eshton Hall, co. York.*

Now sitt the downe, Melpomene,  
Wrapt in a sea-cole robe,  
And tell the dolefull tragedie,  
That late was playd at Globe :  
For noe man that can singe and saye  
Was scard on St. Peters daye.  
Oh sorrow, pittifull sorrow, and yett all this is true.

All yow that please to understand,  
Come listen to my storye,  
To see Death with his rakeing brand  
Mongst such an auditorye :  
Regarding neither Cardinalls might,  
Nor yett the rugged face of Henry the eight.  
Oh sorrow, &c.

This fearfull fire beganne above,  
A wonder strange and true,  
And to the stage-horse did remove,  
As round as taylors clewe :  
And burnt downe both beame and snagg,  
And did not spare the silken flagg.  
Oh sorrow, &c.

Out runne the knightes, out runne the lordes,  
And there was great adoe ;  
Some lost their hattes, and some their swordes ;  
Then out runne Burbidge too :  
The reprobates, thoughe drunke on munday,  
Prayd for the Foole and Henry Condye.  
Oh sorrow, &c.

The perrywigges and drumme heades frye,  
Like to a butter firkin ;

A wofull burneing did betide  
 To many a good buffe jerkin.  
 Then with swolne eyes, like drunken Flemmings,  
 Distressed stood old stuttering Heminges.  
 Oh sorrow, &c.

Noe shower his raine did there downe force  
 In all that sunn-shine weather,  
 To save that great renowned howse ;  
 Nor thou, O ale-howse, neither.  
 Had itt begunne belowe, sans doubte,  
 Their wives for feare . . . . .  
 Oh sorrow, &c.

Bee warned, yow stage strutters all,  
 Least yow againe be caught,  
 And such a burneing doe befall,  
 As to them whose howse was thatched :  
 Forbeare your whoreing, breeding biles,  
 And laye up that expence for tiles.  
 Oh sorrow, &c.

Goe drawe yow a petition,  
 And doe yow not abhorre itt,  
 And gett, with low submission,  
 A licence to begg for itt  
 In churches, sans churchwardens checkes,  
 In Surrey and in Middlesex.  
 Oh sorrow, pittifull sorrow, and yett all this is true.

*X. An Order by the Corporation of the City of London, dated January 21st, 1618-9, for the suppression of the Blackfriars Theatre. From the original entry recording the proceedings of that day in a manuscript preserved in the City archives. There is an early manuscript of this Order amongst the State Papers, Dom. Car. I., ccv. 32, which reads in the eleventh line,—“ and that thereuppon their honnors.”*

Item, this day was exhibited to this Court a petition by the constables and other officers and inhabitantes within the pre-

cinct of Blackfryers, London, therein declaring that in November, 1596, divers honorable persons and others, then inhabiting in the said precinct, made knowne to the Lordes and others of the Privy Councell what inconveniences were likely to fall upon them by a common playhowse then preparing to be erected there, and that their honors then forbad the use of the said howse for playes, and in June, 1600, made certaine orders by which, for many weightie reasons therein expressed, it is limited there should be only two playhowses tolerated, whereof the one to be on the Banckside, and the other in or neare Golding Lane, exempting thereby the Blackfryers ; and that a lettre was then directed from their Lordships to the Lord Maior and Justices, strictly requiringe of them to see those orders putt in execucion and so to be continued. And now, forasmuch as the said inhabitantes of the Blackfryers have in their said petition complained to this court that, contrarie to the said Lordes orders, the owner of the said playehowse within the Blackfryers under the name of a private howse hath converted the same to a publique playhowse, unto which there is daily so great resort of people, and soe great multitudes of coaches, whereof many are hackney coaches bringing people of all sortes that sometimes all their streetes cannot conteyne them, that they endanger one the other, breake downe stalles, throw downe mens goodes from their shoppes, hinder the passage of the inhabitantes there to and from their howses, lett the bringing in of their necessary provisions, that the tradesmen and shopkeepers cannot utter their wares, nor the passengers goe to the common water staires without danger of their lives and lyms, whereby manye times quarrells and effusion of blood hath followed, and the minister and people disturbed at the administracion of the Sacrament of Baptisme and publique prayers in the afternoones ; whereupon, and after reading the said order and lettre of the Lordes shewed forth in this Court by the foresaid inhabitauntes, and consideracion thereof taken, this Court doth thinke fitt and soe order that, the said playhowse be suppressed, and that the players shall from henceforth forbear and desist from playing in that howse in respect of the manifold abuses and disorders complained of as aforesaid.

*XI. A Collection of Papers relating to Shares and Sharers in the Globe and Blackfriars' Theatres, 1635. From contemporary transcripts discovered by me, in the year 1870, amongst the official manuscripts of the Lord Chamberlain of the Household, then preserved at St. James's Palace. These documents have since been transferred to our national Record Office.*

(a) To the Right Honorable Philip Earle of Pembroke and Montgomery, Lord Chamberlaine of His Majesties houshold, Robert Benefield, Heliard Swanston and Thomas Pollard humbly represent these their grievances, ymploring his Lordships noble favor towards them for their reliefe. That the petitioners have a long time with much patience expected to bee admitted sharers in the playhouses of the Globe and the Blackfriars, wherby they might reape some better fruit of their labours then hitherto they have done, and bee encouraged to proceed therin with cheerfulness. That those few interested in the houses have, without any defalcacion or abatement at all, a full moyety of the whole gaines ariseing therby, excepting the outer dores, and such of the sayd houskeepers as bee actors doe likewise equally share with all the rest of the actors both in th'other moiety and in the sayd outer dores also.—That out of the actors moiety there is notwithstanding defrayed all wages to hired men, apparell, poetes, lightes and other charges of the houses whatsoever, soe that, betweene the gaines of the actors, and of those few interested as houskeepers, there is an unreasonable inequality.—That the house of the Globe was formerly divided into sixteen partes, wherof Mr. Cutbert Burbidge and his sisters had eight, Mrs. Condall four and Mr. Hemings four.—That Mr. Tailor and Mr. Lowen were long since admitted to purchase four partes betwixt them from the rest, vizt, one part from Mr. Hemings, two partes from Mrs. Condall, and halfe a part a peece from Mr. Burbidge and his sister.—That the three partes remaining to Mr. Hemings were afterwarde by Mr. Shankes surreptitiously purchased from him, contrary to the petitioners expectation, who hoped that, when any partes had beene to bee sold, they should have beene

admitted to have bought and divided the same amongst themselves for their better livelyhood.—That the petitioners desire not to purchase or diminish any part of Mr. Taylors or Mr. Lowens shares, whose deserveings they must acknowledge to bee well worthy of their gaines, but in regard the petitioners labours, according to their severall wayes and abilityes, are equall to some of the rest, and for that others of the sayd houskeepers are neither actors, nor his Majesties servantes, and yet the petitioners profit and meanes of livelyhood soe much inferior and unequall to theires, as appeares before, they therfore desire that they may bee admitted to purchase for their moneys, at such rates as have beene formerly given, single partes a peece onely from those that have the greatest shares and may best spare them, vizt., that Mr. Burbadge and his sister, haveing three partes and a halfe a peece, may sell them two partes, and reserve two and a halfe a peece to themselves. And that Mr. Shankes, haveing three, may sell them one and reserve two, wherin they hope your Lordship will conceave their desires to bee just and modest; the rather for that the petitioners, not doubting of beeing admitted sharers in the sayd house the Globe, suffered lately the sayd houskeepers, in the name of his Majesties servantes, to sue and obtaine a decree in the Court of Requestes against Sir Mathew Brand for confirmation unto them of a lease paroll for about nine or ten yeeres yet to come, which they could otherwise have prevented untill themselves had beene made parties.—That for the house in the Blackfriars, it beeing divided into eight partes amongst the aforementioned housekeepers, and Mr. Shankes haveing two partes therof, Mr. Lowen, Mr. Taylor and each of the rest haveing but one part a peece, which two partes were by the sayd Mr. Shankes purchased of Mr. Heming, together with those three of the Globe as before, the petitioners desire and hope that your Lordship will conceave it likewise reasonable that the sayd Mr. Shankes may assigne over one of the sayd partes amongst them three, they giving him such satisfaccion for the same as that hee bee noe looser thereby.—Lastly, that your Lordship would to that purpose bee nobly pleased, as their

only gracious refuge and protector, to call all the sayd housekeepers before you, and to use your Lordships power with them to conformance themselves therunto ; the rather considering that some of the sayd housekeepers, who have the greatest shares, are neither actors nor his Majesties servantes as aforesayd, and yet reape most or the chiefest benefitt of the sweat of their browes, and live upon the bread of their labours, without takeing any paynes themselves. For which your petitioners shall have just cause to blesse your Lordship, as however they are dayly bound to doe with the devotions of most humble and obliged beadmenn.

<i>Shares in the Globe.</i>	Burbadge .....	{ 3½ }	of a lease of 9 yeeres from our Lady Day last, 1635,
	Robinson .....	{ 3½ }	
	Condall .....	{ 2 }	not yet confirmed by Sir Mathew Brand to bee taken to feoffees.
	Shankes .....	{ 3 }	
	Taylor .....	{ 2 }	
	Lowen .....	{ 2 }	

*Blackfryers.* Shankes, 2. Burbadge, 1. Robinson, 1. Taylor, 1. Lowen, 1. Condall, 1. Underwood, 1.

(b) *Court at Theoballes, 12 July, 1635.*—Haveing considered this petition and the severall answeres and replies of the parties, the merites of the petitioners, the disproportion of their shares, and the interest of his Majesties service, I have thought fitt and doe accordingly order that the petitioners, Robert Benefield, Eyllærdt Swanston and Thomas Pollard bee each of them admitted to the purchase of the shares desired of the severall persons mentioned in the petition for the fower yeeres remayning of the lease of the house in Blackfriers, and for five yeeres in that of the Globe, at the usuall and accustomed rates, and according to the proportion of the time and benefitt they are to enjoy. And heerof I desire the houskeepers, and all others whome it may concerne, to take notice and to conformance themselves therein accordingly. The which if they or any of them refuse or delay to performe, if they are actors and his Majesties servantes, I doe suspend them from the stage and all the benefitt therof ; and if they are onely interested in the houses,

I desire my Lord Privy Seale to take order that they may bee left out of the lease which is to bee made upon the decree in the Court of Requestes. - P. AND M.

(c) *Robert Benefeld, Eyllardt Swanston, and Thomas Pol-lard doe further humbly represent unto your Lordship.*—That the houskeepers beeing but six in number, vizt., Mr. Cutbert Burbage, Mrs. Condall, Mr. Shankes, Mr. Taylor, Mr. Lowen and Mr. Robinson (in the right of his wife), have amongst them the full moyety of all the galleriies and boxes in both houses, and of the tireing-house dore at the Globe.—That the actors have the other moyety, with the outer dores ; but in regard the actors are halfe as many more, vizt., nine in number, their shares fall shorter and are a great deale lesse then the houskeepers ; and yet, notwithstanding out of those lesser shares the sayd actors defray all charges of the house whatsoever, vizt., wages to hired men and boyes, musicke, lightes, &c., amounting to 900 or 1000 *li.* per annum or therabouts, beeing 3 *li.* a day one day with another ; besides the extraordinary charge which the sayd actors are wholly at for apparell and poetes, &c. Whereas the sayd houskeepers out of all their gaines have not till our Lady Day last payd above 65 *li.* per annum rent for both houses, towardes which they rayse betweene 20 and 30 *li.* per annum from the tap howses and a tenement and a garden belonging to the premisses, &c., and are at noe other charges whatsoever, excepting the ordinary reparations of the houses. — Soe that upon a medium made of the gaynes of the howskeepers and those of the actors one day with another throughout the yeere, the petitioners will make it apparent that when some of the houskepers share 12 *s.* a day at the Globe, the actors share not above 3 *s.* And then what those gaine that are both actors and houskeepers, and have their shares in both. your Lordship will easily judge, and therby finde the modesty of the petitioners suite, who desire onely to buy for their money one part a peece from such three of the sayd houskepers as are fittest to spare them, both in respect of desert and otherwise, vizt., Mr. Shānkes, one part of his three ; Mr. Robinson and his wife, one part of their three and a halfe ; and Mr. Cutbert



Burbidge the like.—And for the house of the Blackfriars, that Mr. Shankes, who now injoyes two partes there, may sell them likewise one, to bee divided amongst them three.—Humbly beseeching your Lordship to consider their long sufferings, and not to permitt the sayd howskeepers any longer to delay them, but to put an end to and settle the sayd busines, that your petitioners may not bee any further troublesome or importunate to your Lordship, but may proceed to doe their duty with cheerfulness and alacrity.—Or otherwise in case of their refusall to conforme themselves, that your Lordship would bee pleased to consider whether it bee not reasonable and equitable that the actors in generall may enjoy the benefitt of both houses to themselves, paying the sayd howskeepers such a valuable rent for the same as your Lordship shall thinke just and indifferent.—And your petitioners shall continue their dayly prayers for your Lordships prosperity and happines.

(d) *The answer of John Shankes to the petition of Robert Benefield, Eyllardt Swanston and Thomas Pollard, lately exhibited to the Right Honorable Philip, Earle of Pembroke and Montgomery, Lord Chamberlain of his Majesties houshold,—Humbly sheweth,*—That about allmost two yeeres since, your suppliant, upon offer to him made by William Hemings, did buy of him one part hee had in the Blackfriars for about six yeeres then to come at the yeerly rent of 6 *li.* 5 *s.*, and another part hee then had in the Globe for about two yeeres to come, and payd him for the same two partes in ready moneys 156 *li.*, which sayd partes were offered to your suppliant, and were as free then for any other to bu, as for your suppliant.—That about eleven months since, the sayd William Hemings, offering to sell unto your suppliant the remaining partes hee then had, viz., one in the Blackfriars, wherin hee had then about five yeeres to come, and two in the Globe, wherin hee had then but one yeere to come, your suppliant likewise bought the same, and payd for them in ready moneys more 350 *li.*, all which moneys soe disbursed by your suppliant amount to 506 *li.*, the greatest part wherof your suppliant was constrained to take up at interest, and your suppliant hath besides disbursed to the

sayd William Hemings diverse other small summes of money since hee was in prison.—That your suppliant did neither fraudulently nor surreptitiously defeat any of the petitioners in their hope of buying the sayd partes, neither would the sayd William Hemings have sold the same to any of the petitioners, for that they would not have given him any such price for the same, but would, as now they endeavour to doe, have had the same against his will, and at what rates they pleased.—That your suppliant, beeing an old man in this quality, who in his youth first served your noble father, and after that, the late Queene Elizabeth, then King James, and now his royall Majestye, and haveing in this long time made noe provision for himselfe in his age, nor for his wife, children and grandchild, for his and their better livelyhood, haveing this oportunity, did at deere rates purchase these partes, and hath for a very small time as yet receaved the profites therof, and hath but a short time in them, and is without any hope to renew the same when the termes bee out ; hee therfore hopeth hee shall not bee hindred in the injoying the profitt therof, especially whenas the same are thinges very casuall and subject to bee discontinued, and lost by sicknes and diverse other wayes, and to yield noe proffitt at all.—That wheras the petitioners in their complaint say that they have not meanes to subsist, it shall by oath, if need bee, bee made apparent that every one of the three petitioners, for his owne particular hath gotten and receaved this yeere last past of the summe of 180 *li.*, which, as your suppliant conceaveth, is a very sufficient meanes to satisfie and answere their long and patient expectation, and is more by above the one halfe then any of them ever gott, ore were capable of elsewhere, besides what Mr. Swanston, one of them who is most violent in this busines, who hath further had and receaved this last yeere above 34 *li.* for the profit of a third part of one part in the Blackfriars which hee bought for 20 *li.*, and yet hath injoyed the same two or three yeeres allready, and hath still as long time in the same as your suppliant hath in his, who for soe much as Mr. Swanston bought for 20 *li.* your suppliant payd 60 *li.*—That when your suppliant

purchased his partes, hee had noe certainty therof more then for one yeere in the Globe, and there was a chargeable suit then depending in the Court of Requestes betweene Sir Mathew Brend, Knight, and the lessees of the Globe and their assignes, for the adding of nine yeeres to their lease in consideration that they and their predecessors had formerly beene at the charge of 1400 *li.* in building of the sayd house upon the burning downe of the former, wherin, if they should miscarry, for as yet they have not the assurance perfected by Sir Mathew Brend, your suppliant shall lay out his money to such a losse, as the petitioners will never bee partners with him therin.—That your suppliant and other the lessees in the Globe and in the Blackfriars are chargeable with the payment of 100 *li.* yeerly rent, besides reparacions, which is dayly very chargeable unto them, all which they must pay and beare, whether they make any proffitt or nott, and soe reckoning their charge in building and fitting the sayd houses, yeerly rent and reparacions, noe wise man will adventure his estate in such a course, considering their dealing with whome they have to doe, and the many casualtyes and dayly troubles therewith. That in all the affayres and dealinges in this world betweene man and man, it was and is ever held an inviolable principle that in what thing soever any man hath a lawfull interest and property hee is not to bee compelled to depart with the same against his will, which the complainantes endeavour.—And wheras John Heminges, the father of William Hemings, of whome your suppliant made purchase of the sayd partes, injoyed the same thirty yeeres without any molestacion, beeing the most of the sayd yeeres both player and houskeeper, and after hee gave over playing diverse yeeres ; and his sonne, William Hemings, fower yeers after, though hee never had anything to doe with the sayd stage, injoyed the same without any trouble ; notwithstanding, the complainantes would violently take from your petitioners the sayd partes, who hath still of his owne purse supplied the company for the service of his Majesty with boyes, as Thomas Pollard, John Thompson deceased (for whome hee payed 40 *li.*), your suppliant haveing payd his part of

200 *l.* for other boyes since his comming to the company, John Honiman, Thomas Holcome and diverse others, and at this time maintaines three more for the sayd service. Neither lyeth it in the power of your suppliant to satisfie the unreasonable demandes of the complainantes, hee beeing forced to make over the sayd partes, for security of moneys taken up as aforesayd of Robert Morecroft, of Lincolne, his wifes uncle, for the purchase of the sayd partes, untill hee hath made payment of the sayd moneys, which hee is not able to doe unlesse hee bee suffered to enjoy the sayd partes during the small time of his lease, and is like to bee undone if they are taken from him.—All which beeing considered, your suppliant hopeth that your Lordship will not inforce your suppliant against his will to depart with what is his owne, and what hee hath deerly payd for, unto them that can claime noe lawfull interest therunto. And your suppliant, under your Lordships favour, doth conceive that if the petitioners, by those their violent courses, may obtaine their desires, your Lordship will never bee at quiet for their dayly complaintes, and it will bee such a president to all young men that shall follow heerafter, that they shall allwayes refuse to doe his Majesty service unlesse they may have whatsoever they will, though it bee other mens estates. And soe that which they pretend shall tend to the better gouernment of the company, and inabling them to doe his Majesty service the same will bee rather to the destruccion of the company, and disabling of them to doe service to his Majestye; and besides, the benefitt and profit which the petitioners doe yeerly make without any charge at all is soe good, that they may account themselves to bee well recompenced for their labour and paines, and yet when any partes are to bee sould, they may buy the same if they can gett the bargaine therof, paying for the same as others doe.—The humble suite of your suppliant is that your honour will be pleased that hee may enjoy that which hee hath deerly bought and truly payd for, and your suppliant, as in duty hee is bound, shall ever pray for your Lordship.

(c) *To the Right Honorable Philip Earle of Pembroke and Montgomery, Lord Chamberlaine of his Majesties houshold.—Right Honorable and our singular good Lord,*—Wee your humble suppliantes, Cutbert Burbage and Winifrid his brothers wife, and William his sonne, doe tender to your honorable consideration for what respectes and good reasons wee ought not in all charity to bee disabled of our livelyhoodes by men soe soone shott up, since it hath beene the custome that they should come to it by farre more antiquity and desert then these can justly attribute to themselves.—And first, humbly shewing to your honor the infinite charges, the manifold law suites, the leases expiration, by the restraints in sicknes times, and other accidentes, that did cutt from them the best part of the gaines that your honor is informed they have received.—The father of us, Cutbert and Richard Burbage, was the first builder of playhowses, and was himselfe in his younger yeeres a player. The Theater hee built with many hundred poundes taken up at interest.—The players that lived in those first times had onely the profitts arising from the dores, but now the players receive all the commings in at the dores to themselves and halfe the galleries from the houskepers. Hee built this house upon leased ground, by which meanes the landlord and hee had a great suite in law, and, by his death, the like troubles fell on us, his sonnes ; wee then bethought us of altering from thence, and at like expence built the Globe, with more summes of money taken up at interest, which lay heavy on us many yeeres ; and to ourselves wee joyned those deserveing men, Shakspeare, Hemings, Condall, Philips and others, partners in the profittes of that they call the House, but makeing the leases for twenty-one yeeres hath beene the destruction of ourselves and others, for they dyeing at the expiration of three or four yeeres of their lease, the subsequent yeeres became dissolved to strangers as by marrying with their widdowes and the like by their children.—Thus, Right Honorable, as concerning the Globe, where wee ourselves are but lessees. Now for the Blackfriars, that is our inheritance ; our father purchased it at extreame rates, and made it

into a playhouse with great charge and troble ; which after was leased out to one Evans that first sett up the boyes commonly called the Queenes Majesties Children of the Chappell. In processe of time, the boyes growing up to bee men, which were Underwood, Field, Ostler, and were taken to strengthen the Kings service ; and the more to strengthen the service, the boyes dayly wearing out, it was considered that house would bee as fitt for ourselves, and soe purchased the lease remaining from Evans with our money, and placed men players, which were Hemings, Condall, Shakspeare, &c. And Richard Burbage, who for thirty-five yeeres paines, cost, and labour, made meanes to leave his wife and children some estate, and out of whose estate soe many of other players and their families have beene mayntained, these new men, that were never bred from children in the Kings service, would take away with oathes and menaces that wee shall bee forced and that they will not thanke us for it ; soe that it seemes they would not pay us for what they would have or wee can spare, which, more to satisfie your honor then their threatning pride, wee are for ourselves willing to part with a part betweene us, they paying according as ever hath beene the custome and the number of yeeres the lease is made for. —Then, to shew your Honor against these sayinges, that wee eat the fruit of their labours, wee referre it to your Honors judgement to consider their profittes, which wee may safely maintaine, for it appeareth by their owne accomptes for one whole yeere last past, beginning from Whitson Munday, 1634, to Whitson Munday, 1635, each of these complainantes gained severally, as hee was a player and noe howskeeper, 180 *li*. Besides Mr. Swanston hath receaved from the Blackfriars this yeere, as hee is there a houskeeper, above 30 *li*., all which beeing accompted together may very well keepe him from starveing.— Wherefore your honors most humble suppliantes intreates<sup>®</sup> they may not further bee trampled upon then their estates can beare, seeing how deerly it hath beene purchased by the infinite cost and paynes of the family of the Burbages, and the great desert of Richard Burbage for his quality of playing, that his

wife should not sterve in hir old age ; submitting ourselves to part with one part to them for valuable consideration and let them seeke further satisfaccion elsewhere, that is, of the heires or assignes of Mr. Hemings and Mr. Condall, who had theirs of the Blackfriars of us for nothing ; it is onely wee that suffer continually.—Therefore, humbly relyeing upon your Honorable charity in discussing their clamor against us, wee shall, as wee are in duty bound, still pray for the dayly increase of your honors health and happines.

(f) *John Shankes.*—*A petition of John Shankes to my Lord Chamberlaine*, shewing that, according to his Lordships order, hee did make a proposition to his fellowes for satisfaccion, upon his assigneing of his partes in the severall houses unto them ; but they not onely refused to give satisfaccion, but restrained him from the stage ; that, therfore, his Lordship would order them to give satisfaccion according to his propositions and computation.

Md. all concerning this and here entred were delivered annexed.	}	Answered, vizt. I desire Sir H. Herbert and Sir John Finett, and my solliciter Daniell Bedingfield,
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to take this petition and the severall papers heerunto annexed into their serious considerations, and to speake with the severall parties interested, and therupon and upon the whole matter to sett downe a proportionable and equitable summe of money to bee payd unto Shankes for the two partes which hee is to passe unto Benfield, Swanston and Pollard, and to cause a finall agreement and convayances to be settled accordingly, and to give mee an account of their whole proceedinges in writing.

Aug. 1, 1635.

## · THE DAVENANT SCANDAL.

In illustration of what has been advanced in the text respecting the mythical character of this disreputable anecdote, it is desirable to give in chronological order the versions of it which have obtained currency during the last two centuries. Added to these are a few pieces which will be found useful in the general argument. The following extracts are taken from—

1.—*Wit and mirth chargeably collected out of Tavernes, &c., 1629; here given from the reprint in All the Workes of John Taylor, the Water-Poet, 1630.*—A boy whose mother was noted to be one not overloden with honesty, went to seeke his godfather, and enquiring for him, quoth one to him, Who is thy Godfather? The boy repli'd, his name is goodman Digland the gardiner. Oh, said the man, if he be thy godfather he is at the next alehouse, but I feare thou takest Gods name in vaine.

2. *Aubrey's Lives of Eminent Persons, a manuscript in the Bodleian Library completed in the year 1680. Towards the close of the last century, an attempt was made by some one to erase the passages which are here given in Italics, but they can still be distinctly read when placed under a magnifying-glass.*—

Sir William Davenant, knight, Poet-Laureat, was borne about the end of February in ..... street in the city of Oxford, at the Crowne Taverne; baptized 3. of March, A. D. 1605-6. His father was John Davenant, a vintner there, a very grave and discreet citizen; his mother was a very beautifull woman, and of a very good witt, and of conversation extremely agreeable. They had three sons, viz. Robert, William, and Nicholas. Robert was a fellow of St. John's Coll. in Oxon, then preferd to the vicarage of Westkington by Bp. Davenant, whose chaplain



he was; Nicholas was an attorney. And two handsome daughters, one m. to Gabriel Bradly, B. D. of C. C. C., benefited in the vale of White Horse; another to Dr. Sherburne, minister of Pembridge in Heref. and a canon of that church. Mr. William Shakespeare was wont to goe into Warwickshire once a yeare, and did commonly in his journey lye at this house in Oxon, where he was exceedingly respected. *I have heard Parson Robert say that Mr. W. Shakspeare has given him a hundred kisses.* Now Sir Wm. would sometimes, when he was pleasant over a glasse of wine with his most intimate friends, e. g. Sam Butler, etc., say that it seemed to him that he writt with the very spirit that Shakespeare®, and was contented enough to be thought his son; he would tell them the story as above. *Now, by the way, his mother had a very light report. In those days she was called a trader.* He went to schoole at Oxon. to Mr. Charles Silvester, wheare F. Degorii W. was his schoole fellow; but I feare he was drawne from schoole before he was ripe enoughe. He was preferred to the first Dutchess of Richmond, to wayte on her as a page. I remember he told me she sent him to a famous apothecary for some unicornes horne, which he was resolved to try with a spyder, which he empaled in it, but without the expected success; the spider would goe over, and through and thorough, unconcerned.

3. *Gildon's edition of Langbaine's work on the Dramatic Poets, 1699.*—Sir William D'avenant, the son of John D'avenant, vintner of Oxford, in that very house that has now the sign of the Crown near Carfax; a house much frequented by Shakespear in his frequent journeys to Warwick-shire; whither for the beautiful mistress of the house, or the good wine, I shall not determine.

4. *Hearne's manuscript pocket-book in the Bodleian Library, 1709.*—July 30. 'Twas reported by tradition in Oxford that Shakespear, as he used to pass from London to Stratford-upon-Avon, where he lived and now lies buried, always spent some time in the Crown tavern in Oxford, which was kept by one Davenant, who had a handsome wife, and loved witty company,

though himself a reserved and melancholly man. He had born to him a son, who was afterwards christened by the name of William, who proved a very eminent poet, and was knighted by the name of Sir William Davenant, and the said Mr. Shakespear was his god-father, and gave him his name. In all probability he got him. 'Tis further said that one day going from school, a grave doctor in divinity met him, and asked him, — Child, whether art thou going in such hast? To which the child replied,—O, Sir, my god-father is come to town, and I am going to ask his blessing. To which the Dr. said,—Hold, child ! You must not take the name of God in vaine.

5. *Jacob's Poetical Register, 1719, i. 58, reprinted in 1723.*—Sir William D'Avenant was son to Mr. John D'Avenant, a vintner of Oxford. He was born in the year 1605, and his father's house being frequented by the famous Shakespear, in his journeys to Warwickshire, his poetical genius in his youth was by that means very much encourag'd ; and some will have it that the handsome landlady, as well as the good wine, invited the tragedian to those quarters.

6. *Conversations of Pope in the year 1730, thus recorded by Spence.*—That notion of Sir William Davenant being more than a poetical child only of Shakspeare, was common in town ; and Sir William himself seemed fond of having it taken for truth.

7. *Anecdote related by Pope in the year 1744, as recorded by Spence.*—Shakspeare, in his frequent journeys between London and his native place, Stratford-upon-Avon, used to lie at Davenant's, the Crown in Oxford. He was very well acquainted with Mrs. Davenant ; and her son, afterwards Sir William, was supposed to be more nearly related to him than as a godson only.—One day, when Shakspeare was just arrived and the boy sent for from school to him, a head of one of the colleges, who was pretty well acquainted with the affairs of the family, met the child running home, and asked him whither he was going in so much haste? The boy said, “to my god-father Shakspeare.”—“Fie, child,” says the old gentleman, “why are you so superfluous? have you not learned yet that you should not use the name of God in vain.”

8. *The Manuscript Collections of Oldys, written probably about the year 1750, and printed by Steevens in 1785.*—If tradition may be trusted, Shakspeare often baited at the Crown Inn or Tavern in Oxford, in his journey to and from London. The landlady was a woman of great beauty and sprightly wit, and her husband, Mr. John Davenant, afterwards mayor of that city, a grave melancholy man ; who, as well as his wife, used much to delight in Shakspeare's pleasant company. Their son, young Will Davenant, afterwards Sir William, was then a little school-boy in the town of about seven or eight years old, and so fond also of Shakspeare that, whenever he heard of his arrival, he would fly from school to see him. One day an old townsman, observing the boy running homeward almost out of breath, asked him whither he was posting in that heat and hurry. He answered, to see his god-father Shakspeare. There's a good boy, said the other, but have a care that you don't take God's name in vain. This story Mr. Pope told me at the Earl of Oxford's table upon occasion of some discourse which arose about Shakspeare's monument then newly erected in Westminster Abbey ; and he quoted Mr. Betterton the player for his authority. I answered that I thought such a story might have enriched the variety of those choice fruits of observation he has presented us in his preface to the edition he had published of our poet's works. He replied, There might be in the garden of mankind such plants as would seem to pride themselves more in a regular production of their own native fruits, than in having the repute of bearing a richer kind by grafting ; and this was the reason he omitted it.

9. *Manuscript Notes, written by Oldys on the margins of his copy of Langhaine, 1691, preserved in the library of the British Museum.*—The story of Davenant's godfather Shakspeare, as Mr. Pope told it me (Oldys) is printed among the jests of John Taylor, the water-poet, in his Works, fol. 1630, but without their names, and with a seeming fictitious one of the boy's godfather, viz., Goodman Digland the gardiner, I suppose of Oxford, for Taylor tells other jests that he picked up at Oxon in the same collection.

10. *The Lives of the Poets, 1753, vol. ii. pp. 63-64.*—All the biographers of our poet (Sir William Davenant) have observed that his father was a man of a grave disposition and a gloomy turn of mind, which his son did not inherit from him, for he was as remarkably volatile as his father was saturnine. The same biographers have celebrated our author's mother as very handsome, whose charms had the power of attracting the admiration of Shakespear, the highest compliment which ever was paid to beauty. As Mr. Davenant, our poet's father, kept a tavern, Shakespear, in his journies to Warwickshire, spent some time there, influenced, as many believe, by the engaging qualities of the handsome landlady. This circumstance has given rise to a conjecture that Davenant was really the son of Shakespear, as well naturally as poetically, by an unlawful intrigue between his mother and that great man.

11. *A Description of England and Wales, 1769, vol. vii. p. 238.*—William D'Avenant, poet laureat in the reigns of Charles the First and Charles the Second, was born in Oxford in the year 1605. His father, Mr. John D'Avenant, a vintner of that place, was a man, it is said, of a very peaceable disposition, and his mother a woman of great spirit and beauty; and as their house was much frequented by the celebrated Shakespeare, this gave occasion to a report that the tragedian stood in a nearer relation than that of a friend to our author.

12. *Letter to Malone from J. Taylor, of the Sun Office, written in August, 1810.*—On re-perusing your history of the English stage and your anecdotes of Shakespeare and Davenant, I see no allusion to a story which I copied in early life from a manuscript book, and which, many years afterwards, when I became connected with the public press, I inserted in a newspaper. It is very probable that you have heard the story, though perhaps you did not think it was established on a sufficient tradition for notice in your work. I assure you upon my honour I found it there, and, if this could be doubted, I am ready to make oath of the accuracy of my statement. The manuscript-book was written by Mr. White, a very respectable gentleman who was a reading-clerk to the House of Lords.

He died about the year 1772, and his property chiefly descended to a Miss Dunwell, his niece. He lived upon Wandsworth Common in a very good house. That house and other property was bequeathed by Miss Dunwell to a Mrs. Bodman, a very old acquaintance of my family, and who knew me from my birth. All Mr. White's books and manuscripts came into Mrs. Bodman's possession, and most of them, I believe, were sold by auction. The book to which I allude consisted chiefly of observations and anecdotes written by Mr. White himself, and were gleanings of conversations at which he was present. He was well acquainted with Mr. Pope, and often dined in company with him, and many of the observations and anecdotes had Mr. Pope's name at the bottom of them, indicating the source whence Mr. White derived them. What became of the book I know not. After all this preface, you will perhaps exclaim, *parturiunt montes, &c.*, but, as it relates to Shakespeare, it must be interesting. The story was to the following purport. It was generally supposed or whispered in Oxford that Shakespeare, who was the godfather of Sir William Davenant, was in reality the father. The story mentioned that Shakespeare used to come to London every two years, and always stayed a night or two, going and coming, at the Crown. On such occasions the boy was always sent for from school to pay his respects to Shakespeare. On one of these occasions, as the child was running along the street he was met by one of the heads of the colleges, who asked where he was going. The child said,—to see my godfather Shakespeare. What !, said the gentleman, have they not taught you yet not to use the Lord's name in vain?

13. *Will of John Davenant, of Oxford, vintner, proved on October 21st, 1622. From the recorded copy in the Registry of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.*—It hathe pleased God to afflict me these four moneths rather with a paine then a sickenes, which I ackowledge a gentle correction for my former sinnes in having soe faire a time to repent, my paines rather daily encreasing then otherwise. And for soe much as many wise men are suddenly overtaken by death, by procrastinateing of

their matters concerning the settling of their estates, I thincke it fitt, though mine be of noe great value, considering the many children I have, and the mother dead which would guide them, as well for the quietnes of my owne mind when I shall depart this life as to settle a future amity and love among them, that there may be noe strife in the division of those blessinges which God hath lent me, to set downe my mind in the nature of my laste will and testament, both for the disposing of the same, as also how I would have them order themselves after my decease till it shall please God to order and direct them to other courses. First, I committ my soule to Almighty God, hopeinge by my Redeemer Christ Jesus to have remission of my sinnes; my body I committ to the earth to be buried in the parish of St. Martins in Oxford as nere my wife as the place will give leave where shee lyeth. For my funeralls and obsequies, if I dye in the yeare of my marolty®, I desire should be in comely manner, neither affecting pompe nor to much sparing, leaveing the same to my executors discretion, whom I name to be as followeth, hartily desiring these five following whom I name to be my overseers to take paines not only in that but alsoe in any other matter of advice to my children concerning the settling of their estates, which five are these, Alderman Harris, Alderman Wright, Mr. John Bird, Mr. Wm. Gryce, Mr. Tho: Davis. Item, I will that my debts be paid by my executors which I owe either by bond, bill or booke, which I have made within the compass of this two yeares. Item, I give and bequeath to my three daughters, Elizabeth, Jane, and Alice, two hundred pound a-peece to be payd out of my estate within one yeare after my buriall. Item, I give to my four sonnes one hundred fiftie pound a-peece to be payd them within a yeare after my buriall. Item, I give to my sonne Nicholas my house at the White Beare in Dettford, which is lett to Mr. Haines, schoolemaster of Marchant Tailers Schoole. Item, I give to my sonne Robert my seale-ring. Item, my will is that my houshold stufte and plate be sold to the best value within the compasse of a yeare, excepting such necessaryes as my executors and overseers shall thinck fitt for the furnishing of my house, to goe towards the payment of my

childrens portions. Item, my will is that my house shall be kept still as a taverne, and supplied with wines continually, for the bringing up and entertainment of my children, untill such time as Thomas Hallom, my servant, comes out of his yeares, and the yearly profit thereof, necessary expenses of rent, reparacion and housekeeping being deducted, to retorne at the time of his comeing forth of his yeares to my seaven children in equall portions, together with the stocke in the seller and the debtes, or to the survivors, if any happen to dye in the meane tyme. And that this may be the better effected according to my will and intent, I will that my servant Thomas have the managing thereof duringe his apprentishipp, and that he shall give a true account of his dealing unto my executors and overseers four times in the yeare; alsoe that George be kept here still in the house till his yeares come forth, at which time my will is that he be made free of the Marchant Tailers in London, and have five pound given him when he comes out of his yeares. And to the intent that this my devise of keeping my house as a taverne for the better releefe of my children may take the better effect, according to my meaning, in consideration that my three daughters, being maidens, can hardly rule a thing of such consequence, my will is that my sister Hatton, if it stand with her good liking, may come with her youngest sonne, and lye and table at my house with my children till Thomas Hallom comes out of his yeares, for the better comfort and countenancing of my three daughters, and to have her said dyett free, and five pound a yeare in money, knowing her to have bin alwaies to me and my wife loving, just and kind. Alsoe my will is that twoe of my youngest daughters doe keepe the barre by turnes, and sett doune every night under her hand the dayes taking in the veiwe of Thomas Hallom, my servant, and that this booke be orderly kept for soe long time as they shall thus sustaine the house as a taverne, that, if need be, for avoiding of deceite and distrust there may be a calculation made of the receites and disbursementes. Now if any of my daughters marry with the consent of my overseers, that her porcion bee presently paid her, and shee that remaineth

longest in the house either to have her porcion when Thomas Hollome comes out of his yeares, or if he and shee can fancy one another, my will is that they marry together, and her porcion to be divided by itselfe towards the maintenance of the trade ; and the one halfe of my two youngest sonnes stockes shall be in his the said Thomas his handes, payeing or allowing after twenty nobles per hundred, giving my said two sonnes or my overseers security sufficient for the same to be paid at their cominge to twenty-one yeares of age, the other halfe to be putt forth for their best profit by the advise of my overseers ; my will is also that my sonne William, being now arrived to sixteen yeares of age, shall be put to prentice to some good marchant of London or other tradesman by the consent and advise of my overseers, and that there be forty pound given with him to his master, whereof 20*li*. to be payd out of his owne stocke, and 20*li* out of my goodes, and double apparrell, and that this be done. within the compasse of three moneths after my death, for avoyding of inconvenience in my howse for mastershippe when I am gone. My will is alsoe concerning the remainder of the yeares in my lease of my house, the taverne, that if Thomas and any of my daughters doe marry together, that he and she shall enjoy the remainder of the yeares, be it five or six more or lesse, after he comes out of his yeares, paying to my sonn Robert over and above the rent to Mr. Huffle yearely soe much as they two shall agree uppon, my overseers beinge umpires betwixt them, whereof the cheefest in this office I wish to be my friend Mr. Grice ; provided alwaies my meaning is that neither the gallery nor chambers, or that floore nor cockelofts over, nor kitchin, nor lorthor nor little sellar, be any part of the thing demised, but those to remaine to the use of my sonn Robert, if he should leave the universitie, to entertaine his sisters if they should marry, &c., yet both to have passage into the wood-yard, garden and house of office. My will is alsoe that my sonne Robert shall not make nor meddle with selling or trusting of wyne, nor with any thing in the house, but have entertainment as a brother for meale tydes and the like, or to take phisicke in sicknes, or if he should call for wyne and



the like with his friendes and acquaintance, that he presently pay for it or bee sett downe uppon his name to answere the same out of his part, my meaning being that the government shall consist in my three daughters and in my servant Thomas, whom I have alwaies found faithfull unto me ; and to reward his vertue the better and to putt him into more encouragement, I give him twenty pound to be payd him when he comes out of his yeares. Alsoe, my will is that my sonn Robert for his better allowance in the university have quarterly paid him fifty shillinges and twenty shillinges to buy him necessaryes out of the provenew of the profitt of wync, till Thomas comes out of his yeares, besides the allowance of the interest of his stocke ; and in the meane tyme, if I dye before he goes out Bachelor, his reasonable apparell and expences of that degree to be payd out of my goodes, provided alwaies if it be done with the advice of Mr. Turr. My will is that Nicholas be kept at schoole at Bourton till he be fifteen yeares old, and his board and apparell be payd for out of the profitt of selling of the wyne ; and for John my will is he be kept halfe an yeare at schoole if my overseers thinke good, and his brothers and sisters, and after put to prentice and have thirty pound given with him, x*li*. out of his owne stocke and twenty pound out of the profitt of selling of wyne. Alsoe my will is that within twenty-four houres after my funerall, the wynes of all sortes and condicions be filled up, and reckon how many tunnes of Gascoyne wine there is, which I would have rated at twenty-five pound per tunne, and how many butts and pipes of sweet wyne there are, which I would have rated at twentie pound per ceece, both which drawne into a summe are to be sett downe in a booke. Alsoe the next day after, a schedule of the debtes which are oweing me in the debt-booke, the sperate by themselves and the desperate by themselves them alsoe sett downe, the ordinary plate to drincke in the taverne to be wayed and valued, the bondes and billes in my study to be lookt over and sett downe, in all which use the opinion of Mr. Gryce ; accompt with any marchant that I deale withall betimes, and aske my debtes with as much speede as may be. Lastly, take an inventory of all the utensells in my

house, and let them be prayed ; in that use the advise of my overseers ; and what money shal be in caishe more then shal be needful for the present to pay my debtes or buy wyne with, let it be putt forth to the best advantage.

14. *A poem "on Mr. Davenant, who died att Oxford in his Maioralty a fortnight after his wife." From a very curious manuscript volume of miscellanies, of the time of Charles the First, preserved in the library of the Earl of Warwick, verbally corrected in four places by the aid of a transcript made by Haslewood from another manuscript.*

Well, sceince th'art deade, if thou canst mortalls heare,  
Take this just tribute of a funerall teare ;  
Each day I see a corse, and now no knell  
Is more familiare then a passing-bell ;  
All die, no fix'd inheritance men have,  
Save that they are freeholders to the grave.  
Only I truly greive, when vertues brood  
Becomes wormes meate, and is the cankers foode.  
Alas, that unrelenting death should bee  
At odds with goodnesse ! Fairest budds we see  
Are soonest cropp't ; who know the fewest crimes,  
Tis theire prerogative to die bee-times,  
Enlargd from this worlds misery ; and thus hee,  
Whom wee now waile, made hast to bee made free.  
There needes no loud hyperbole sett him forth,  
Nor sawcy elegy to bellowe his worth ;  
His life was an encomium large enough ;  
True gold doth neede no foyles to sett itt off.

Hee had choyce giftes of nature and of arte ;  
Neither was Fortune wanting on her parte  
To him in honours, wealth or progeny :  
Hee was on all sides blest. Why should hee dye ?  
And yett why should he live, his mate being gone,  
And turtle like sigh out an endlese moone ?  
No, no, hee loved her better, and would not  
So easely lose what hee so hardly gott.  
Hee liv'd to pay the last rites to his bride ;

That done, hee pin'd out fourteene dayes and died.

Thrice happy paire ! Oh, could my simple verse  
Reare you a lasting trophee ore your hearse,  
You should vie yeares with Time ; had you your due,  
Eternety were as short liv'd as you.  
Farewell, and in one grave now you are deade,  
Sleepe ondisturb'd as in your marriage-bed.

15. *Another Poem "on the Same," preserved in the Manuscript which contains the verses printed in the last article.*

If to bee greate or good deserve the baies,  
What merits hee whom greate and good doth praise ?  
What meritts hee ? Why, a contented life,  
A happy yssue of a vertuous wife,  
The choyce of freinds, a quiet honour'd grave,  
All these hee had ; What more could Dav'nant have ?  
Reader, go home, and with a weeping eie,  
For thy sinns past, learne thus to live and die.

16. *An Account of the English Dramatick Poets, by Gerard Langbaine. 8vo. Oxford, 1691.*—Sir William Davenant, a person sufficiently known to all lovers of poetry, and one whose works will preserve his memory to posterity. He was born in the city of Oxford, in the parish of St. Martins, vulgarly call'd Carfax, near the end of February in the year 1605, and was christned on the third of March following. He was the mercurial son of a saturnine father, Mr. John D'Avenant, a vintner by profession, who liv'd in the same house which is now known by the sign of the Crown.

17. *Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses, an Exact History of all the Writers and Bishops who have had their Education in the most ancient and famous University of Oxford. Fol. Lond. 1692, ii. 292.*—William D'Avenant made his first entry on the stage of this vain world in the parish of S. Martin within the city of Oxford, about the latter end of the month of Febr. and on the third of March following, *an.* 1605, he received baptism in the church of that parish. His father, John Davenant, was a sufficient vintner, kept the tavern now known by the name of the Crown, wherein our poet was born, and was mayor of the said

city in the year 1621. His mother was a very beautiful woman, of a good wit and conversation, in which she was imitated by none of her children but by this William. The father, who was a very grave and discreet citizen,—yet an admirer and lover of plays and play-makers, especially Shakespeare, who frequented his house in his journies between Warwickshire and London,—was of a melancholic disposition, and was seldom or never seen to laugh, in which he was imitated by none of his children but by Robert his eldest son, afterwards Fellow of S. John's Coll. and a venerable Doct. of Div. As for William, whom we are farther to mention, and may justly stile the sweet Swan of Isis, was educated in grammar learning under Edw. Sylvester, whom I shall elsewhere mention, and in academical in Linc. Coll. under the care of Mr. Dan. Hough, in 1620, 21, or thereabouts, and obtained there some smattering in logic; but his genie, which was always opposite to it, lead him in the pleasant paths of poetry, so that tho' he wanted much of University learning, yet he made as high and noble flights in the poetical faculty, as fancy could advance, without it. After he had left the said Coll. wherein, I presume, he made but a short stay, he became servant to Frances, the first Dutchess of Richmond, and afterwards to Foulk Lord Brook, who being poetically given, especially in his younger days, was much delighted in him. After his death, *an.* 1628, he, being free from trouble and attendance, betook himself to writing of plays and poetry, which he did with so much sweetness and grace, that he got the absolute love and friendship of his two patrons, Endimyon Porter and Hen. Jermyn afterwards Earl of S. Alban's; to both which he dedicated his poem, which he afterwards published, called Madagascar. Sir John Suckling also was his great and intimate friend.



## CONTEMPORARY NOTICES.

This division is restricted to those allusions to the great dramatist *by name* which have been discovered in the printed literature of his own time, those which are attached to recognized quotations or poems being excluded. It has not been considered necessary to form a corresponding selection of innominate references to him or of the occasional authentic or travestied quotations from, or imitations of, passages in his works ; but those that are of real practical use for the illustration of facts or theories are referred to either in the text or notes. Let it be observed that it is sometimes impossible to decide whether certain similarities are to be attributed to recollections of Shakespeare, or if they be prototypes of his own language or thought ; in which cases of uncertainty they are obviously of no argumentative value.

*I. The commencing verses of a laudatory address prefixed to—Willobie his Avis, or the true Picture of a modest Maid and of a chast and constant Wife, 4to. Lond. 1594, a work entered at Stationers' Hall on September the third in that year, and reprinted in 1596, 1605, and 1609.*

In Lavine lande though Livie bost,  
There hath beene seene a constant dame ;  
Though Rome lament that she have lost  
The gareland of her rarest fame,  
Yet now we see that here is found  
As great a faith in English ground.  
Though Collatine have deerely bought  
To high renowne a lasting life,

And found that most in vaine have sought,  
 To have a faire and constant wife,  
 Yet Tarquyne pluckt his glistering grape,  
 And Shake-speare paints poore Lucrece rape.

*II.—The second nominated allusion to Shakespeare in our printed literature occurs on the margin of a curious volume entitled,—“Polimanteia, or the meanes lawfull and vnlawfull to iudge of the Fall of a Common-wealth, against the friuolous and foolish coniectures of this age,” 4to., Cambridge, 1595. The author is eulogizing in his text the poets of England as superior to those of foreign nations, but the two side-notes,—one consisting of three and the other of two words,—in which references are made to the early poems of Shakespeare, appear to be merely illustrative examples in support of the author’s main position. They seem to be isolated, and altogether unconnected with the other marginalia. The following extract, here printed V. L., exhibits the exact manner in which they are placed in the original work.*

	Let o-
	ther countries (sweet Cambridge) ennie,
<i>All praise</i>	(yet admire) my <i>Virgil</i> , thy petrarch, di-
<i>worthy</i>	uine <i>Spenser</i> . And vnlesse I erre, (a thing
<i>Lucrecia</i>	easie in such simplicitie) deluded by
<i>Sweet Shak-</i>	dearlie beloued <i>Delia</i> , and fortunatelie
<i>speare.</i>	fortunate <i>Cleopatra</i> ; <i>Oxford</i> thou maist
<i>Eloquent</i>	extoll thy courte-deare-verfe happie
<i>Gaueston.</i>	<i>Daniell</i> , whose sweete refined muse, in
	contracted fhape, were sufficient a-
	mongst men, to gaine pardon of the <i>Wanton</i>
	sinne to <i>Rosemond</i> , pittie to distressed <i>Adonis</i> .
	<i>Cleopatra</i> , and euerliuing praise to her <i>Watsons</i>
	louing <i>Delia</i> . heyre.

*III.—From “Poems in diuers humors.—London, Printed by G. S. for Iohn Iaggard,” 1598, reprinted in 1605. A curious early transcript of the latter edition, written in a kind of cypher,*

is in MS. Ashm. 1153. The following verses are there entitled,  
—“A Remembrance of some English Poets.”

Live, Spenser, ever in thy *Fairy Queene*,  
Whose like, for deepe conceit, was never scene.  
Crownd mayst thou bee, unto thy more renowne,  
As King of Poets with a lawrell crowne.

And Daniell, praised for thy sweet-chast verse,  
Whose fame is grav'd on *Rosamonds* blacke herse.  
Still mayst thou live, and still be honored  
For that rare worke, the White Rose and the Red.

And Drayton, whose wel-written tragedies,  
And sweete Epistles, soare thy fame to skies.  
Thy learned name is æquall with the rest,  
Whose stately numbers are so well address.

And Shakespeare thou, whose hony-flowing vaine,  
Pleasing the world, thy praises doth obtaine ;  
Whose *Venus*, and whose *Lucrece*, sweete and chaste,  
Thy name in fames immortall booke have plac't.

Live ever you, at least in fame live ever :  
Well may the bodye dye, but fame dies never.

IV.—The following extracts are from a treatise entitled,—  
“A comparative Discourse of our English poets with the  
Greeke, Latine and Italian poets”—which is near the end of a  
thick little volume called,—“*Palladis Tamia. Wits Treasury.*  
being the Second part of *Wits Commonwealth.* By Francis  
Merces, Maister of Artes of both Vniuersities. *Viuitur ingenio,*  
*cætera mortis erunt.* At London. Printed by P. Short, for  
Cuthbert Burbie, and are to be solde at his shop at the Royall  
Exchange. 1598.” There can be no doubt that this chapter was  
written in the summer of 1598, the work itself having been  
entered at Stationers' Hall on the 7th of September in that year,  
and there being in the Discourse a notice of Marston's *Satires*  
entered on the previous 27th of May.

As the Greeke tongue is made famous and eloquent by  
Homer, Hesiod, Euripedes, Aeschilus, Sophocles, Pindarus,



Phocylides, and Aristophanes ; and the Latine tongue by Virgill, Ovid, Horace, Silius Italicus, Lucanus, Lucretius, Ansonius, and Claudianus ; so the English tongue is mightily enriched, and gorgeously invested in rare ornaments and resplendent habiliments, by Sir Philip Sidney, Spencer, Daniel, Drayton, Warner, Shakespeare, Marlow and Chapman.

As the soule of Euphorbus was thought to live in Pythagoras, so the sweete wittie soule of Ovid liues in mellifluous and hony-tongued Shakespeare ; witnes his Venus and Adonis, his Lucrece, his sugred Sonnets among his private friends, &c.

As Plautus and Seneca are accounted the best for comedy and tragedy among the Latines, so Shakespeare among the English is the most excellent in both kinds for the stage ; for comedy, witnes his Gentlemen of Verona, his Errors, his Love labors lost, his Love labours wonne, his Midsummers night dreame, and his Merchant of Venice ; for tragedy, his Richard the 2, Richard the 3, Henry the 4, King John, Titus Andronicus and his Romeo and Juliet.

As Epilus Stolo said that the Muses would speake with Plautus tongue, if they would speak Latin ; so I say that the Muses would speak with Shakespeares fine filed phrase, if they would speake English.

As Ovid saith of his worke ;—*Jamque opus exegi, quod nec Jouis ira, nec ignis, = Nec poterit ferrum, nec edax abolere vetustas.* And as Horace saith of his ; *Exegi monumentum ære perennius ; Regalique situ puramidum altius ; Quod non imber edax ; Non Aquilo impotens possit diruere ; aut innumerabilis annorum series et fuga temporum ;* so say I severally of sir Philip Sidneyes, Spencers, Daniels, Draytons, Shakespeares, and Warners workes.

*Non Jouis ira : imbres : Mars : ferrum : flamma, senectus,*

*Hoc opus unda : lues : turbo : venena ruent.*

*Et quanquam ad plucherrimum hoc opus evertendum tres illi Dij*

*Conspirabunt, Cronus, Vulcanus, et pater ipse gentis ;*

*Non tamen annorum series, non flamma, nec ensis,*

*Æternum potuit hoc abolere Decus.*

As Pindarus, Anacreon and Callimachus among the Greekes,

and Horace and Catullus among the Latines, are the best lyrick poets ; so in this faculty the best among our poets are Spencer, who excelleth in all kinds, Daniel, Drayton, Shakespeare, Bretton.

As these tragicke poets flourished in Greece, Aeschylus, Euripedes, Sophocles, Alexander Aetolus, Achæus Erithriæus, Astydamas Atheneinsis, Apollodorus Tarsensis, Nicomachus Phrygius, Thespius Atticus, and Timon Apolloniates ; and these among the Latines, Accius, M. Attilius, Pomponius Secundus and Seneca ; so these are our best for tragedie, the Lord Buckhurst, Doctor Leg of Cambridge, Doctor Edes of Oxforde, maister Edward Ferris, the authour of the Mirrour for Magistrates, Marlow, Peele, Watson, Kid, Shakespeare, Drayton, Chapman, Decker, and Benjamin Johnson.

The best poets for comedy among the Greeks are these, Menander, Aristophanes, Eupolis Atheniensis, Alexis Terius, Nicostratus, Amipsias Atheniensis, Anaxandrides Rhodius, Aristonymus, Archippus Atheniensis and Callias Atheniensis ; and among the Latines, Plautus, Terence, Nævius, Sext. Turpilius, Licinius Imbrex, and Virgilius Romanus ; so the best for comedy amongst us bee, Edward Earle of Oxforde, Doctor Gager of Oxforde, Maister Rowley, once a rare Scholler of learned Pembroke Hall in Cambridge, Maister Edwardes, one of her Maiesties Chappell, eloquent and wittie John Lilly, Lodge, Gascoyne, Greene, Shakespeare, Thomas Nash, Thomas Heywood, Anthony Mundaye, our best plotter, Chapman, Porter, Wilson, Hathway, and Henry Chettle.

As these are famous among the Greeks for elegie, Melanthus, Mymnerus Colophonius, Olympius Mysius, Parthenius Nicæus, Philetas Cous, Theogenes Megarensis and Pigres Halicarnassæus ; and these among the Latines, Mecænas, Ovid, Tibullus, Propertius, T. Valgius, Cassius Severus, and Clodius Sabinus ; so these are the most passionate among us to bewaile and bemoane the perplexities of love,—Henrie Howard, Earle of Surrey, Sir Thomas Wyat the elder, Sir Francis Brian, Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Walter Rawley, Sir Edward Dyer, Spencer, Daniel, Drayton, Shakespeare, Whetstone, Gascoyne, Samuell

Page, sometimes fellowe of Corpus Christi Colledge in Oxford, Churchyard, Bretton.

*V. Epigram on Shakespeare, inscribed, "The fourth weeke. Epig. 22. Ad Gulielmum Shakespeare," from a very rare Work entitled,—“Epigrammes in the oldest cut, and newest fashion. A twise seuen houres (in so many weekes) studie—No longer (like the fashion) not unlike to continue.—The first seuen.—Iohn Weener.—Sic voluisse, Sat valuisse.—At London Printed by V. S. for Thomas Bushell, and are to be sold at his shop at the great north doore of Paules—1599.”*

Honie tong'd Shakespeare, when I saw thine issue,  
I swore Apollo got them and none other,  
Their rosie-tainted features cloth'd in tissue,  
Some heaven-born goddesse said to be their mother ;  
Rose-checkt *Adonis* with his amber tresses,  
Faire fire-hot *Venus* charming him to love her,  
Chaste *Lucretia*, virgine-like her dresses,  
Prowd lust-stung *Tarquine* seeking still to prove her ;  
*Romeu*, *Richard* ; more whose names I know not,  
Their sugred tongues and power attractive beuty  
Say they are Saints, although that Sts they shew not,  
For thousands voves to them subjective dutie ;  
They burn in love ; thy children, Shakespear, het them ;  
Go, wo thy muse ; more nymphish brood beget them.

*VI. From—"Bel-vedere, or the Garden of the Muses,—Imprinted at London by F. K. for Hugh Astley, dwelling at Saint Magnus corner. 1600." This work, a collection of poetical extracts, was entered at Stationers' Hall the same year on August the 11th.*

Now that every one may be fully satisfied concerning this Garden, that no one man doth assume to him-selfe the praise thereof, or can arrogate to his owne deserving those things which have been derived from so many rare and ingenious spirits, I have set down both how, whence and where these flowres had their first springing till thus they were drawne together into the *Muses Garden*, that every ground may challenge

his owne, each plant his particular, and no one be injured in the justice of his merit. . . . Edmund Spencer. Henry Constable esquier. Samuell Daniell. Thomas Lodge, Doctor of Physicke. Thomas Watson. Michael Drayton. John Davies. Thomas Hudson. Henrie Locke esquier. John Marstone. Christopher Marlow. Benjamin Johnson. William Shakspeare. Thomas Churchyard esquier. Thomas Nash. Thomas Kidde. George Peele. Robert Greene. Josuah Sylvester. Nicholas Breton. Gervase Markham. Thomas Storer. Robert Wilmot. Christopher Middleton. Richard Barnefield. *These being moderne and extant poets that have liv'd together; from many of their extant workes, and some kept in privat.*

VII. Verses from — “*A Mournfull Dittie entituled Elizabeths Losse, together with a Welcome for King James,*” an unique ballad in the library of S. Christie-Miller, Esq., of Britwell House, Burnham.

You poets all, brave Shakspeare, Johnson, Greene,  
Bestow your time to write for Englands Queene.  
Lament, lament, lament, you English peeres;  
Lament your losse, possesse so many yeeres.  
Returne your songs and sonnets, and your sayes,  
To set forth sweete Elizabeths praise.  
Lament, lament, &c.

VIII. From “*Epigrammes, served out in 52. severall Dishes for every man to tast without surfeting.* By I. C. Gent.—London —Printed by G. Elde, for W. C. and are to be solde at his Shop neere unto Ludgate.” There is no date to this rare little volume, but it was entered in the Stationers’ Registers on May the 22nd, 1604, and is there ascribed to J. Cooke gent.

Who er’e will go unto the presse may see  
The hated fathers of vilde balladrie;  
One sings in his base note the river Thames  
Shal found the famous memory of noble king James;  
Another sayes that he will, to his death,  
Sing the renowned worthinesse of sweet Elizabeth; .

So runnes their verse in such disordered straine,  
 And with them dare great majesty prophane,—  
 Some dare do this ; some other humbly craves  
 For helpe of spirits in their sleeping graves,  
 As he that calde to Shakespeare Johnson, Greene,  
 To write of their dead noble Queene ;  
 But he that made the ballads of *oh hone*,  
 Did wondrous well to whet the buyer on.  
 These fellowes are the slaundersers of the time,  
 Make ryming hatefull through their bastard rime ;  
     But were I made a judge in poetry,  
     They all should burne for their vilde herefie.

*IX. From—"Daiphantus, or the Passions of Loue. Comi-  
 call to Reade, but tragicall to act ; as full of Wit as Experience ;  
 by An. Sc. gentleman," 4to. Lond. 1604. The author, supposed  
 to be one Anthony Scoloker, in a quaint dedication, observes that  
 an Epistle to the Reader—*

should be like the never-too-well read Arcadia, where the  
 prose and verce, matter and words, are like his mistresses eyes,  
 one still excelling another and without corivall ; or to come home  
 to the vulgars element, like friendly Shakespeare's tragedies,  
 where the commedian rides, when the tragedian stands on tip-  
 toe : Faith, it should please all, like Prince Hamlet. But, in  
 sadnesse, then it were to be feared he would runne mad.  
 Insooth, I will not be moone-sicke to please ; nor out of my  
 wits, though I displeased all.

*X. From Caimden's Remaines of a Greater Worke con-  
 cerning Britaine, 1605, ii. 8, the Epistle Dedicatorie to Sir  
 Robert Cotton bearing the date of June, 1603. The following  
 passage is repeated in ed. 1614, p. 324.*

These may suffice for some poetick descriptions of our  
 ancient poets ; if I would come to our time, what a world could  
 I present to you out of Sir Philipp Sidney, Ed. Spencer, Samuel  
 Daniel, Hugh Holland. Ben. Johnson, Th. Campion, Mich.  
 Drayton, George Chapman, John Marston, William Shake-  
 speare, and other most pregnant witts of these our times, whom  
 succeeding ages may justly admire.

*XI. From criticisms on the English poets in a drama written about the year 1602, but not printed until 1606, when it appeared under the title of,—“The Returne from Pernassus, or the Scourge of Simony, publiquely acted by the Students in Saint Iohns Colledge in Cambridge.” A character named Ingenioso, a university student, asks another, one Judicio, the opinions of the latter on various writers, each name being supposed to be preceded by the words,—“What’s thy judgment of”—In some copies of the Returne the word lazy in the fifth line is omitted.*

*Ing.* William Shakespeare.

*Jud.* Who loves Adonis love, or Lucre’s rape,  
His sweeter verse contains hart robbing life;  
Could but a graver subject him content,  
Without loves foolish lazy languishment.

*XII. In a later part of the drama last mentioned, the Returne from Pernassus, the celebrated actors, Burbage and Kemp, appear as instructors of their art to two university students, previously to which the following dialogue takes place between them.*

*Bur.* Now, Will Kempe, if we can intertaine these schollers at a low rate, it wil be well; they have oftentimes a good conceite in a part.

*Kempe.* Its true, indeede, honest Dick, but the slaves are somewhat proud, and, besides, it is a good sport in a part to see them never speake in their walke but at the end of the stage, just as though in walking with a fellow we should never speake but at a stile, a gate or a ditch, where a man can go no further. I was once at a comedie in Cambridge, and there I saw a parasite make faces and mouths of all sorts on this fashion.

*Bur.* A little teaching will mend these faults, and it may bee besides, they will be able to pen a part.

*Kemp.* Few of the university pen plaies well, they smell too much of that writer Ovid, and that writer Metamorphosis, and talke too much of Proserpina and Iuppiter. Why, heres our fellow Shakespeare puts them all downe, I, and Ben Jonson

too. O that Ben Jonson is a pestilent fellow ! he brought up Horace giving the poets a pill, but our fellow Shakespeare hath given him a purge that made him beray his credit.

*Bur.* Its a shrewd fellow, indeed : I wonder these schollers stay so long ; they appointed to be here presently that we might try them ; oh, here they come.

*XIII. The conclusion of "Mirrha, the Mother of Adonis, or Lustes Prodegies, by William Barksted," 8vo. Lond. 1607, entered at Stationers' Hall on the twelfth of November in that year.*

But stay, my Muse, in thine owne confines keepe,  
And wage not warre with so deere lov'd a neighbor ;  
But having sung thy day song, rest and sleepe,  
Preserve thy small fame and his greater favor :  
His song was worthie merrit, Shakspeare hee ;  
Sung the faire blossome, thou the withered tree ;  
Laurell is due to him ; his art and wit  
Hath purchast it ; cypres thy brow will fit.

*XIV. From—"The Scourge of Folly, consisting of satyricall Epigramms and others in honor of many noble and worthy Persons of our Land," by John Davies of Hereford, 8vo., Epig. 159, pp. 76, 77. This curious little volume is undated, but it was entered at Stationers' Hall on October the 8th, 1610.*

*To our English Terence, Mr. Will. Shake-speare.*

Some say, good Will, which I, in sport, do sing,  
Had'st thou not plaid some kingly parts in sport,  
Thou hadst bin a companion for a king,  
And beene a King among the meaner sort.  
Some others raile ; but, raile as they thinke fit,  
Thou hast no rayling, but a raigning wit ;  
And honesty thou sow'st, which they do reape,  
So to increase their stocke which they do keepe.

*XV. The conclusion of the Dedication to Webster's White Divel, or the Tragedy of Paulo Giordano Vrsini, 4to. Lond. 1612.*

Detraction is the sworne friend to ignorance. For mine owne part, I have ever truly cherisht my good opinion of other

mens worthy labours, especially of that full and hightned stile of maister Chapman, the labor'd and understanding workes of maister Johnson, the no lesse worthy composures of the both worthily excellent Maister Beaumont and Maister Fletcher, and lastly, without wrong last to be named, the right happy and copious industry of M. Shake-speare, M. Decker, and M. Heywood, wishing what I write may be read by their light; protesting that, in the strength of mine owne judgement, I know them so worthy, that, though I rest silent in my owne worke, yet to most of theirs I dare (without flattery) fix that of Martiall,—non norunt, Hæc monumenta mori.

*XVI. From—"The Excellencie of the English tongue by R. C. of Anthony, esquire," printed in Camden's Remaines, ed. 1614, p. 44. The initials stand for the name of Richard Carew, whose earliest published work appeared in 1598, but the date of the composition of the present essay is unknown.*

The long words that we borrow, being intermingled with the short of our owne store, make up a perfect harmonie, by culling from out which mixture with judgement you may frame your speech according to the matter you must worke on, majesticall, pleasant, delicate or manly, more or lesse, in what sort you please. Adde hereunto that, whatsoever grace any other language carrieth in verse or prose, in tropes or metaphors, in ecchoes and agnominations, they may all bee lively and exactly represented in ours. Will you have Platoes veine?—reade Sir Thomas Smith. The Ionicke?—Sir Thomas Mooqe. Ciceroes?—Ascham. Varro?—Chaucer. Demosthenes?—Sir Iohn Cheeke, who, in his treatise to the Rebels, hath comprised all the figures of rhetorick. Will you reade Virgill?—take the Earle of Surrey. Catullus?—Shakespheare and Barlowes® fragment. Ovid?—Daniell. Lucan?—Spencer. Martial?—Sir John Davies and others. Will you have all in all for prose and verse—take the miracle of our age, Sir Philip Sidney."

*XVII. From the second Part of a work entitled,—“Rubbe and a great Cast, Epigrams by Thomas Freeman, gent. Imprinted at London, and are to bee sold at the Tigers Head. 1614”; entered at Stationers’ Hall on June the 30th.*



*To Master W. Shakespeare.*

Shakespeare, that nimble Mercury, thy braine,  
 Lulls many hundred Argus-eyes asleepe.  
 So fit, for all thou fashionest thy vaine,  
 At th' horse-foote fountaine thou hast drunk full deepe,—  
 Vertues or vices theame to thee all one is.  
 Who loves chaste life, there's Lucrece for a teacher ;  
 Who list read lust, there's Venus and Adonis,  
 True modell of a most lascivious leatcher.  
 Besides in plaies thy wit windes like Meander,  
 When® needy new-composers borrow more  
 Thence® Terence doth from Plautus or Menander.  
 But to praise thee aright I want thy store ;  
 Then let thine owne works thine owne worth upraise,  
 And help t' adorne thee with deserved baies.

*XVIII. From,—“ The Annales or Generall Chronicle of England, begun first by maister Iohn Stow, and after him continued and augmented, with matters forreyne and domestique, auncient and moderne, vnto the ende of this present yeere, 1614, by Edmond Howes, gentleman,” fol., Lond., 1615, p. 811. The following are amongst the observations of Howes on the writers that flourished in the reign of Elizabeth.*

Our moderne and present excellent poets, which worthely florish in their owne workes, and all of them in my owne knowledge lived together in this Queenes raigne, according to their priorities, as neere as I could, I have orderly set downe, viz., George Gascoigne esquire, Thomas Church-yard esquire, Sir Edward Dyer knight, Edmond Spencer esquire, Sir Philip Sidney knight, Sir John Harrington knight, Sir Thomas Challoner knight, Sir Frauncis Bacon knight, and Sir John Davie knight, Master John Lillie gentleman, Maister George Chapman gentleman, M. W. Warner gentleman, M. Willi. Shakespeare gentleman, Samuell Daniell esquire, Michaell Draiton esquire of the bath, M. Christopher Marlo gen., M. Benjamine Johnson gentleman, John Marston esquier, M. Abraham Frauncis gen., master Frauncis Meers gentle., master Josua Silvester gentle., master Thomas Deckers gentleman, M. John Flecher gentle., M. John Webster gentleman, M. Thomas Heywood gentleman, M. Thomas Middleton gentleman, M. George Withers.

## THEATRICAL EVIDENCES.

In this section will be found some of the most interesting contemporary notices of Shakespearean performances, as well as a few pieces of a later date which may be considered to include personal recollections of the theatrical doings of the poet's own time. Other allusions to early representations will be observed in the title-pages of the quartos, and in the extracts from the Stationers' Registers.

*I. Notice of the Performance of the First Part of Henry the Sixth, from Nash's Pierce Penilesse, 1592. This was a very popular work, two editions appearing in 1592, and two more in the following year.*

How would it have joyed brave Talbot (the terror of the French) to thinke that, after he had lyne two hundred yeares in his tombe, hee should triumphe againe on the stage, and have his bones newe embalmed with the teares of ten thousand spectators at least, at severall times, who, in the tragedian that represents his person, imagine they behold him fresh bleeding !

*II. Satirical Verses upon a great Frequenter of the Curtain Theatre, from Marston's Scourge of Villanie, 1598. Thiſ poem was entered at Stationers' Hall on May 27<sup>th</sup>, 1598. The same lines, a few literal errors being corrected, are in the second edition, 1599.*

Luscus, what's playd to day ? faith, now I know ;  
I set thy lips abroach, from whence doth flow  
Naught but pure Juliat and Romio.  
Say, who acts best ? Drusus or Roscio ?  
Now I have him that nere of ought did speake,  
But when of playes or plaiers he did treate.

H'ath made a common-place booke out of plaies,  
 And speakes in print, at least what ere he sayes  
 Is warranted by Curtaine *plaudeties*.  
 If ere you heard him courting Lesbias eyes,  
 Say, curteous sir, speakes he not movingly  
 From out some new pathetique tragedie ?  
 He writes, he railes, he jests, he courts,—what not ?  
 And all from out his huge long scraped stock  
 Of well penn'd playes.

*III. From the Third Part of—"Alba, the Months Minde of a Melancholy Lover, diuided into three parts : By R. T. Gentleman.—At London. Printed by Felix Kyngston, for Matthew Lownes. 1598," a very small 8vo. A gentleman takes his lady-love to witness a performance of Shakespeare's comedy of Love's Labour's Lost, and, for some unexplained reason, his suit appears to have been rejected during their visit at the theatre.*

LOVES LABOR LOST, I once did see a play  
 Ycleped so, so called to my paine,  
 Which I to heare to my small joy did stay,  
 Giving attendance on my froward dame ;  
 My misgiving minde presaging to me ill,  
 Yet was I drawne to see it gainst my will.

This play no play but plague was unto me,  
 For there I lost the love I liked most ;  
 And what to others seemde a jest to be,  
 I that (in earnest) found unto my cost.  
 To every one (save me) twas comicall,  
 Whilst tragick like to me it did befall.

Each actor plaid in cunning wise his part,  
 But chiefly those entrapt in Cupids snare ;  
 Yet all was fained, twas not from the hart ;  
 They seemde to grieve, but yet they felt no care ;  
 Twas I that grieve (indeed) did beare in brest,—  
 The others did but make a show in jest.

Yet neither faining theirs, nor my meere truth,  
 Could make her once so much as for to smile ;  
 Whilst she (despite of pitie milde and ruth)  
 Did sit as skorning of my woes the while.

Thus did she sit to see LOVE lose his LOVE,  
 Like hardned rock that force nor power can move.

*IV. Extracts from the Diary of John Manningham, a barrister of the Middle Temple, London, 1601-2 ; from the original in the British Museum, MS. Harl. 5353.*

Febr : 1601.—2.—At our feast wee had a play called Twelve Night, or what you will, much like the commedy of errores, or Menechmi in Plautus, but most like and neere to that in Italian called Inganni. A good practise in it to make the steward beleieve his lady widdowe was in love with him, by counterfayting a letter as from his lady in generall termes, telling him what shee liked best in him, and prescribing his gesture in smiling, his apparaile, &c., and then, when he came to practise, making him beleieve they tooke him to be mad, &c.

March 13.—Upon a tyme when Burbidge played Rich. 3., there was a citizen greue soe farr in liking with him that, before shee went from the play, shee appointed him to come that night unto hir by the name of Ri : the 3. Shakespeare, overhearing their conclusion, went before, was intertained, and at his game ere Burbedge came. Then message being brought that Rich. the 3.<sup>d</sup> was at the dore, Shakespeare caused returne to be made that William the Conquerour was before Rich. the 3. Shakespeare's name William.

*VI. A Letter, now preserved at Hatfield, from Sir Walter Cope, addressed—"from your library.—To the right honorable the Lorde Vycount Cranborne at the Courte." It is endorsed 1604, that is, 1604-5.*

Sir,—I have sent and bene all thys morning huntyng for players juglers and such kinde of creaturs, but fynde them harde to finde ; wherefore, leavinge notes for them to seeke me, Burbage ys come, and sayes ther ys no new playe that the Quene hath not seene, but they have revyved an olde one cawled

*V. Extracts from—"The Accompte of the Office of the Reuelles of this whole yeres charge, in anno 1604 untell the last of Octobar, 1605." The manuscript copy of this document, now preserved at the Record Office, is unquestionably a modern forgery of comparatively recent date, but the genuineness of the account itself is established by a somewhat abbreviated transcript of the original obtained by Malone about the year 1800. The explanation appears to be that the forger had access to a similar but more perfect transcript.*

The Plaiers	1605	The Poets wch mayd the Plaies
By the Kings Matie's plaiers	Hallamas Day being the first of Nouembar, A play in the Banket- inge house att Whithall called The Moor of Venis.	
By his Matie's plaiers	The Sunday followinge A Play of the Merry Wiues of Winsor.	
By his Matie's plaiers	On St. Stiuens Night in the Hall A Play called Mesur for Mesur.	Shaxberd.
By his Matie's Plaiers	On Inosents Night The Plaie of Errors.	Shaxberd.
By his Matie's plaiers	Betwin Newers Day and Twelwe day A Play of Loues Labours Lost.	
By his Matie's plaiers.	On the 7 of January was played the play of Henry the fift.	
By his Matie's plaiers.	On ShrouSunday A play of the Marchant of Venis	Shaxberd.
By his Matie's players.	On Shroutusday A play cauled The Martchant of Venis againe com- maunded by the Kings Matie	Shaxberd.

*Loves Labore lost*, which for wytt and mirthe he sayes will please her exceedingly. And thys ys apointed to be playd to morowe night at my Lord of Sowthamptons, unless yow send a wrytt to remove the corpus cum causa to your howse in Strande. Burbage ys my messenger ready attendyng your pleasure.—Yours most humbly,—*Walter Cope*.

*VII. In the play of the Return from Parnassus, written between September, 1601, and March, 1603, but not printed till 1606, Burbage and Kemp are discovered instructing two Cambridge students, Philomusus and Studioso, in the histrionic art. Kemp has taught Philomusus a long speech, when Burbage thus addresses the latter.*

*Bur.* I like your face and the proportion of your body for Richard the 3. I pray, M. Phil., let me see you act a little of it.

*Phil.* Now is the winter of our discontent

Made glorious summer by the sonne of Yorke.

*Bur.* Very well, I assure you. Well, M. Phil. and M. Stud., wee see what ability you are of. I pray, walke with us to our fellows and weele agree presently.

*VIII. Notices of dramatic Performances on board the ship Dragon in 1607, then off Sierra Leone, from the Journal of Captain Keeling, edited by Mr. Rundall in 1849.*

September 5. I sent the interpreter, according to his desier, aboard the Hector, wher he brooke fast, and after came aboard mee, wher we gave the tragedie of Hamlett.—30. Captain Hawkins dined with me, wher my companions acted Kinge Richard the Second—31. I envited Captain Hawkins to a fishe dinner, and had Hamlet acted aboard me, which I permitt to keepe my people from idlenes and unlawfull games or sleepe.

*IX. From the Journal of the Secretary to the German embassy to England in the year 1610, from the original manuscript in the British Museum, Addit. 20,001.*

Lundi, 30. S. E. alla au Globe, lieu ordinaire ou l'on joue les commedies, y fut représenté l'histoire du More de Venise.

*X. In the Ashmole collection of manuscripts is a small folio pamphlet of fourteen leaves, nine of which are unwritten*

*upon, but the remaining five contain,—“ The Booke of Plaies and Notes therof per Formans for common pollicie.” This little tract, which is in the autograph of the celebrated Dr. Simon Forman, consists of his accounts of the representations of four plays, three relating to dramas by Shakespeare and a fourth to one by another writer on the subject of Richard the Second. The former three are here given.*

In the Winters Talle at the Glob, 1611, the 15 of Maye, Wednesday.—Observe ther howe Lyontes the Kinge of Cicillia was overcom with jelosy of his wife with the Kinge of Bohemia, his frind, that came to see him, and howe he contrived his death and wold have had his cupberer to have poisoned, who<sup>®</sup> gave the King of Bohemia warning therof and fled with him to Bohemia.—Remember also howe he sent to the orakell of Appollo, and the aunswer of Appollo that she was gittles, and that the king was jelouse, &c., and howe, except the child was found againe that was loste, the kinge shuld die without yssue ; for the child was caried into Bohemia, and there laid in a forrest, and brought up by a sheppard, and the Kinge of Bohemia his sonn married that wentch ; and howe they fled into Cicillia to Leontes, and the sheppard, having showed the letter of the nobleman by whom Leontes sent, a<sup>®</sup> was that child, and the<sup>®</sup> jewells found about her, she was knowen to be Leontes daughter and was then 16 yers old.—Remember also the rog that cam in all tottered likè Coll Pipci, and howe he fayned him sicke and to have bin robbed of all that he had, and howe he cosoned the por man of all his money ; and after cam to the shop sher with a pedlers packe, and ther cosoned them again of all their money ; and howe he changed apparrell with the Kinge of Bomia his sonn, and then howe he turned courtiar, &c. Beware of trustinge feined beggars or fawninge fellouse.

*Of Cimbalin King of England.*—Remember also the storri of Cymbalin, King of England in Lucius tyme ; howe Lucius cam from Octavus Cesar for tribut, and, being denied, after sent Lucius with a greate armie of soulddeares, who landed at Milford Haven, and after wer vanquished by Cimbalin, and Lucius taken prisoner ; and all by means of three outlawes, of the which two of

them were the sonns of Cimbalin, stolen from him when they were but two yers old by an old man whom Cymbalin banished, and he kept them as his own sonns twenty yers with him in a cave ; and howe of <sup>o</sup> of them slewe Clotan, that was the quens sonn, goinge to Milford Haven to sek the love of Innogen, the kinges daughter, whom he had banished also for lovinge his daughter ; and howe the Italian that cam from her love conveied himself into a cheste, and said yt was a chest of plate sent from her love and others to be presented to the kinge ; and in the deepest of the night, she being aslepe, he opened the cheste, and came forth of yt, and vewed her in her bed, and the markes of her body, and toke awai her braslet, and after accused her of adultery to her lover ; and in thend howe he came to the Romains into England, and was taken prisoner, and after reveled to Innogen, who had turned herself into mans apparrell, and fled to mete her love at Milford Haven, and chanced to fall on the cave in the wodes wher her two brothers were ; and howe, by eating a sleping dram, they thought she had bin deed, and laid her in the wodes, and the body of Cloten by her in her loves apparrell that he left behind him ; and howe she was found by Lucius, etc.

In Mackbeth at the Glob, 1610, the 20 of Aprill, Saturday, ther was to be observed, firste, howe Mackbeth and Bancko, two noble men of Scotland, ridinge thorowe a wod, the <sup>o</sup> stode before them three women feiries or nimphes, and saluted Mackbeth, sayinge three tymes unto him, Haille, Mackbeth, King of Coddon ; for thou shall be a kinge, but shall beget no kinges, etc. Then said Bancko, what all to Mackbeth, and nothing to me ? Yes, said the nimphes. haille to thee, Banko, thou shall beget kinges, yet be no kinge ; and so they departed and cam to the courte of Scotland to Dunkin King of Scotese, and yt was in the dais of Edward the Confessor. And Dunkin bad them both kindly wellcom, and made Mackbeth forthwith Prince of Northumberland, and sent him hom to his own castell, and appointed Mackbeth to provid for him, for he wold sup with him the next dai at night, and did soe. And Mackbeth contrived to kill Dunkin, and thorowe the persuasion of his wife did that night murder the kinge in his own castell,



beinge his guest ; and ther were many prodigies seen that night and the dai before. And when Mack Beth had mured the kinge, the blod on his handes could not be washed of by any means, nor from his wives handes, which handled the bluddi daggers in hiding them, by which means they became both moch amazed and affronted. The murder being knowen, Dunkins two sonns fled, the on to England, the (other to) Walles, to save them selves. They beinge fled, they were supposed guilty of the murder of their father, which was nothing so. Then was Mackbeth crowned kinge ; and then he, for feare of Banko, his old companion, that he should beget Kinges but be no kinge him self, he contrived the death of Banko, and caused him to be mured on the way as he rode. The next night, beinge at supper with his noble men whom he had bid to a feaste, to the which also Banco should have com, he began to speake of noble Banco, and to wish that he wer ther. And as he thus did, standing up to drincke a carouse to him, the ghoste of Banco came and sate down in his cheier be-hind him. And he turninge about to sit down again, sawe the goste of Banco, which fronted him so, that he fell into a great passion of fear and fury, utteringe many wordes about his murder, by which, when they hard that Banco was mured, they suspected Mackbet. Then Mack Dove fled to England to the kinges sonn, and soe they raised an army and cam into scotland, and at dunstonan yt overthruw Mackbet. In the mean tyme, whille Macdove was in England, Mackbet slew Mackdoves wife and children, and after in the battelle Mackdove slew Mackbet. Observe also howe Mackbetes quen did rise in the night in her slepe, and walke and talked and confessed all, and the docter noted her wordes.

*XI. Extracts from—"The Booke of the Revells ending the last day of October, anno Domini 1612 ; the charges of those times, viz., betwene the last of October, 1611, anno regni regis Jacobi nono, untill the first of Novembar, 1612."* Doubts have been thrown on the authenticity of this manuscript, but no positive indications of forgery are to be detected, and it has every appearance of substantial genuineness. It has been slightly

*tampered with by a later hand, but this circumstance obviously does not invalidate the view here taken.*

By the Kings Players.—Hallomas nyght was presented att Whithall before the Kinges Majestie a play called the Tempest.

The Kings players.—The 5th of November, a play called the winter nightes Tayle.

*XII. From the Accounts of moneys expended by Lord Stanhope, Treasurer of the Chamber, between Michaelmas, 1612, and Michaelmas, 1613, from the original manuscript in the Bodleian Library, Rawl. A. 239.*

Item, paid to John Heminges uppon the Cownsellis warrant dated att Whitehall, xx.<sup>o</sup> die Maij, 1613, for presentinge before the Princes Highnes, the Lady Elizabeth and the Prince Palatyne Elector, fowerteene severall playes, viz., one playe called Filaster, one other called the Knott of Fooles, one other Much adoe abowte nothinge, the Mayeds Tragedy, the merye dyvell of Edmonton, the Tempest, A kinge and no kinge, the Twins Tragedie, the Winters Tale, Sir John Falstafe, the Moor of Venice, the Nobleman, Cæsars Tragedye, and one other called Love lyes a bleedinge, all which playes weare played within the tyme of this accompte, viz., paid the some of iiij<sup>xx</sup> xiiij.<sup>li</sup> vj.<sup>s</sup> viij.<sup>d</sup>.

Item, paid to the said John Heminges uppon the lyke warrant, dated att Whitehall, xx.<sup>o</sup> die Maij, 1613, for presentinge sixe severall playes, viz.; one playe called a badd beginninge<sup>®</sup> makes a good endinge, one other called the Capteyne, one other the Alcumist, one other Cardenno, one other the Hotspur, and one other called Benedicte and Betteris, all played within the tyme of this accompte, viz.; paid fortie powndes, and by waye of his Majesties rewarde twentie powndes. In all, lx. *li*.

*XIII. Verses prefixed to—"Poems written by Wil. Shakespeare. Gent. Printed at London by Tho. Cotes, and are to be sold by John Benson, dwelling in St. Dunstons Church-yard. 1640." Leonard Digges, the author of these lines, was an Oxford scholar, whose earliest printed work appeared in the year 1617, and who died at that university in 1635. The following poem was evidently written soon after the opening of the*

*second Fortune Theatre in 1623, and it bears every appearance of having been intended for one of the Commendatory Verses prefixed to the first folio, perhaps that for which his shorter piece in that volume may have been substituted.*

Upon Master William Shakespeare, the Deceased Authour,  
and his Poems.

Poets are borne not made,—when I would prove  
The truth, the glad remembrance I must love  
Of never dying Shakespeare, who alone  
Is argument enough to make that one.  
First, that he was a poet none would doubt,  
That heard th' applause of what he sees set out  
Imprinted ; where thou hast—I will not say,  
Reader, his *Workes*, for to contrive a play  
To him twas none,—the patterne of all wit,  
Art without Art unpareld as yet.  
Next Nature onely helpt him, for looke thorow  
This whole booke, thou shalt find he doth not borrow  
One phrase from Greekes, nor Latines imitate,—  
Nor once from vulgar languages translate,—  
Nor plagiari-like from others gleane,—  
Nor begges he from each witty friend a scene  
To peece his Acts with,—all that he doth write,  
Is pure his owne ; plot, language exquisite.  
But oh ! what praise more powerfull can we give  
The dead, then that by him the Kings Men live,  
His players, which should they but have shar'd the<sup>e</sup> fate.—  
All else expir'd within the short termes date,—  
How could the Globe have prospered, since, through want  
Of change, the plaies and poems had growne scant  
But, happy verse, thou shalt be sung and heard,  
When hungry quills shall be such honour bard.  
Then vanish upstart writers to each stage,  
You needy poetasters of this age ;  
Where Shakespeare liv'd or spake, vermine, forbear,  
Least with your froth you spot them, come not neere ;  
But if you needs must write, if poverty

So pinch, that otherwise you starve and die,  
On Gods name may the Bull or Cockpit have  
Your lame blancke verse, to keepe you from the grave :  
Or let new Fortunes younger brethren see,  
What they can picke from your<sup>r</sup>leane industry.  
I doe not wonder when you offer at  
Blacke-Friers, that you suffer : tis the fate  
Of richer veines, prime judgements that have far'd  
The worse, with this deceased man compar'd.  
So have I seene, when Cesar would appeare,  
And on the stage at halfe-sword parley were,  
Brutus and Cassius, oh how the audience  
Were ravish'd ! with what wonder they went thence,  
When some new day they would not brooke a line,  
Of tedious (though well laboured) Cataline ;  
Sejanus too was irkesome ; they priz'de more  
Honest Iago, or the jealous Moore.  
And though the Fox and subtile Alchymist,  
Long intermitted, could not quite be mist,  
Though these have sham'd all the ancients, and might raise  
Their authours merit with a crowne of bayes,  
Yet these sometimes, even at a friends desire  
Acted, have scarce defrai'd the seacoale fire  
And doore-keepers : when, let but Falstaffe come,  
Hall, Paines, the rest,—you scarce shall have a roome,  
All is so pester'd : let but Beatrice  
And Benedicke be seene, loe, in a trice  
The cockpit, galleries, boxes, all are full  
To hear Malvoglio, that crosse garter'd gull.  
Briefe, there is nothing in his wit fraught booke,  
Whose sound we would not heare, on whose worth looke,—  
Like old coynd gold, whose lines in every page,  
Shall passe true currant to succeeding age.  
But why doe I dead Sheakspeares<sup>@</sup> praise recite,  
Some second Shakespeare must of Shakespeare write ;  
For me tis needlesse, since an host of men  
Will pay, to clap his praise, to free my pen.—*Leon. Digges.*

*XIV. The commencement of an elegy—"On Mr. Richard Burbidge an excellent both player and painter"—from a manuscript of the time of Charles I., preserved in the library of the Earl of Warwick. The line given in Italics, wanting in that volume, is supplied from another copy. This addition is necessary to the context, but otherwise the original is carefully followed, a single text in these cases being more authoritative than an eclectic one. The first word of l. 17 is of course an error for oft, and two various readings are worth special notice, —in l. 19 mad for sad, and in l. 21 his for this. Five transcripts of the elegy, all of them in seventeenth-century manuscripts of undoubted genuineness, are known to exist, viz.—one at Warwick Castle, two at Thirlestane House, and two (one in octavo and one in quarto) formerly belonging to Haslewood and now in the library of Mr. A. Huth. The lines referring to Hamlet, Lear and Othello, are found in all but one (the octavo Haslewood) of these manuscripts, the solitary omission being no doubt accidental.*

Some skillful limmer aid mee ; if not so,  
 Som sad tragœdian helpe to express my wo :  
 But, oh ! hee's gone, that could the best both limme  
 And act my greif ; and it is only him  
 That I invoke this strang assistance to it,  
 And on the point intreat himself to doe it ;  
 For none but Tully Tully's prays can tell,  
 And as hee could no man could doe so well  
 This part of sorrow for him, nor here shew  
 So truly to the life this mapp of woe,—  
 That greifs true picture which his loss hath bred.  
 Hee's gone, and with him what a world is dead,  
 Which hee reviv'd ; to bee revived so  
 No more :—young Hamlet, old Hieronimo,  
 Kind Leir, the greived Moor, and more beside,  
 That livd in him, have now for ever died.  
 Ought® have I seene him leape into the grave,  
 Suiting the person (that hee seemd to have)  
 Of a sad lover with so true an eie,  
 That then I would have sworn hee meant to die.

*Oft have I seene him play this part in jeast*  
 So lively, that spectators and the rest  
 Of his sad crew, whilst hee but seemd to bleed,  
 Amazed thought ev'n that hee died indeed.  
 And did not knowledg cheke mec, I should sweare  
 Even yet it is a fals report I heare,  
 And think that hee that did so truly faine  
 Is still but dead in jest, to live againe ;  
 But now hee acts this part, not plaies, tis knowne ;  
 Others hee plaid, but acted hath his owne.

*XV. Extract from an account of a visit to Bosworth Field given in an itinerary by Bishop Corbet, here taken from the edition in his Poems, ed. 1647. This pleasant narrative was no doubt written long before the date of publication, while the recollections of the host of the Leceister inn are obviously meant to extend to a period antecedent to the year 1619.*

Mine host was full of ale and history,  
 And on the morrow when he brought us nigh  
 Where the two roses joyned, you would suppose  
 Chaucer nere writ the Romant of the Rose.  
 Heare him : see yee yond' woods ? there Richard lay  
 With his whole army. Looke the other way,  
 And loe where Richmond in a bed of grosse®  
 Encamp'd himselfe o're night with all his force.  
 Upon this hill they met. Why, he could tell  
 The inch where Richmond stood, where Richard fell ;  
 Besides what of his knowledge he could say,  
 Hee had authentique notice from the play,  
 Which I might guesse by's mustring up the ghosts,  
 And policies not incident to hosts ;  
 But chiefly by that one perspicuous thing  
 Where he mistooke a player for a king,  
 For when he would have said, King Richard dy'd,  
 And call'd a horse, a horse, he Burbage cry'd.



## THE COPYRIGHT ENTRIES.

1593.—xviij<sup>o</sup> Aprilis.—Richard Feild.—Entred for his copie, vnder thandes of the Archbisshop of Cant. and Mr. Warden Stirrop, a booke intituled<sup>®</sup> Venus and Adonis.—Assigned ouer to Mr. Harrison sen: 25 Junij, 1594. *The last paragraph is a marginal note inserted at or near the latter date.*

1593-4.—vj.to die Februarij.—John Danter.—Entred for his copye vnder thandes of bothe the wardens a booke intituled a Noble Roman Historye of Tytus Andronicus.

1593-4.—xij<sup>o</sup> Marcij. Thomas Myllington. Entred for his copie vnder the handes of bothe the wardens, a booke intituled, the firste parte of the contention of the twoo famous houses of york and Lancaster, with the deathe of the good Duke Humfrey, and the banishment and deathe of the duke of Suff: and the tragicall ende of the prowde Cardinall of winchester, with the notable rebellion of Jack Cade and the duke of yorkes first clayme vnto the crowne.

1594.—9 May.—Mr. Harrison Sen.—Entred for his copie, vnder thand of Mr. Cawood, warden, a booke intituled the Ravyshement of Lucrece.

1594.—25 Junij.—Mr. Harrison Sen.—Assigned ouer vnto him from Richard Feild, in open court holden this day, a book called Venus and Adonis, the which was before entred to Ric. Feild, 18 April, 1593.

1596.—25 Junij.—William Leeke.—Assigned ouer vnto him for his copie from Mr. Harrison thelder, in full court holden this day, by the said Mr. Harrisons consent, a booke called Venus and Adonis.

1597.—29<sup>o</sup> Augusti.—Andrew Wise.—Entred for his copie,



by appoyntm<sup>t</sup> from Mr. Warden Man, The Tragedye of Richard the Second.

1597.—20 Octobr.—Andrew Wise.—Entred for his copie, vnder thandes of Mr. Barlowe and Mr. warden Man, The tragedie of kinge Richard the Third with the death of the duke of Clarence.

1597-8.—1597, Annoque R. R. Eliz : 40<sup>o</sup>. xxv<sup>to</sup> die Februarij.—Andrew Wyse.—Entred for his copie, vnder thandes of Mr. Dix and Mr. Warden Man, a booke intituled The historye of Henry the iiij.<sup>th</sup> with his battaile at Shrewsburye against Henry Hottspurre of the Northe, with the conceipted mirthe of Sir John Falstoff.

1598.—Anno 40<sup>mo</sup> Regine Elizabethe, xxij.<sup>o</sup> Julij.—James Robertes.—Entred for his copie, vnder the handes of bothe the wardens, a booke of the marchaunt of Venyce, or otherwisye called the Jewe of Venyce, Prouided that yt bee not prynted be the said James Robertes, or anye other whatsoeuer, without lycence first had from the Right honorable the lord chamberlen.

1600.—4 Augusti.—As yow like yt, a booke, Henry the Fift, a booke ; The Commedie of Muche A doo about nothinge, a booke,—to be staied. *In the original the last three words are on the side of a bracket, denoting that they refer to all the plays here mentioned.*

1600.—14 Augusti.—Thomas Pavyer.—Entred for his copyes, by direction of Mr. White, warden, vnder his hand wrytinge, These copyes followinge, beinge thinges formerlye printed and sett over to the sayd Thomas Pavyer, viz. . . . The historye of Henrye the v<sup>th</sup>, with the battell of Agencourt.

1600.—23 Augusti.—Andrew Wyse ; William Aspley.—Entred for their copies vnder the handes of the wardens, twoo bookes, the one called Muche adoo about Nothinge, thother the second parte of the history of Kinge Henry the iiij.<sup>th</sup>, with the humors of Sir John Falstaff, wrytten by Mr. Shakespere.

1600.—8 Octobr. Tho. Fysshier.—Entred for his copie, vnder the handes of Mr. Rodes and the wardens, A booke called A mydsommer nightes dreame.

1600.—28 Octobr.—Tho. Haies.—Entred for his copie, vnder the handes of the wardens and by consent of Mr. Robertes, A booke called the booke of the Merchant of Venyce.

1601-2.—18 Januarij.—Jo. Busby.—Entred for his copie, vnder the hand of Mr. Seton, a booke called, An excellent and pleasant conceited commedie of Sir Jo. Faulstof and the merry wyves of windesor. *Immediately after this, under the same day, is the following entry*,—Arthure Johnson.—Entred for his copley by assignement from John Busbye, A booke called an excellent and pleasant conceyted Comedie of Sir John Faulstafe and the merye wyves of windsor.

1602.—44 Re., 19 April.—Tho. Pavier.—Entred for his copies, by assignemt from Thomas Millington, these bookes folowinge, salvo jure cujuscunque, viz., The first and second parte of Henry the vit., ij. bookes ; a book called Titus and Andronicus. Entred by warrant vnder Mr. Setons hand.

1602.—xxvj<sup>to</sup> Julij.—James Robertes.—Entred for his Copie, vnder the handes of Mr. Pasfeild and Mr. Waterson, warden, A booke called the Revenge of Hamlett Prince Denmarke®, as yt was latelie Acted by the Lo : Chamberleyne his servantes.

1602-3.—7 Febr.—Mr. Robertes.—Entered for his copie, in full Court holden this day, to print when he hath gotten sufficient authority for yt, The booke of Troilus and Cresseda as yt is acted by my Lord Chamberlens men.

1603.—1 Regis. Ja. 25 Junj.—Math. Lawe.—Entred for his copies in full courte holden this day, these copies folowinge, viz., iij. enterludes or playes ; the first is of Richard the 3, the second of Richard the 2, the third of Henry the 4 the first parte, all kinges. All whiche by consent of the company are sett ouer to him from Andr : Wyge.

1606-7.—22. Januar.—Mr. Linge.—Entred for his copies, by direccion of a Court, and with consent of Mr. Burby vnder his handwryting, These iij. copies, viz., Romeo and Juliett, Loues Labour Loste, The taminge of a Shrewe.

1607.—5<sup>to</sup> Regis, 19 Novembr.—Jo. Smythyk.—Entred for his copies, vnder thandes of the wardens, these bookes folowing whiche dyd belonge to Nicholas Lynge, viz., a booke called Hamlett ; Romeo and Julett ; Loues labour lost.

1607.—5 Regis 26 Nov.—Na. Butter ; Jo. Busby.—Entred for their copie vnder thandes of Sir Geo. Buck, knight, and thwardens, a booke called Mr. William Shakespeare his historye of Kinge Lear, as yt was played before the Kinges maiestie at Whitehall vppon St. Stephans night at Christmas last by his maiesties servantes playinge vsually at the globe on the Banksyde.

1608.—6<sup>to</sup> regis Jacobi, 2<sup>do</sup> die Maij,—Mr. Payyer.—Entered for his copie, vnder the handes of Mr. Wilson and Mr. Warden Seton, A booke called A Yorkshire Tragedy, written by Wyllyam Shakespere.

1608.—20 May.—Edw. Blount.—Entred for his copie, vnder thandes of Sir Geo. Buck, knight, and Mr. Warden Seton, a booke called, The booke of Percydes prynce of Tyre.—*Under the same day is the following entry*,—Edw. Blunt.—Entred also for his copie, by the lyke auctoritic, a booke called Anthony and Cleopatra.

1608-9.—28<sup>uo</sup> Januarij.—Ri. Bonion ; Henry Walleys.—Entred for their copy vnder thandes of Mr. Segar, deputy to Sir George Bucke, and Mr. Warden Lownes, a booke called The history of Troylus and Cressula<sup>o</sup>.

1609.—20 May.—Tho. Thorpe.—Entred for his copie, vnder the handes of Mr. Wilson and Mr. Lownes, warden, a Booke called Shakespeares sonnettes.

1613-4.—Primo Martij, 1613.—Roger Jackson.—Entred for his coppies, by consent of Mr. John Harrison the eldest, and by order of a Court, these 4 bookes followinge, viz.<sup>t</sup>,—Mascalls first booke of Cattell ; Mr. Dentes sermon of repentance ; Recordes Arithmeticke ; Lucrece.

1616-7.—16<sup>o</sup> Febr. 1616. Rr. 14<sup>o</sup>.—Mr. Barrett.—Assigned ouer vnto him by Mr. Leake, and by order of a full Courte, Venus and Adonis.

1619.—8<sup>o</sup> Julij, 1619.—Lau: Hayes.—Entred for his copies, by consent of a full Court, theis two copies following, which were the copies of Thomas Haies, his fathers, viz.<sup>t</sup>, a play called The Marchant of Venice, and the Ethiopian History.

1619-20.—8<sup>o</sup> Martij, 1619.—John Parker.—Assigned ouer

vnto him, with the consent of Mr. Barrett and order of a full Court holden this day, all his right in Venus and Adonis.

1621.—6<sup>o</sup> Octobris, 1621.—Tho: Walkley.—Entred for his copie, vnder the handes of Sir George Buck and Mr. Swinhowe, warden, The Tragedie of Othello, the moore of Venice.

1623.—8<sup>o</sup> Nouembris, 1623, Rr. Jac. 21<sup>o</sup>—Mr. Blounte ; Isaak Jaggard.—Entred for their copie vnder the hands of Mr. Dor. Worrall and Mr. Cole, warden, Mr. William Shakspeers Comedyes, Histories and Tragedyes, soe manie of the said copies as are not formerly entred to other men, viz.<sup>t.</sup>,—*Comedyes*. The Tempest. The two gentlemen of Verona. Measure for Measure. The Comedy of Errors. As you like it. All's well that ends well. Twelfe night. The winters tale.—*Histories*. The thirde parte of Henry the sixt. Henry the eight.—*Tragedies*. Coriolanus. Timon of Athens. Julius Cæsar. Macbeth. Anthonie and Cleopatra. Cymbeline.



## LIFE-TIME EDITIONS.

This list of the contemporary editions of Shakespeare's poems and dramas, here arranged in chronological order, will give a fair idea of the extent in one direction of the literary popularity that he enjoyed in his own life-time. The titles of spurious works that are found either with his name in full, or in abridgement, are also included; but those with merely his initials have not been admitted. There is no distinct evidence that intentional deception was contemplated in any of the latter cases.

1. Venvs and Adonis—Vilia miretur vulgus : mihi flauus Apollo=Pocula Castalia plena ministret aqua. — London—Imprinted by Richard Field, and are to be sold at the signe of the white Greyhound in Paules Church-yard. 1593.

2. Titus Andronicus his Lamentable Tragedy, acted by the Earls of Derby, Pembroke and Essex, their Servants. 1594. *This description is taken from a notice in Langbaine's Account of the English Dramatick Poets, 1691, p. 464, no copy of this edition of the play being now known to exist.*

3. The First part of the Contention betwixt the two famous Houses of Yorke and Lancaster, with the death of the good duke Humphrey : And the banishment and death of the Duke of Suffolke, and the Tragickall end of the proud Cardinall of Winchester, with the notable Rebellion of Iacke Cade : And the Duke of Yorkes first claime vnto the Crowne. London—Printed by Thomas Creed, for Thomas Millington, and are to be sold at his shop vnder Saint Peters Church in Cornwall. 1594.

4. Lvcgrece.—London.—Printed by Richard Field, for Iohn Harrison, and are to be sold at the signe of the white Greyhound in Paules Church-yard. 1594.

5. Venvs and Adonis. Vilia miretur vulgus : mihi flauus Apollo = Pocula Castalia plena ministret aqua. London, Imprinted by Richard Field, and are to be sold at the signe of the white Greyhound in Paules Church-yard. 1594.

6. The true Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke, and the death of good King Henrie the Sixt, with the whole contention betweene the two Houses Lancaster and Yorke, as it was sundrie times acted by the Right Honourable the Earle of Pembroke his seruants.—Printed at London by P. S. for Thomas Millington, and are to be sold at his shoppe vnder Saint Peters Church in Cornwal. 1595.

7. Venvs And Adonis. Vilia miretur vulgus : mihi flauus Apollo = Pocula castalia plena ministret aqua. Imprinted at London by R. F. for Iohn Harison. 1596.

8. An Excellent conceited Tragedie of Romeo and Iuliet. As it hath been often (with great applause) plaid publicuely, by the right Honourable the L. of Hunsdon his Seruants.—London, Printed by John Danter. 1597.

9. The Tragedie of King Richard the second. As it hath beene publicely acted by the right Honourable the Lorde Chamberlaine his Seruants. London—Printed by Valentine Simmes for Androw Wise, and are to be sold at his shop in Paules church yard at the signe of the Angel. 1597.

10. The Tragedy of King Richard the third. Containing, His treacherous Plots against his brother Clarence : the pittiefull murther of his iunocent<sup>®</sup> nephewes : his tyrannicall vsurpation : with the whole course of his detested life, and most deserued death. As it hath beene lately Acted by the Right honourable the Lord Chamberlaine his seruants.—At London—Printed by Valentine Sjms, for Andrew Wise, dwelling in Paules Chuch-yard<sup>®</sup>, at the Signe of the Angell. 1597.

11. Lvcrece. At London, Printed by P. S. for Iohn Harrison. 1598.

12. The Hystorie of Henrie the Fourth. 1598.—*No copy of this first edition of the play, having a title, is known to exist ; the only portion of it, hitherto discovered, being a fragment of the text with the head-line as here given.*

13. A Pleasant Conceited Comedie called, Loues labors lost. As it vvvas presented before her Highnes this last Christmas. Newly corrected and augmented By W. Shakespere.—Imprinted at London by W. W. for Cutbert Burby. 1598.

14. The Tragedie of King Richard the second. As it hath beene publikely acted by the Right Honourable the Lord Chamberlaine his seruants. By William Shake-speare. London - Printed by Valentine Simmes for Andrew Wise, and are to be sold at his shop in Paules churchyard at the signe of the Angel. 1598.

15. The Tragedie of King Richard the third. Containing his treachorous Plots against his brother Clarence : the pitiful murther of his innocent Nephewes : his tyrannicall vsurpation : with the whole course of his detested life, and most deserued death. As it hath beene lately Acted by the Right honourable the Lord Chamberlaine his seruants. By William Shake-speare. — London—Printed by Thomas Creede, for Andrew Wise, dwelling in Paules Church-yard, at the signe of the Angell. 1598.

16. The History of Henrie the Fovrth ; With the battell at Shrewsburie, betweene the King and Lord Henry Percy, surnamed Henrie Hotspur of the North. With the humorous conceits of Sir Iohn Falstalffe. At London, Printed by P. S. for Andrew Wise, dwelling in Paules Churchyard, at the signe of the Angell. 1598.

17. Venuſ and Adonis.—Vilia miretur vulgus : mihi flauus Apollo=Pocula Castalia plena ministret aqua.—Imprinted at London for William Leake, dwelling in Paules Churchyard at the signe of the Greyhound. 1599.

18. The Most Excellent and lamentable Tragedie, of Romeo and Iuliet. Newly corrected, augmented, and amended : As it hath bene sundry times publiquely acted, by the right Honourable the Lord Chamberlaine his Seruants.—London—Printed by Thomas Creede, for Cuthbert Burby, and are to be sold at his shop neare the Exchange. 1599.

19. The Passionate Pilgrime. By W. Shakespeare. At London—Printed for W. Iaggard, and are to be sold by W. Leake, at the Greyhound in Paules Churchyard. 1599.



20. *The History of Henrie the Fovrth ; With the battell at Shrewsburie, betweene the King and Lord Henry Percy, sur-named Henry Hotspur of the North. With the humorous conceits of Sir Iohn Falstalffe. Newly corrected by W. Shake-speare. At London, Printed by S. S. for Andrew Wise, dwelling in Paules Churchyard, at the signe of the Anker. 1599.*

21. *The first Part of the Contention betwixt the two famous houses of Yorke and Lancaster, with the death of the good Duke Humphrey : And the banishment and death of the Duke of Suffolke, and the tragicall end of the prowd Cardinall of Winchester, with the notable rebellion of Iacke Cade : And the Duke of Yorkes first clayme to the crowne. London : Printed by W. W. for Thomas Millington, and are to be sold at his shoppe vnder Saint Peters Church in Cornewall. 1600.*

22. *The First part of the Contention betwixt the two famous houses of Yorke and Lancaster, with the death of the good Duke Humphrey : And the banishment and death of the Duke of Suffolke, and the Tragical end of the prowd Cardinall of Winchester, with the notable Rebellion of Iacke Cade : And the Duke of Yorkes first clayme to the Crowne. London—Printed by Valentine Simmes for Thomas Millington, and are to be sold at his shop vnder S. Peters church in Cornewall. 1600.*

23. *Lvcrece. London. Printed by I. H. for Iohn Harrison. 1600.*

24. *The True Tragedie of Richarde Duke of Yorke, and the death of good King Henrie the sixt : With the whole contention betweene the two Houses, Lancaster and Yorke ; as it was sundry times acted by the Right Honourable the Earle of Pembroke his seruantes. Printed at London by W. W. for Thomas Millington, and are to be sold at his shoppe vnder Saint Peters Church in Cornewall. 1600.*

25. *The first part Of the true & honorable history, of the Life of Sir Iohn Old-castle, the good Lord Cobham. As it hath bene lately acted by the Right honorable the Earle of Notingham Lord High Admirall of England, his Seruants. Written by William Shakespeare. London—printed for T.P. 1600.*

26. The Cronicle History of Henry the fift, With his battell fought at Agin Court in France. Together with Auntient Pistoll. As it hath bene sundry times playd by the Right honorable the Lord Chamberlaine his seruants.—London—Printed by Thomas Creede, for Tho. Millington, and Iohn Busby. And are to be sold at his house in Carter Lane, next the Powle head. 1600.

27. The Second part of Henrie the fourth, continuing to his death, and coronation of Henrie the fift. With the humours of fir Iohn Falstaffe, and swaggering Pistoll. As it hath been fundrie times publicly acted by the right honourable, the Lord Chamberlaine his seruants. Written by William Shakespeare. London — Printed by V. S. for Andrew Wife, and William Aspley. 1600.

28. The Second part of Henrie the fourth, continuing to his death, and coronation of Henrie the fift. With the humours of Sir Iohn Falstaffe, and swaggering Pistoll. As it hath been sundrie times publicly acted by the right honourable, the Lord Chamberlaine his seruants. Written by William Shakespeare. London—Printed by V. S. for Andrew Wise, and William Aspley. 1600. *In the first edition of this drama, Valentine Simmes, the printer, having omitted to insert the first scene of the third act, was compelled to reprint a sheet to render the play complete, the perfect copies being distinguished by the peculiarity of the sheet E containing six instead of four leaves. The probability is that Simmes printed from a defective manuscript, for it is certain from the context that some of the omissions in the quarto, supplied in the folio, were written at the same time with the rest of the comedy.*

29. Much adoe about Nothing. As it hath been sundrie times publicly acted by the right honourable, the Lord Chamberlaine his seruants. Written by William Shakespeare. London—Printed by V. S. for Andrew Wise, and William Aspley. 1600.

30. A Midsommer nights dreame. As it hath beene sundry times publicly acted, by the Right honourable, the Lord Chamberlaine his seruants. Written by William Shakespeare. Imprinted at London, for Thomas Fisher, and are to be souled

at his shoppe, at the Signe of the White Hart, in Fleetestreete. 1600.

31. The Excellent History of the Merchant of Venice. With the extreme cruelty of Shylocke the Iew towards the saide Merchant, in cutting a iust pound of his flesh. And the obtaining of Portia, by the choyse of three Caskets. Written by W. Shakespeare.—Printed by J. Roberts, 1600.

32. Venvs and Adonis. Vilia miretur vulgus : mihi flauus Apollo=Pocula castalia plena ministret aqua. London. Printed by I. H. for Iohn Harison. 1600.

33. A Midsommer nights dreame. As it hath beene sundry times publikely acted, by the Right Honourable, the Lord Chamberlaine his seruants. Written by William Shakespeare. Printed by Iames Roberts, 1600.

34. The most lamentable Romaine Tragedie of Titus Andronicus. As it hath sundry times beene playde by the Right Honourable the Earle of Pembroke, the Earle of Darbie, the Earle of Sussex, and the Lorde Chamberlaine theyr Seruants. At London, Printed by I. R. for Edward White and are to bee solde at his shoppe, at the little North doore of Paules, at the signe of the Gun. 1600.

35. The most excellent Historie of the Merchant of Venice. With the extreame crueltie of Shylocke the Iewe towards the sayd Merchant, in cutting a iust pound of his flesh : and the obtayning of Portia by the choyse of three chests. As it hath beene diuers times acted by the Lord Chamberlaine his Seruants. Written by William Shakespeare.—At London, Printed by I. R. for Thomas Heyes, and are to be sold in Paules Church-yard, at the signe of the Greene Dragon. 1600.

36. A "Poeticall Essaie on the Turtle and Phœnix," published in "Loves Martyr or Rosalins Complaint, allegorically shadowing the truth of Loue in the constant Fate of the Phœnix and Turtle," London, Imprinted for E. B., 1601.

37. A Most pleasaunt and excellent conceited Comedie, of Syr Iohn Falstaffe, and the merrie Wiues of Windsor. Entermixed with sundrie variable and pleasing humors of Syr Hugh the Welch Knight, Iustice Shallow, and his wise Cousin

M. Slender. With the swaggering vaine of Auncient Pistoll, and Corporall Nym. By William Shakespeare. As it hath bene diuers times Acted by the right Honorable my Lord Chamberlaines seruants Both before her Maiestie, and elsewhere. London—Printed by T. C. for Arthur Iohnson, and are to be sold at his shop in Powles Church-yard, at the signe of the Flower de Leuse and the Crowne. 1602.

38. The Chronicle History of Henry the fift, With his battell fought at Agin Court in France. Together with Auntient Pistoll. As it hath bene sundry times playd by the Right honorable the Lord Chamberlaine his seruants. London—Printed by Thomas Creede, for Thomas Pauier, and are to be sold at his shop in Cornhill, at the signe of the Cat and Parrets, neare the Exchange. 1602.

39. Venvs and Adonis.—Vilia miretur vulgus : mihi flavus Apollo = Pocula Castalia plena ministret aqua Imprinted at London for William Leake, dwelling at the signe of the Holy Ghost, in Pauls Churchyard. 1602.

40. Venvs and Adonis.—Vilia miretur vulgus, mihi flavus Apollo = Pocula Castalia plena ministret aqua Imprinted at London for William Leake, dwelling at the signe of the Holy Ghost, in Paules Church-yard. 1602.

41. The Tragedie of King Richard the third. Containing his treacherous Plots against his brother Clarence : the pittifull murder of his innocent Nephewes : his tyrannicall vsurpation : with the whole course of his detested life, and most deserued death. As it hath bene lately Acted by the Right Honourable the Lord Chamberlaine his seruants. Newly augmented, By William Shakespeare.—London—Printed by Thomas Creede, for Andrew Wise, dwelling in Paules Church-yard, at the signe of the Angell. 1602.

42. The Tragicall Historie of Hamlet Prince of Denmarke —By William Shake-speare. As it hath beene diuerse times acted by his Highnesse seruants in the Cittie of London : as also in the two Vniuersities of Cambridge and Oxford, and else-where—At London—printed for N. L. and Iohn Trundell. 1603.

43. The Tragical Historie of Hamlet, Prince of Denmarke. By William Shakespeare. Newly imprinted and enlarged to almost as much againe as it was, according to the true and perfect Coppie.—At London, Printed by I. R. for N. L. and are to be sold at his shoppe vnder Saint Dunstons Church in Fleetstreet. 1604.

44. The History of Henrie the Fourth, With the battell at Shrewsburie, betweene the King, and Lord Henry Percy, surnamed Henry Hotspur of the North. With the humorous conceits of Sir Iohn Falstaffe. Newly corrected by W. Shakespeare. London—Printed by Valentine Simmes, for Mathew Law, and are to be solde at his shop in Paules Churchyard, at the signe of the Fox. 1604.

45. The Tragedie of King Richard the third. Containing his treacherous Plots against his brother Clarence : the pittifull murther of his innocent Nephewes : his tyrannicall vsurpation : with the whole course of his detested life, and most deserued death. As it hath bin lately Acted by the Right Honourable the Lord Chamberlaine his seruants. Newly augmented, By William Shake-speare.—London.—Printed by Thomas Creede, and are to be sold by Mathew Lawe, dwelling in Paules Churchyard, at the Signe of the Foxe, neare S. Austins gate, 1605.

46. The London Prodigall. As it was plaide by the Kings Maiesties seruants. By William Shakespeare. London, Printed by T. C. for Nathaniel Butter, and are to be sold neere S. Austins gate, at the signe of the pyde Bull. 1605.

47. The Tragical Historie of Hamlet, Prince of Denmarke. By William Shakespeare. Newly imprinted and enlarged to almost as much againe as it was, according to the true and perfect Coppie.—At London. Printed by I. R. for N. L. and are to be sold at his shoppe vnder Saint Dunstons Church in Fleetstreet. 1605.

48. Lvrece. At London, Printed be N. O. for Iohn Harison. 1607.

49. The Tragedie of King Richard the Second : With new additions of the Parliament Sceane, and the deposing of King Richard. As it hath been lately acted by the Kinges Maiesties

seruantes, at the Globe. By William Shake-speare. At London, Printed by W. W. for Mathew Law, and are to be sold at his shop in Paules Church-yard, at the signe of the Foxe. 1608.

50. M. William Shake-speare, His True Chronicle History of the life and death of King Lear, and his three Daughters. With the vnfortunate life of Edgar, sonne and heire to the Earle of Glocester, and his sullen and assumed humour of Tom of Bedlam. As it was plaid before the Kings Maiesty at White-Hall, vppon S. Stephens night, in Christmas Hollidaies. By his Maiesties Seruants, playing vsually at the Globe on the Banck-side.—Printed for Nathaniel Butter. 1608.

51. A Yorkshire Tragedy. Not so New as Lamentable and true. Acted by his Maiesties Players at the Globe. Written by W. Shakspeare.—At London—Printed by R. B. for Thomas Pauier and are to bee sold at his shop on Cornhill, neere to the exchange. 1608.

52. The Chronicle History of Henry the fift, with his battell fought at Agin Court in France. Together with ancient Pistoll. As it hath bene sundry times playd by the Right Honourable the Lord Chamberlaine his Seruants. Printed for T. P. 1608.

53. The History of Henry the fourth, With the battell at Shrewseburie, betweene the King, and Lord Henry Percy, surnamed Henry Hotspur of the North. With the humorous conceites of Sir Iohn Falstalffe. Newly corrected by W. Shake-speare. London, Printed for Mathew Law, and are to be sold at his shop in Paules Church-yard, neere vnto S. Augustines gate, at the signe of the Foxe. 1608.

54. M. William Shak-speare : His True Chronicle Historie of the life and death of King Lear and his three Daughters. With the vnfortunate life of Edgar, sonne and heire to the Earle of Gloster, and his sullen and assumed humor of Tom of Bedlam : As it was played before the Kings Maiestie at White-hall vpon S. Stephans night in Christmas Hollidayes. By his Maiesties seruants playing vsually at the Gloabe on the Bancke-side.—London, Printed for Nathaniel Butter, and are to be sold at his shop in Pauls Church-yard at the signe of the Pide Bull neere St. Austins Gate. 1608.

55. The Famous Historie of Troylus and Cresseid. Excellently expressing the beginning of their loues, with the conceited wooing of Pandarus Prince of Licia. Written by William Shakespeare.—London—Imprinted by G. Eld for R. Bonian and H. Walley, and are to be sold at the spread Eagle in Paules Church-yard, ouer against the great North doore. 1609.

56. The Historie of Troylus and Cresseida. As it was acted by the Kings Maiesties seruants at the Globe. Written by William Shakespeare.—London—Imprinted by G. Eld for R. Bonian and H. Walley, and are to be sold at the spread Eagle in Paules Church-yard, ouer against the great North doore. 1609.

57. The Late, And much admired Play, Called Pericles, Prince of Tyre. With the true Relation of the whole Historie, aduentures, and fortunes of the said Prince : As also, The notable strange, and worthy accidents, in the Birth and Life, of his Daughter Mariana. As it hath been diuers and sundry times acted by his Maiesties Seruants, at the Globe on the Banckside. By William Shakespeare. Imprinted at London for Henry Gosson, and are to be sold at the signe of the Sunne in Pater-noster row, &c. 1609.

58. The Late, And much admired Play, Called Pericles Prince of Tyre. With &c. 1609. *The title of this, the second edition, is identical with that last given.*

59. Shake-speares Sonnets. Neuer before Imprinted.—At London—By G. Eld for T. T. and are to be solde by Iohn Wright, dwelling at Christ Church gate. 1609.

60. Shake-speares Sonnets. Neuer before Imprinted.—At London—By G. Eld for T. T. and are to be solde by William Aspley. 1609.

61. The Most Excellent and Lamentable Tragedie, of Romeo and Juliet. As it hath beene sundrie times publiquely Acted, by the Kings Maiesties Seruants at the Globe. Newly corrected, augmented, and amended :—London—Printed for Iohn Smethwicke, and are to be sold at his Shop in Saint Dunstons Church-yard, in Fleetestreete vnder the Dyall. 1609.

62. The most lamentable Tragedie of Titus Andronicus.

As it hath sundry times beene plaide by the Kings Maiesties Seruants. London, Printed for Eedward White, and are to be solde at his shoppe, nere the little North dore of Pauls, at the signe of the Gun. 1611.

63. The First and second Part of the troublesome Raigne of John King of England. With the discouerie of King Richard Cordelions Base sonne (vulgarly named, The Bastard Fawconbridge :) Also, the death of King Iohn at Swinstead Abbey. As they were (sundry times) lately acted by the Queenes Maiesties Players. Written by W. Sh. — Imprinted at London by Valentine Simmes for Iohn Helme, and are to be sold at his shop in Saint Dunstons Churchyard in Fleetstreet. 1611.

64. The Tragedy of Hamlet Prince of Denmarke. By William Shakespeare. Newly imprinted and enlarged to almost as much againe as it was, according to the true and perfect Coppy.—At London, Printed for Iohn Smethwicke and are to be sold at his shoppe in Saint Dunstons Church yeard in Fleetstreet Vnder the Diall. 1611.

65. The Most Excellent And Lamentable Tragedie, of Romeo and Ivliet. As it hath beene sundrie times publicly Acted, by the Kings Maiesties Seruants at the Globe. Newly Corrected, augmented, and amended.—London, Printed for Iohn Smethwicke, and are to bee sold at his Shop in Saint Dunstanes Church-yard, in Fleetestreete vnder the Dyall.

66. The Most Excellent And Lamentable Tragedie, of Romeo and Ivliet. As it hath beene sundrie times publicly Acted, by the Kings Maiesties Seruants at the Globe. Written by W. Shake-speare. Newly Corrected, augmented, and amended.—London, Printed for Iohn Smethwicke, and are to bee sold at his Shop in Saint Dunstanes Church-yard, in Fleetestreete vnder the Dyall.

67. The Late, And much admired Play, Called Pericles, Prince of Tyre. With the true Relation of the whole History, aduentures, and fortunes of the sayd Prince : As also, The no lesse strange, and worthy accidents, in the Birth and Life, of his Daughter Mariana. As it hath beene diuers and sundry times acted by his Maiestyes Seruants, at the Globe on the Banck-side. By VVilliam Shakespeare. Printed at London by S. S. 1611.



68. The Tragedie of King Richard the third. Containing his treacherous Plots against his brother Clarence : the pittifull murther of his innocent Nephewes : his tyrannicall vsurpation : with the whole course of his detested life, and most deserued death. As it hath beene lately Acted by the Kings Maiesties seruants. Newly augmented, By William Shakespeare. London, Printed by Thomas Creede, and are to be sold by Mathew Lawe, dwelling in Pauls Church-yard, at the Signe of the Foxe, neare S. Austins gate, 1612.

69. The Passionate Pilgrime. or Certaine Amorous Sonnets, betweene Venus and Adonis, newly corrected and augmented. By W. Shakespere. The third Edition. Whereunto is newly added two Loue-Epistles, the first from Paris to Hellen, and Hellens answere backe againe to Paris. Printed by W. Iaggard. 1612.

70. The History of Henrie the fourth, With the Battell at Shrewseburie, betweene the King, and Lord Henrie Percy, surnamed Henrie Hotspur of the North. With the humorous conceites of Sir Iohn Falstaffe. Newly corrected by W. Shakespeare. London, Printed by W. W. for Mathew Law, and are to be sold at his shop in Paules Church-yard, neere vnto S. Augustines Gate, at the signe of the Foxe. 1613.

71. The Tragedie of King Richard the Second : With new additions of the Parliament Sceane, and the deposing of King, Richard. As it hath been lately acted by the Kinges Maiesties seruants, at the Globe. By William Shake-speare. At London, Printed for Mathew Law, and are to be sold at his shop in Paules Church-yard, at the signe of the Foxe. 1615.

72. The Rape of Lvrece. By Mr. William Shakespeare. Newly Reuised. London : Printed by T. S. for Roger Iackson, and are to be solde at his shop neere the Conduit in Fleet-street. 1616.

## THE FIRST FOLIO.

The earliest collective edition of the dramatic writings of Shakespeare was entered in the registers of the Stationers' Company on November the 8th, 1623, and was published under the title of,—“Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies.—Published according to the True Originall Copies.—London—Printed by Isaac Iaggard, and Ed. Blount. 1623.” At the commencement of this valuable work are the following prefixes, which, it is scarcely necessary to observe, were written by Shakespeare's friends and contemporaries, and are of extreme value and interest in connexion with the history of the poet's literary career.

*To the Most Noble and Incomparable Paire of Brethren.  
William Earle of Pembroke, &c. Lord Chamberlaine to the  
Kings most Excellent Maiesty. and Philip Earle of Mont-  
gomery, &c. Gentleman of his Maiesties Bed-Chamber. Both  
Knights of the most Noble Order of the Garter, and our  
singular good Lords.*

*Right Honourable,*

Whilst we studie to be thankful in our particular, for the many fauors we haue receiued from your L.L we are falne vpon the ill fortune, to mingle two the most diuerse things that can bee, feare, and rashnesse ; rashnesse in the enterprize, and feare of the successe. For, when we valew the places your H.H. sustaine, we cannot but know their dignity greater, then to descend to the reading of these trifles : and, while we name them trifles, we haue depriu'd our selues of the defence of our Dedication. But since your L.L. haue beene pleas'd to thinke these trifles some-thing, heeretofore ; and haue prosecuted both them, and

their Authour liuing, with so much fauour : we hope, that (they out-liuing him, and he not hauing the fate, common with some to be exequutor to his owne writings) you will vse the like indulgence toward them, you haue done vnto their parent. There is a great difference, whether any Booke choose his Patrones, or finde them : This hath done both. For, so much were your L.L. likings of the seuerall parts, when they were acted, as before they were published, the Volume ask'd to be yours. We haue but collected them, and done an office to the dead, to procure his Orphanes, Guardians ; without ambition either of selfe-profit, or fame : onely to keepe the memory of so worthy a Friend, & Fellow aliue, as was our Shakespeare, by humble offer of his playes, to your most noble patronage. Wherein, as we haue iustly obserued, no man to come neere your L.L. but, with a kind of religious addresse ; it hath bin the height of our care, who are the Presenters, to make the present worthy of your H.H. by the perfection. But, there we must also craue our abilities to be considerd, my Lords. We cannot go beyond our owne powers. Country hands reach foorth milke, creame, fruites or what they haue : and many Nations (we haue heard) thar had not gummess & incense, obtained their requests with a leauened Cake. It was no fault to approch their gods, by what meanes they could : And the most, though meanest, of things are made more precious, when they are dedicated to Temples. In that name therefore, we most humbly consecrate to your H.H. these remaines of your seruant Shakespeare ; that what delight is in them, may be euer your L.L. the reputation his, & the faults ours, if any be committed, by a payre so carefull to shew their gratitude both to the liuing, and the dead, as is

Your Lordshippes most bounden.

JOHN HEMINGE.

HENRY CONDELL.

*To the great Variety of Readers.*

From the most able, to him that can but spell : There you are number'd. We had rather you were weighd. Especially, when the fate of all Bookes depends vpon your capacities : and

not of your heads alone, but of your purses. Well ! It is now publike, & you wil stand for your priuiledges wee know : to read, and censure. Do so, but buy it first. That doth best commend a Booke, the Stationer saies. Then, how odde soeuer your braines be, or your wisdomes, make your licence the same, and spare not. Iudge your sixe-pen'orth, your shillings worth, your fiae shillings worth at a time, or higher, so you rise to the iust rates, and welcome. But, what euer you do, Buy. Censure will not driue a Trade, or make the lacke go. And though you be a Magistrate of wit, and sit on the stage at *Black-Friers*, or the *Cock-pit*, to arraigne Playes dailie, know, these Playes haue had their triall already, and stood out all Appeales ; and do now come forth quitted rather by a Decree of Court, then any purchas'd Letters of commendation.

It had bene a thing, we confesse, worthie to haue bene wished, that the Author himselfe had liu'd to haue set forth, and ouerseen his owne writings ; But since it hath bin ordain'd otherwise, and he by death departed from that right, we pray you do not envie his Friends, the office of their care, and paine, to haue collected & publish'd them ; and so to haue publish'd them, as where (before) you were abus'd with diuerse stolne, and surreptitious copies, maimed, and deformed by the frauds and stealthes of iniurious impostors, that expos'd them : euen those, are now offer'd to your view cur'd, and perfect of their limbes ; and all the rest, absolute in their numbers, as he conceiued thē. Who, as he was a happie imitator of Nature, was a most gentle expresser of it. His mind and hand went together : And what he thought, he vttered with that easinesse, that wee haue scarce receiued from him a blot in his papers. But it is not our prouince, who onely gather his works, and giue them you, to praise him. It is yours that reade him. And there we hope, to your diuers capacities, you will finde enough, both to draw, and hold you : for his wit can no more lie hid, then it could be lost. Reade him, therefore ; and againe, and againe : And if then you doe not like him, surely you are in some manifest danger, not to vnderstand him. And so we leaue you to other of his Friends, whom if you need, can bee your guides :

if you neede them not, you can leade your selues, and others.  
And such Readers we wish him.

JOHN HEMINGE.  
HENRIE CONDELL.

*To the memory of my beloued, the Author Mr. William Shakespeare : And what he hath left vs.*

To draw no enuy (Shakespeare) on thy name,  
Am I thus ample to thy Booke, and Fame :  
While I confesse thy writings to be such,  
As neither Man, nor Muse, can praise too much.  
'Tis true, and all mens suffrage. But these wayes  
Were not the paths I meant vnto thy praise :  
For seeliest Ignorance on these may light,  
Which, when it sounds at best, but eccho's right ;  
Or blinde Affection, which doth ne're aduance  
The truth, but gropes, and vrgeth all by chance :  
Or crafty Malice, might pretend this praise,  
And thinke to ruine, where it seem'd to raise.  
These are, as some infamous Baud, or whore,  
Should praise a Matron. What could hurt her more ?  
But thou art prooffe against them, and indeed  
Aboue th'ill fortune of them, or the need.  
I, therefore will begin. Soule of the Age !  
The applause ! delight ! the wonder of our Stage !  
My Shakespeare, rise ; I will not lodge thee by  
Chaucer, or Spenser, or bid Beaumont lye  
A little further, to make thee a roome :  
Thou art a Monument, without a tombe,  
And art aliue still, while thy Booke doth liue,  
And we haue wits to read, and praise to giue.  
That I not mixe thee so, my braine excuses ;  
I meane with great, but disproportion'd Muses  
For, if I thought my iudgement were of yeeres,  
I should commit thee surely with thy peeres,  
And tell, how farre thou didstst our Lily out-shine,  
Or sporting Kid, or Marlowes mighty line.  
And though thou hadst small Latine, and lesse Greeke,

From thence to honour thee, I would not seeke  
 For names ; but call forth thundring Æschilus,  
 Euripides, and Sophocles to vs,  
 Paccuius, Accius, him of Cordous dead,  
 To life againe, to heare thy Buskin tread,  
 And shake a Stage : Or, when thy Sockes were on,  
 Leaue thee alone, for the comparison  
 Of all, that insolent Greece, or haughtie Rome  
 Sent forth, or since did from their ashes come.  
 Triúmph, my Britaine, thou hast one to showe,  
 To whom all Scenes of Europe homage owe.  
 He was not of an age, but for all time !  
 And all the Muses still were in their prime,  
 When like Apollo he came forth to warme  
 Our eares, or like a Mercury to charme !  
 Nature her selfe was proud of his designes,  
 And ioy'd to weare the dressing of his lines !  
 Which were so richly spun, and wouen so fit,  
 As, since, she will vouchsafe no other Wit.  
 The merry Greeke, tart Aristophanes,  
 Neat Terence, witty Plautus, now not please ;  
 But antiquated, and deserted lye  
 As they were not of Natures family.  
 Yet must I not giue Nature all : Thy Art,  
 My gentle Shakespeare, must enioy a part.  
 For though the Poets matter, Nature be,  
 His Art doth giue the fashion. And, that he,  
 Who casts to write a liuing line, must sweat,  
 (Such as thine are) and strike the second heat  
 Vpon the Muses anuile : turne the same,  
 (And himselfe with it) that he thinkes to frame ;  
 Or for the lawrell, he may gaine a scorne,  
 For a good Poet's made, as well as borne.  
 And such wert thou. Looke how the fathers face  
 Liues in his issue, euen so, the race  
 Of Shakespeares minde, and manners brightly shines  
 In his well torned, and true-filed lines :

In each of which, he seemes to shake a Lance,  
 As brandish't at the eyes of Ignorance.  
 Sweet Swan of Auon ! what a sight it were  
 To see thee in our waters yet appeare,  
 And make those flights vpon the bankes of Thames,  
 That so did take Eliza, and our Iames !  
 But stay, I see thee in the Hemisphere  
 Aduanc'd, and made a Constellation there !  
 Shine forth, thou Starre of Poets, and with rage,  
 Or influence, chide, or cheere the drooping Stage ;  
 Which, since thy flight frō hence, hath mourn'd like night,  
 And despaire day, but for thy Volumes light.

BEN: IONSON.

*Vpon the Lines and Life of the Famous Scenicke Poet, Master  
 William Shakespeare.*

Those hands, which you so clapt, go now, and wring  
 You *Britaines* braue ; for done are *Shakespeares* dayes :  
 His dayes are done, that made the dainty Playes,  
 Which made the Globe of heau'n and earth to ring.  
 Dry'de is that veine, dry'd is the *Thespian* Spring,  
 Turn'd all to teares, and *Phæbus* clouds his rayes :  
 That corp's, that coffin now besticke those bayes,  
 Which crown'd him *Poet* first, then *Poets* King.  
 If *Tragedies* might any *Prologue* haue,  
 All those he made, would scarce make one to this :  
 Where *Fame*, now that he gone is to the graue  
 (Deaths publique tyring-house) the *Nuncius* is.  
 For though his line of life went soone about.  
 The life yet of his lines shall neuer out.

HVGH HOLLAND.

*To the Memorie of the deceased Authour Maister W.  
 Shakespeare.*

Shake-speare, at length thy pious fellowes giue  
 The world thy Workes : thy Workes, by which, out-liue  
 Thy Tombe, thy name must, when that stone is rent,  
 And Time dissolues thy Stratford Monument,

Here we aliue shall view thee still. This Booke,  
 When Brasse and Marble fade, shall make thee looke  
 Fresh to all Ages : when Posteritie  
 Shall loath what's new, thinke all is prodegie  
 That is not Shake-speares ; eu'ry Line, each Verse  
 Here shall reuiue, redeeme thee from thy Herse.  
 Nor Fire, nor cankring Age, as Naso said,  
 Of his, thy wit-fraught Booke shall once inuade.  
 Nor shall I e're beleeeue, or thinke thee dead  
 (Though mist) vntill our bankrout Stage be sped  
 (Impossible) with some new straine t' out-do  
 Passions. of Iuliet, and her Romeo ;  
 Or till I heare a Scene more nobly take,  
 Then when thy half-Sword parlying Romans sapke.  
 Till these, till any of thy Volumes rest  
 Shall with more fire, more feeling be exprest,  
 Be sure, our Shake-speare, thou canst neuer dye,  
 But crown'd with Lawrell, liue eternally.

L. DIGGES.

*To the Memorie of M. W. Shak-speare.*

Wee wondred (Shake-speare) that thou went'st so soone  
 From the Worlds-Stage, to the Graues-Tyring-roome.  
 Wee thought thee dead, but this thy printed worth,  
 Tels thy Spectators, that thou went'st but forth  
 To enter with applause. An Actors Art,  
 Can dye, and liue, to acte a second part.  
 That's but an Exit of Mortalitie,  
 This, a Re-entrance to a Plaudite.

I. M.



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The Workes of William Shakespeare,  
containing all his Comedies, Histories, and  
Tragedies : Truly set forth, according to their first  
ORIGYNALL.

---

The Names of the Principall Actors  
in all these Playes.

 William Shakespeare.

 Richard Burbadge.

John Hemmings.

Augustine Phillips.

William Kempt.

Thomas Poope.

George Bryan.

Henry Condell.

William Slye.

Richard Cowly.

John Lowine.

Samuell Crosse.

Alexander Cooke.

Samuel Gilburne.

Robert Armin.

William Ostler.

Nathan Field.

John Vnderwood.

Nicholas Tooley.

William Ecclestone.

Joseph Taylor.

Robert Benfield.

Robert Goughe.

Richard Robinsfon.

Iohn Shancke.

Iohn Rice.

# A CATALOGVE

of the feuerall Comedies, Hiftories, and Tra-  
gedies contained in this Volume.

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## DOCUMENTARY APPENDIX.

*I. A Conveyance by Robert Arden, Shakespeare's maternal grandfather, of a house and land at Snitterfield, in trust for his three daughters, 17 July, 1550. This farm was then occupied by Richard Shakespeare, the poet's own grandfather.*

Sciant præsentēs et futuri quod ego Robertus Ardern de Wylmecote in parochia de Aston Cantlowe in com. Warr. husbandman dedi, concessi, et hac præsentī cartā meā tripartiter indentat. confirmavi Adæ Palmer de Aston Cantlowe prædict. et Hugoni Porter de Snytterfylde in com. prædicto, totum illud mesuagiū meū cum suis pertinentiis in Snytterfylde prædict., quæ nunc sunt in tenura cujusdam Ricardi Shakespere, ac omnia illa meā terr. prat. pascuas et pasturas cum suis pertinentiis in Snytterfylde prædict. eidem mesuagio spectant. et pertinent. quæ nunc sunt in tenura prædicti Ricardi Shakespere, Habendum et tenendum omnia prædict. mesuagiū terr. prat. pascuas et pasturas cum suis pertinentiis prædictis Adæ Palmer et Hugoni Porter hæredibus et assign. suis ad usum et opus mei prædicti Roberti Ardern et Agnetis nunc uxoris meæ pro termino vitæ nostrum eorundem Roberti et Agnetis, ac diucius viventis nostrum, et post decessum diucius viventis nostrum prædictorum Roberti Ardern et Agnetis nunc uxoris meæ, tunc ad usus et opus sequent,—Scilicet, unam terciam partem omnium prædict. mesuagii terr. prat. pascuar. et pasturar. cum suis pertin. ad usum et opus Agnetis Strynger nunc uxoris Thomæ Strynger, ac nuper uxoris Johannis Hewyns, dudum de Bereley, modo defunct., filiæ mei prædict. Roberti Ardern, ac hæredum et assign. ejusdem Agnetis Strynger in perpetuum; et alteram terciam partem omnium eorundem mesuagii terr. prat. pasc. et pastur. cum suis pertinentiis, ad

usum et opus Johannæ Lambert, nunc uxoris Edwardi® Lambert de Barton super lez Hothe, aliæ filiæ mei prædicti Roberti Ardern, ac hæredum et assign. ejusdem Johannæ Lambert in perpetuum; aliamque terciam partem omnium prædictorum mesuagii terr. prat. pasc. et pastur. cum suis pertinentiis, ad usum et opus Katerinæ Etkyns, nunc uxoris Thomæ Etkyns de Wylmecote prædict., aliæ filiæ mei prædicti Roberti Ardern, ac hæredum et assign. ejusdem Katerinæ Etkyns in perpetuum, de capitalib. dominis feod. illi. per servic. inde prius debit. et de jure consuet. Et ego vero prædictus Robertus Ardern, et hæredes mei, omnia prædict. mesuagium terr. prat. pasc. et pastur. cum suis pertin. præfatis Adæ Palmer et Hugoni Porter hæredibus et assign. suis ad usus et opus supradict. contra omnes gentes warantizabim. et in perpetuum defendemus per præsentēs. Sciatis insuper me prædictum Robertum Ardern plenam et pacificam possessionem et seisinam de et in prædict. mesuagio terr. prat. pasc. et pastur. cum suis pertin. præfatis Adæ Palmer et Hugoni Porter ad usus et opus superius specificat. secundum vim, formam, tenorem, et effectum hujus præsentis cartæ meæ tripartiter indentat. inde eis confect. in propria persona mea tradidisse et liberasse. In cujus rei testimonium cuilibet parti hujus præsentis cartæ meæ tripartiter indentat. sigillum meum apposui. Dat. decimo septimo die Julii anno regni domini Edwardi sexti, Dei gratia Angliæ Franc. et Hibern. regis, Fidei defensoris, et in terra ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hibernicæ supremi capitis quarto.

*II. The Will of Robert Arden, Shakespeare's maternal grandfather, November, 1556. From the original in the Registry Court of Worcester.*

In the name of God, Amen, the xxiiijth daye of November in the yeare of our Lorde God 1556, in the thirde and the forthe yeare of the raygne of our soveragne Lorde and ladye, Phylipe and Marye, kyng and quene, &c., I, Robart Arden of Wyllmcote in the paryche of Aston Caunntlow, secke in bodye and good and perfett of rememberenc, make this my laste will and testement in maner and forme folowyng.—Fyryste, I bequethe my solle to Allmyghtye God and to our bleside Laydye Sent Marye,

and to all the holye compenye of heven, and my bodye to be beryde in the churchyarde of Seynt Jhon the baptyste in Aston aforsayde. Allso I give and bequethe to my youngste dowghter Marye all my lande in Willmecote, cawlide Asbyes, and the crop apon the grounde sowne and tyllide as hitt is. And vj.*li.* xiiij.*s.* iiij.*d.* of monye to be payde orr ere my goodes be devydide. Allso I gyve and bequethe to my dawghter Ales the thyrde parte of all mye goodes moveable and unmoveable in fylde and towne, after my dettes and leggeses be performyde, besydes that goode she hathe of her owne att this tyme. Allso I gyve and bequethe to Agnes my wife vj.*li.* xiiij.*s.* iiij.*d.* apon this condysione, that shall<sup>®</sup> sofer my dowghter Ales quyetye to ynyoye halfe my copye houlde in Wyllmcote dwryng the tyme of her wyddowewhodde ; and if she will nott soffer my dowghter Ales quyetye to occuppe halfe with her, then I will that my wyfe shall have butt iij.*li.* vj.*s.* viij.*d.* and her gintur in Snyterfylde Item, I will that the resedowe of all my goodes moveable and unmoveable, my funeralles and my dettes dyscharygde, I gyve and bequethe to my other cheldren to be equaleye devidide amongeste them by the descreshyon of Adam Palmer, Hugh Porter of Snytterfylde, and Jhon Skerlett, whome I do orden<sup>®</sup> and make my overseeres of this my last will and testament, and they to have for ther peynes takyng in this behalfe xx.*s.* apese. Allso I orden and constytute and make my full exequitores Ales and Marye my dowghteres of this my last will and testament, and they to have no more for ther peynes takyng now as afore geven them. Allso I gyve and bequethe to every house that hathe no teme in the paryche of Aston to every howse iiij.*d.*—Thes beyng wyttnesses,—Sir Wylliam Bouton, Curett ; Adam Palmer ; Jhon Skerlett ; Thomas Jhenkes ; William Pytt ; with other mo.—Probat. fuit, &c., Wigorn., &c., xvj.<sup>o</sup> die mensis Decembris, anno Domini 1556.

*III. The Ynventory of all the goodes moveable and unmoveable of Robart Ardennes of Wyllmcote, late desseside, made the ix<sup>th</sup> day of December in the thyrde and the sorthe yeare of the raygne of our soveraygne lorde and ladye Phylipe and Marye kyng and quen, &c. 1556.*

Imprimis, in the halle ij. table bordes, iij. choeyres, ij. fformes, one cobbowrde, ij. coshenes, iij. benches and one lytle table with shellves, presede att, viij.s.—Item, ij. peyntide clothes in the hall and v. peyntid clothes in the chamber, vij. peire of shettes, ii. cofferes, one which, preside at xviiij.s.—Item, v. borde clothes, ij. toweles and one dyeper towelle, presid att vj.s. viij.d.—Item, one ffether bedde, ij. mattereses, viij. canvases, one coverlett, iij. bosteres, one pelowe, iiij. peyntide clothes, one whyche, presid att xxvj.s. viij.d.—Item, in the kechen iiij. panes, iiij. pottes, iij. candell stykes, one bason, one chafyng dyche, ij. cathernes, ij. skellettes, one frying pane, a gredyrene, and pott hanginges with hookes, presed att lj.s. viij.d.—Item, one broche, a peare of cobbardes, one axe, a bill, iiij. nagares, ij. hatchettes, an ades, a mattoke, a yren crowe, one ffatt, iiij. barrelles, iiij. payles, a quyrne, a knedyng trogh, a lonng seve, a hansaw, presid att xx.s. ij.d.—Item, viij. oxen, ij. bollokes, vij. kyne, iiij. weyyng caves, xxiiij.li.—Item, iiij. horses, iij. coltes, presid att viij.li.—Item, lto. shepe, presid att vij.li.—Item, the whate in the barnes, and the barley, presid att xviiij.li.—Item, the heye and the pease, ottes and the strawe, presed att iij.li. vj.s. viij.d.—Item, ix. swyne presid att xxvj.s. viij.d.—Item, the bees and powltrye, presed att v.s.—Item, carte and carte geares, and plogh and plogh geares with harrowes, presed att xl.s.—Item, the wodd in the yarde, and the batten in the roffe, presid att xxx.s.—Item, the wheate in the ffylde, presid att vj.li. xiiij.s. iiij.d.—Summa totalis, lxxvij.li. xj.s. x.d.

*IV. Concord of a fine levied on the occasion of the purchase by Shakespeare's father of two houses at Stratford-on-Avon, 1575.*

Hæc est finalis concordia facta in curia dominæ reginæ apud Westm. a die Sancti Michaelis in unum mensem anno. regnor. Elizabeth. Dei gratia Angl. Franc. et Hibern. Reginæ, Fidei defensoris, &c., a conquestu decimo septimo, coram Jacobo Dyer, Ricardo Harpur, Rogero Manwood, et Roberto Mounson, justic, et aliis dominæ reginæ fidelibus tunc ibi præsentibus, inter Johannem Shakespere quer., et Edmundum Hall et Emmam uxorem ejus deforc., de duobus mesuagiis, duobus gardinis, et

duobus pomariis, cum pertinentiis, in Stretford-super-Avon ; unde placitum convencionis sum. fuit inter eos in eadem curia, scilicet quod prædicti Edm. et Emma recogn. prædict. ten. cum pertin. esse jus ipsius Johannis ut ill. quæ idem Johannes habet de dono prædictorum Edmundi et Emmæ, et ill. remiser. et quietclam. de ipsis Edmundo et Emma et hæred. suis prædicto Johanni et hæred. suis in perpetuum. Et præterea iidem Edmundus et Emma concesser., pro se et hæred. ipsius Emmæ, quod ipsi warant. prædicto Johanni et hæred. suis prædict. ten. cum pertin. contra prædictos Edmundum et Emmam et hæred. ipsius Emmæ in perpetuum. Et pro hac recogn. remissione quietclam. warant. fine et concordia idem Johannes dedit prædictis Edmundo et Emmæ quadraginta libras sterlingorum.

*V. Note of a Fine levied when the estate of Asbies was mortgaged by the Shakespeares, Easter Term, 21 Elizabeth, 1579.*

Inter Edmundum Lambert quer., et Johannem Shakespere et Mariam uxorem ejus deforc , de duobus mesuagiis, duobus gardenis, quinquaginta acris terræ, duabus acris prati, quatuor acris pasturæ, et communa pasturæ pro omnimodis averiis, cum pertinentiis in Awston Cawntlett. Unde placitum convencionis sum. fuit inter eos, &c., scilicet, quod prædicti Johannes et Maria recogn. prædicta ten. et communam pasturæ cum pertinentiis esse jus ipsius Edmundi, ut ill. quæ idem Edmundus habet de dono prædictorum Johannis et Mariæ, et ill. remiserunt et quietclam. de ipsis Johanne et Maria et hæredibus suis prædicto Edmundo et hæredibus suis in perpetuum. Et præterea iidem Johannes et Maria concesserunt per se et hæred. ipsius Mariæ quod ipsi warant. prædicto Edmundo et hæredibus suis prædicta ten. et communam pasturæ cum pertin. contra prædictos Johannem et Mariam et hæredes ipsius Mariæ in perpetuum. Et pro hac recogn. remissione quietclam. warant. fine, &c., idem Edmundus dedit prædictis Johanni et Mariæ quadraginta libras sterlingorum.

*VI. Deed of Conveyance, 15 October, 1579, from Shakespeare's parents to Robert Webbe, of their interest in property at Snitterfield.*

This indenture, made the fyftenthe daye of Octobar in the yeare of the raigne of our soveraigne ladye Elizabeth by the



grace of God of England, Fraunce and Ireland Quene, defendor of the faithe, &c., the twentythe and one, Betwene John Shackspere of Stratford-upon-Avon in the countye of Warwicke yoman and Marye his wyeffe on the one partye, and Robert Webbe of Snytterfylde in the same countye yoman on the other partye ; Witnessethe that the said John Shackspere and Marye his wiewfe, for and in consideracion of the somme of foure pounds of good and lawfull Englishe money by the aforesaid Roberte Webbe unto the said John Shackspere and Marye his wyeffe before the delyverie of these presents well and trulye contented and paid, of the which said somme the said John Shackspere and Marye his wyeffe doe acknowledge themselves fully satisfyed contented and paid, and thereof and of everye parte thereof the said . . . his heires executors administrators and assignes doe fully freely and cleerely acquyte exonerate and dyscharge for ever, by these presents, have gyven graunted bargayned and sold, and by these presents doe gyve graunte bargayne and sell, unto the said Robarte Webbe his heires and assignes for ever, all that theire moitye parte and partes, be yt more or lesse, of and in twoo messuages or tenements with thappurtenaunces, sett lyenge and beyng in Snitterfield aforesaid in the said county of Warwicke, and of all and singular houses, edifices, barnes, stables, gardens, orchards, medowes, lesues, pastures, feedings, commons, furzes, brushe-woods, underwoods, waters, lands, tenements, hereditaments, profytts, commodityties, whatsoever, or wheresoever in any wise to the said twoo messuages or tenements or any of them belonginge or appertaininge, or occupied with the same, in whose tenure or occupacion soever they or any of them or any parte or parcell of them nowe be ; and furthermore, the reversion and reversiones, remainder and remainders of the same, and the rent, duties, profytts and commodityties whatsoever to the said reversion or reversiones, remaynder or remaynders, in any wyse belonging incident or appleyinge, or excepted or reserved uppon any manner of graunte or demyse thereof heretofore had or made, or of any of thaforesaid premisses, together with all and singular deeds, cherters, evydences, wrytyngs and muni-

ments whatsoever towching and concerninge onely the foresaid twoo messuages or tenementes, or all or any of thaforesaid premisses which theye, thaforesaid John Shackspere or Marye his wyeffe, or eyther of them, or anye other person or persons, eyther by theyre or any of theyre delyverie or by theire or eyther of theire knowledge, now have or ought to have ;—To have and to holde theire said moitye, parte and partes, of the said twoo messuages or tenementes, and of all and singular the graunted premisses, with theire and everye of thappurtenaunces, unto thaforesaide Roberte Webbe his heires and assignes for ever, to his and theire onely proper use and behoofe ; all which theire said moitye, parte and partes, of the said twoo messuages or tenements with thappurtenaunces, and of all and singular the graunted premisses, with theire and everye of theire appurtenaunces, thafforesaid John Shackspere and Marye his wyeffe, for them and theire heires and the heires of eyther of them, by these presents to thafforesaid Robert Webbe his heires and assignes doe warrante and promysse to defende against the said John and Marye his wiffe and their heires and the heires of eyther of them for ever by these presents. And the said John Shackspere and Marye his wyeffe, for the consideration aforesaid, for them, theire heires and the heyres of eyther of them, theire executors administrators and assignes, and everye of them, doe covenant promysse and graunte to and with the said Robert Webbe, his heires executors administrators and assignes, and everye of them, by these presents, that theire said moitye, parte and partes, of thafforesaid twoo messuages or tenements, and of all and singular the graunted premisses with their appurtenaunces, at all tyme and tymes henceforth after the delyverie of these presents maye and shall lawfully and rightfully come be and remayne unto thafforesaid Robert Webbe his heires and assignes, accordinge to the true tenour and effecte of the graunte thereof before made in these presents, free cleere and voyde, or otherwise well and sufficientlie saved harmlesse, by the foresaid John Shackspere and Marye his wyeffe, theire heires and the heires of eyther of them and their assignes, of and from all and singular bargaines, sales, feoffmentes, grauntes, intayles, joyn-

tures, dowars, leases, wills, uses, rent-charge, rent-sects, arrerages of rents, recognizaunce, statute marchant and of the staple obligacions, judgments, executions, condempnacions, yssues, fynes, amercments, intrusions, forfaitures, alienacions without lycense, and of and from all other charges troubles and incumbances whatsoever heretofore had made or done by the foresaid John Shackspere and Marye his wieffe, or eyther of them, or of their heires or the heires of eyther of them, or by any other person or persons by, thorough or under, their or any of their right, tytle or interest, acte, consent or procurement,—the rents, customes and services due to the chieffe lord or lords of the fee or fees onely excepted and foreprised; and that theye, the foresaid John Shackspere and Marye his wyeffe, and all and everye other person or persons (except before excepted) now havinge, claiminge or pretendinge to have, or that hereafter shall have, claime or pretend to have, any manner of lawfull and just right, tytle and interest, of, in, to or out of their said moitye, parte and partes, of the foresaid twoo messuages or tenements, and of all or any of the graunted premisses with their appurtenaunces, in, by or thorough, the right, tytle or interest of the said John Shakspeare and Marye his wyeffe and their heires, and the heires of eyther of them, at all tyme and tymes hereafter, from and after the delyverie of these presentes, from tyme to tyme, uppon lawfull warninge and request made by the said Roberte Webbe his heirs and assignes unto thaforesaid John Shackspere and Marye his wyeffe, and their heires and the heires of eyther of them, at the proper costes and charges in the lawe of the said Robert Webbe his heires or assignes, shall and wyll doe cause and suffer to be done all and everye reasonable and lawfull acte and actes, thinge and thinges, devyse and devyses, for the more better and perfect assuraunce and sure makinge in the lawe of thaforesaid moitye, parte and partes, of the said twoo messuages or tenements, and of all and singular the graunted premisses with their appurtenaunces, to the said Robert Webbe, his heires and assignes, to his and their onely use and behoofe, be yt by fyne, feoffment, recovery, with single or double voucher, deedes inrolled, inrollement of those

presents, or by any or by all of them, or by any other wayes or meanes whatsoever, with warranty against them, the said John Shackspere and Marye his wyeffe, and their heires, and the heires of eyther of them, as shalbe advised or devised by the said Robert Webbe, his heires and assignes, or by his and their councell learned in the lawe. And furthermore that the said John Shackspere and Marye his wyeffe and their heires, and the heires of eyther of them and their assignes, shall and wyll delyver, uncanceled and undefaced, unto the said Roberte Webbe his heires or assignes, before the feast of Easter next ensueing the date of these presentes, all and singular the charters, deedes, evidences, wrytinges and myniments, which theye the said John Shackspere and Marye his wyeffe hath, or that theye their heires, executors or assignes, at any tyme hereafter maye lawfully come by, without suite in lawe, towching and concerning thaforsaid twoo messuages or tenements, or the before bargained premisses or any of them, they the said John Shackspere and Marye his wyeffe, or one of them, uppon lawfull request of the said Robert Webbe his heires and assignes, at his and their proper costes and charges unto them the said John and Marye their heires and assignes had and made, shall deliver or cause to be delyvered to the said Robart Webbe his heires and assignes the true and perfecte coppie and coppies at all tyme and tymes hereafter. In wittnesse whereof the partyes abovesaid to these present indentures interchangeble have putte their hands and seales the daye and yere fyrst above wrytten.—The marke + of John Shackspere.—The marke + of Marye Shacksper.—Sealed and delivered in the presens of Nycholas Knooles, vicar of Auston, of Wyllyam Maydes and Anthony Osbaston, with other moe.

*Bond for the performance of the foregoing covenants.*—  
 Noverint universi per præsentēs nos, Johannem Shackspere de Stratford-uppon-Avon in com. Warwici yoman et Mariam uxorem ejus, teneri et firmiter obligari Roberto Webbe de Snitterfielde in com. prædicto yoman, in viginti marcis bonæ et legalis monet. Angliæ, solvendum eidem Roberto aut suo certo attorney. execu-

toribus, administratoribus, vel assignatis suis ; ad quam quidem solutionem bene et fideliter faciendum obligamus nos hæredos, executores, et administratores nostros firmiter per præsentem, sigillo nostro sigillat. Dat decimo quinto die mensis Octobris anno regni dominæ Elizabeth. Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ et Hiberniæ regina, fidei defensor, &c. vicesimo primo.—The condition of this obligacion is such, that if thabove bounden John Shackspere and Marye his wyeffe, theire heires and the heires of eyther of them, theire executors, administrators and assignes, and everye of them, doe well and trulye observe, performe, fulfyll and keepe all and singular covenants, graunts, artycles and agreements which on their partes are to be observed, performed, fulfylled and kepte, contayned, comprised and specified in one paire of indentures, bearinge date the daye of the date of this present obligacion, made betwene the abovenamed Robarte Webbe on the one partye and thabove bound John Shackspere and Marie his wieffe on the other partye, that then this present obligacion to be utterlye voyde and of none effecte, or ells to stande remayne and be in full power strengthe force and vertue.—*Signum Joannis + Shaxpere.*—Sealed and delivered in the presens of Nycholas Knoolles, vicar of Auston, Wyllyam Mayds, and Anthonye Osbaston, with other moe.

*VII. The Will of Agnes Arden, step-mother to John Shakespeare's wife, and thus intimately connected with the poet's ancestry, 1579. From the original in the Registry Court of Worcester.*

In the name of God . . . . . yeare of our Lorde God 1579, and in the . . . . . yeare of the raigne off our Sovereigne . . . . . Queene Elyzabeth, by the grace off . . . . . Fraunce, and Irland, Queene, deffendris of the faythe, &c. ; I, Agnes Ardenne, of Wylmcote in the perishe of Aston Cantlowe, wydowe, do make my laste wyll and testamente in manner and forme followinge. First, I bequethe my soule to Almighty God my maker and redeemer, and my bodie to the earthe. Item, I geve and bequethe to the poore people and inhabitaunce of Bearley iiij.s. Item, I geve and bequeth to the poore people inhabited in

Aston perishe, x.s., to be equallie devided by the discrecion of my overseers. Item, I geve and bequeth to everi one of my god-children xij. *d.* a peece. Item, I give and bequeth to Averie Fullwod ij. sheepe, yf they doe lyve after my desease. Item, I give and bequeth to Rychard Petyvere j. sheepe ; and to Nycolas Mase, j. sheepe ; and Elizabeth Gretwhiche and Elyzabethe Bentley, eyther. of them one shepe. Item, I geve and bequeeth to everie off Jhon Hill's children everi one of them one sheep ; and allso to John Fullwodes children everi one of them one shepe. My wyll is that they said sheepe soe geven them shall goe forward in a stocke to they use of they sayd children untill the come to the age of discrecion. Item, I geve and bequethe to John Payge and his wyfe, the longer liver off them, vj. s viij. *d.*, and to John Page his brother j. strike of wheat and one strike of maulte. I geve of John Fullwod and Edwarde Hill my godchilde, everi one to them, one shipe more. Allso I geve to Robarte Haskettes iij. s. iiij. *d.* Also, I geve to John Peter ij. s. And allso to Henrie Berrie, xij. *d.* Item, I give to Jhohan Lamberde xij. *d.* And to Elizabeth Stiche, my olde gowne. Item, and<sup>o</sup> bequeth to John Hill my sonne, my parte and moitie of my croppe in the fieldes, as well wheate, barley, and pease, painge for the same half the lordes rente and dueties belonging to the same, so that my wyll is the sayd John Hill shall have the nexte croppe uppon the grounde after my desease. I geve to the said Jhon Hill my best platter of the best sorte, and my best platter of the second sorte, and j. poringer, one sawcer, and one best candlesticke. And also I geve to the said John two paire of sheetes. I give to the said Jhon Hill my second potte, my best panne. Item, I geve and bequeth to Jhon Fullwod, my sonne in lawe, all the rest of my housholde stuffe. Item, I give and bequeth to John Hill, my sonne, one cowe with the white rumpe. And also I geve to John Fullwod, j. browne steare of the age of two yeares olde. Item, I give and bequeth to my brother Alexander Webbes children, everi one of them, xij. *d.* a peece. The rest of all my goodes moveables, and unmoveables, not bequethid, my bodie brought home, my debtes and legacies paid, I geve and

bequeth to John Fullwod and to John Hill, to the use and behalf of the said John Fullwodes and John Hilles children, to be delivered unto them and everie of them when the come to age of discrecion. Yf any of the said children doe die before they recover their partes so geven by me, their partes deseased shall remain to the other so levinge with the said John Fullwod and John Hill, I® do ordaine and make my full executors of this my last wyll. Allso, I ordeyne and make my overseers, Addam Palmer, George Gibbes. These being witnesses, Thomas Edkins, Richarde Petifere, with others.

*VIII. The inventorie of all the goodes moveable and unmoveable of Annes Ardenne of Wylmcote deceased, praised by Thomas Boothe, Addam Palmer, George Gibbes, Thomas Edkins thelder, Thomas Edkins the younger, the xix<sup>th</sup> day of Januarye, anno regni Elizabethæ reginæ xxiiij.—1581.*

Inprimis, in the halle twoe table bordes with a coobbarde and a painted clothe, three coshens with shilves, other formes and benches, viij.s.—Item, three pottes of brasse, ij. calderons, ij. brasse pannes, ij. peeces of pewter, with iij. candelstickes, with two saltes, xvj.s.—Item, ij. broches, j. payre of cobbardes, j. fireshvoell, with pott-hokes and linkes for the same, xvj.d.—Item, in the chambers her apparrell, l.s.—Item, the beddinge and bedstides with apreeware in the said chambers, iij.li. iij.s. iij. d.—Item, three coffers with a peece of woollen clothe, xv.s.—Item, the cowperie ware, with a maulte mylle, one knedinge trouge with syves, and a stryke, x.s.—Item, ffowre oxenne, ffowre kyne, ij, yearlinge calves, xij.li. xiiij.s. iij.d.—Item, xxxviiij<sup>th</sup> sheepe, iij.s.—Item, three horses and one mare, iiij.li.—Item, five score pigges, xiiij.s. iiij.d.—Item, wayne and wayne geares, plowe and plowgeres, carte and cart geares, xxx.s.—Item, the wheate in the barne her parte, iiij.li.—Item, her part of barly in the barne, iij.li.—Item, her parte of hey in the barnes, xiiij.s.—Item, the wheate one grounde in the fieldes her parte, v.li.—Item, her parte of peason, iii.li., vj.s. viij.d.—Summa totalis, xlv.li.

*IX. The Will of Richard Hathaway of Shottery, 1581,*

*from the recorded copy in the Registry of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.*

In the name of God, amen ; the firste daie of September, in the yeare of oure Lorde God one thowsande fyve hundred eightie one, and in the three and twentithe yeare of thee raigne of oure soveraigne ladye Elizabeth, by the grace of God queene of Englande, Fraunce, and Irelande, defender of the faithe, etc. I, Richard Hathway of Shottree in the perishe of Stratford-uppon-Avon in the countie of Warwick, husbandman, beinge sicke in bodye but of perfecte memorye, I thancke my Lord God. doe ordaine and make this my last will and testamente in manner and forme followinge. Firste, I bequeathe my sowle unto Allmightie God, trustinge to be saved by the meritts of Christes Passion, and my bodye to be buried in the churche or churche yarde of Stratforde aforesaide. Item, I give and bequeathe unto Thomas my sonne sixe poundes thirtene shillings fower pence, to be paide unto him at the age of twentie yeares. Item, I give and bequeath unto John my sonne sixe poundes thirtene shillings fower pence, to be paide unto him at the age of twentie yeares. Item, I give and bequeathe unto William my sonne tenne poundes to bee paide unto him at the age of twentie yeares. Item, I give and bequeathe unto Agnes my daughter sixe poundes thirtene shillings fower pence, to be paide unto her at the daie of her marriage. Item, I give and bequeathe unto Catherine my daughter sixe poundes thirtene shillings fower pence, to be paide unto her at the daie of her marriage. Item, I give and bequeathe unto Margaret my daughter sixe pounds thirtene shillings fower pence, to be paide unto her at the age of seaventene yeares. And if it fortune that any of my said sonnes or daughters before named, that is to saie, Thomas, John, William, Agnes, Catherine, or Margaret, to decease before theie receyve their legacies, then my will is that the legacies of he or she so deceased to remayne equallie amonge the rest, and so unto the longest lyvers of theme. Item, my will is (withe consente of Jone my wife) that my eldiste sonne Barthellmewe shall have the use, commoditie and profytt, of one halfe yearde lande withe all



pastures and meadowinge therto belonginge, withe appurtenaunces, to be tilled, mucked, and sowed at the charges of Joane my wyffe, he onelie findinge seede, duringe the naturall life or widdowehode of the same Johan my wife, to be severed from the other parte of my lande for his commoditie and profite. And my will is that he the same Bartholomewe shalbe a guide to my saide wife in hir husbandrye, and also a comforte unto his bretherne and sisters to his power. Provided alwaies that if the saide Joane my wife shall at anye tyme or tymes at-after my decease goe aboute to disannull or to take awaye from my saide sonne Bartholomewe the foresaide half yarde lande withe the appurtenaunces, so that he doe not enjoye the commoditie and profite of the same, accordinge to the trewe meaninge of this my last will and testamente, then my will is that the sayde Joane my wief shall gyve delyver and paye unto my saide sonne Bartholomewe, within one yeare after any suche deniall or discharge the somme of fortie poundes of lawfull Englishe monney. Item, my will is that all the seelings in my hall howse, withe twoe joyned beddes in my parlor, shall contynewe and stande unremoved duringe thee naturall liffe or widowhode of Jone my wyffe, and the naturall lief of Bartholomewe my sonne, and John my sonne, and the longest lyver of theme. Item, I gyve and bequeathe unto everie of my godchildrenne fower pence a peece of theme. Item, I gyve and bequeathe unto Agnes Hathway and Elizabeth Hathway, daughters unto Thomas Hathway, a sheepe a peece of theme. This bequest donne, debts paide, and legacies leavied, and my bodye honestlie buried, then I gyve and bequeathe all the rest of my goods moveable and unmoveable unto Joane my wief, whome I make my sole executrix to see this my last will and testament trulye performed. And I desier my trustie frende and neighbours, Stephen Burman and Fowlke Sandelles, to be my supervisors of this my last will and testamente, and theie to have for their paynes therin to be taken twelve pence apeece of theme. Witnesses, sir William Gilbard, clark and curate in Stretforde, Richarde Burman, John Richardson, and John Hemynge, withe others. Signum + Richardi Hathwaie testa-

toris.—*Debtes to be paide.* Imprimis, I doe owe unto my neighbour John Pace fortye shillings. Item, I owe unto John Barber thirtie sixe shillings fower pence. Item, I owe unto Thomas Whittington, my sheepherd, fower poundes sixe shillings eight pence. Item, I owe unto Edwarde Hollyocke for woode twenty shillings.—*Probatum &c. nono die mensis Julii, 1582.*

*X. The Bond against Impediments which was given in anticipation of the marriage of Shakespeare and Anne Hathaway, 28 November, 1582.*

Noverint universi per præsentēs nos Fulconem Sandells de Stratford in comitatu Warwici agricolam, et Johannem Rychardson ibidem agricolam, teneri et firmiter obligari Ricardo Cosin, generoso, et Roberto Warmstry, notario publico, in quadraginta libris bonæ et legalis monetæ Angliæ solvend. eisdem Ricardo et Roberto, hæred. execut. vel assignat. suis, ad quam quidem solutionem bene et fideliter faciend. obligamus nos et utrumque nostrum per se pro toto et in solid. hæred. executor et administrator. nostros firmiter per præsentēs sigillis nostris sigillat. Dat. 28 die Novem; anno regni dominæ nostræ Eliz. Dei gratia Angliæ, Franc. et Hiberniæ reginæ, fidei defensor., &c., 25°.

The condicion of this obligacion ys suche, that if hereafter there shall not appere any lawfull lett or impediment, by reason of any precontract, consanguitie, affinitie, or by any other lawfull meanes whatsoever, but that William Shagspere one thone partie, and Anne Hathwey, of Stratford in the dioces of Worcester, maiden, may lawfully solennize matrimony together, and in the same afterwarde remaine and continew like man and wiffe, according unto the lawes in that behalf provided: and, moreover, if there be not at this present time any action, sute, quarrell or demaund, moved or depending before any judge, ecclesiasticall or temporall, for and concerning any suche lawfull lett or impediment; and, moreover, if the said William Shagspere do not proceed to solemnization of mariadg with the said Anne Hathwey without the consent of hir frindes; and also, if the said William do, upon his owne proper costes and expenses, defend and save harmles the right reverend Father in God,

Lord John Bushop of Worcester, and his offycers, for licencing them the said William and Anne to be maried together with once asking of the bannes of matrimony betwene them, and for all other causes which may ensue by reason or occasion therof, that then the said obligacion to be voyd and of none effect, or els to stand and abide in full force and vertue.

*XI. Bill of Complaint brought by John Shakespeare, the poet's father, against Lambert in the Court of Queen's Bench, 1589, respecting an estate at Wilmecote near Stratford-on-Avon. From the Coram Rege Rolls, Term. Mich. 31-32 Eliz. This document contains the only positive notice of the great dramatist between the years 1585 and 1592 which has yet been discovered.*

WARR :—Memorandum quod alias, scilicet termino Sancti Michaelis ultimo preterito, coram domina regina apud Westmonasterium venit Johannes Shackspere, per Johannem Harborne, attornatum suum, et protulit hic in curia dicte domine regine tunc ibidem quandam billam suam versus Johannem Lambert, filium et heredem Edmundi Lamberte nuper de Barton Henmershe in comitatu predicto yoman, in custodia marescalli &c., de placito transgressionis super casum ; et sunt plegii de proseguendo, scilicet Johannes Doo et Ricardus Roo, que quidem billa sequitur in hec verba,—WARR : Johannes Shackspere queritur de Johanne Lamberte, filio et herede Edmundi Lamberte nuper de Barton Henmershe in comitatu predicto yoman, in custodia marescalli marescallie domine regine, coram ipsa regina existente, pro eo, videlicet, quod cum idem Edmundus in vita sua, scilicet decimo quarto die Novembris anno regni domine Elizabethe nunc regine Anglie vicesimo, per quandam indenturam gerentem datum die et anno predictis emisset sibi et heredibus suis de prefato Johanne Shackspere et Maria uxore ejus unum mesuagium sive tenementum, unam virgatam terre et quatuor acras terre arrabilis cum pertinentiis in Wilmecote in dicto comitatu Warwici, habendum et tenendum mesuagium sive tenementum predictum et alia premissa cum pertinentiis prefato Edmundo heredibus et assignatis suis imperpetuum, proviso semper quod si dictus Johannes Shackspere, heredes,

executores, administratores vel assignati sui, solverent seu solvi causarent prefato Edmundo quadraginta libras legalis monete Anglie in die festi sancti Michaelis Archangeli, quod tunc esset in anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo et octogesimo, quod tunc deinceps indentura predicta et omnia in eadem contenta vacua forent; virtute cujus idem Edmundus in tenementa predicta cum pertinentiis intravit et fuit inde seisitus in dominico suo ut de feodo, et sic inde seisitus existens postea, scilicet primo die Marci anno regni dicte domine regine nunc vicesimo nono, apud Barton Henmershe predictam obiit, post cujus mortem mesuagium predictum et cetera premissa cum pertinentiis descendebant prefato Johanni Lamberte ut filio et heredi dicti Edmundi; dictusque Johannes Lamberte, dubitans statum et interesse sua de et in tenementis predictis cum pertinentiis esse vacua, et noticiam habens quod predictus Johannes Shackespere eum, implacitare vellet et intendisset pro premissis in consideracione quod predictus Johannes Shackespere adtunc imposterum non implacitaret dictum Johannem Lamberte pro mesuagio predicto et ceteris premissis cum pertinentiis, et quod dictus Johannes Shackespere et Maria uxor ejus, simulcum Willielmo Shackespere filio suo, cum inde requisiti essent assurarent mesuagium predictum et cetera premissa cum pertinentiis prefato Johanni Lamberte, et deliberarent omnia scripta et evidencias premissa predicta concernentia; predictus Johannes Lamberte, vicesimo sexto die Septembris anno regni dicte domine regine vicesimo nono apud Stratford-super-Avon in comitatu predicto, in consideracione inde super se assumpsit et prefato Johanni Shackespere adtunc et ibidem fideliter promisit quod ipse idem Johannes Lambert viginti libras legalis monete Anglie prefato Johanni Shackespere modo et forma sequentibus, videlicet in et super decimum-octavum diem Novembris tunc proximo sequentem viginti solidos, et in et super vicesimum tercium diem ejusdem mensis tres libras, et in et super quartum diem Decembris tunc proximo sequentem sexdecim libras, predictarum viginti librarum residuum, apud domum mancionalem cujusdam Anthonii Ingram generosi scituatam et

existentem in Walford Parva in comitatu predicto bene et fideliter solvere et contentare vellet ; et predictus Johannes Shackespere in facto dicit quod ipse hucusque non implacitavit dictum Johannem Lambert pro premissis nec aliqua inde parcella, et insuper quod ipse idem Johannes Shackespere et Maria uxor ejus simulcum Willielmo Shackespere filio suo semper hactenus parati fuerunt tam ad assuranda premissa predicta quam ad deliberanda eidem Johanni Lamberte omnia scripta et evidencias eadem premissa concernentia ; predictus tamen Johannes Lamberte promissionem et assumptionem suas predictas minime curans, set machinans et fraudulenter intendens ipsum Johannem Shackspere de predictis viginti libris callide et subdole decipere et defraudare easdem viginti libras prefato Johanni Shackespere juxta promissionem et assumptionem suas hucusque non solvit nec aliquammodo pro eisdem contentavit licet ad hoc per eundem Johannem Shackespere, postea, scilicet primo die Septembris anno regni dicte domine regine nunc tricesimo apud Barton Henmershe predictam in comitatu predicto sepius requisitus fuit, per quod idem Johannes Shackspere totum lucrum commodum et proficuum que ipse cum predictis viginti libris emendo et bargainizando habere et lucrare potuisset totaliter perdidit et amisit, ad dampnum ipsius Johannis Shackspere triginta librarum, ac inde producit sectam.—Et modo ad hunc diem, scilicet diem Jovis proximum post octabas sancti Michaelis isto eodem termino, usque quem diem predictus Johannes Lamberte habuit licenciam ad billam interloquendam et tunc ad respondendam, etc., coram domina regina apud Westmonasterium venerunt tam predictus Johannes Shackspere per attornatum suum predictum quam predictus Johannes Lamberte per Johannem Boldero attornatum suum, et idem Johannes Lamberte defendit vim et injuriam quando, etc. Et dicit quod ipse non assumpsit super se modo et forma prout predictus Johannes Shackspere superius versus eum narravit, et de hoc ponit se super patriam ; et predictus Johannes Shackespere similiter, etc. Ideo veniat inde jurata coram domina regina apud Westmonasterium die veneris proximo post octabas Sancti Hillarii, et qui etc., ad recognoscendum etc. Quia tam etc. Idem dies datus est partibus predictis ibidem etc.

*XII. Draft of a Grant of Coat-Armour proposed to be conferred on Shakespeare's Father in the year 1596. From the original manuscript preserved at the College of Arms, the interlineations being denoted by Italics.*

Shakespere, 1596.—To all and singuler noble and gentill-men of what estate or degre bearing arms to whom these presentes shall come, William Dethick, alias Garter, principall king of arms, sendethe greetinges ; Knowe yee that wheras, by the autorite and auncyent *pryvelege and custome pertwining to my said office of principall king of arms from the Quenes most exc. majeste, and her highnes most noble and verteous progenitors*, I am to take generall notice and record and to make publique demonstracion and testimonie for all causes of arms *and matters of gentrie* thoroughe out all her Majestes kingdoms and domynions, principalites, isles, and provinces, to thend that, as some by theyre auncyent names, families, kyndredes and descentes, have and enjoye sonderie ensoignes and of<sup>®</sup> arms, so other for theyre valiant facts, magnanimite, vertue, dignites, and descertes, maye have suche markes and tokens of honor and worthinesse, whereby theyr name and good fame shalbe and<sup>®</sup> divulged, and theyre children and posterite *in all vertue to the service of theyre prynce and contrie<sup>®</sup>* Being therefore solicited and credible<sup>®</sup> report informed *that John Shakespeare, of Stratford-uppon-Avon in the counte of Warwick, whose parentes and late antecessors were for there valeant and faithefull service advaunced and rewarded by the most prudent prince king Henry the Seventh of famous memorie, sythence whiche tyme they have continewed at those partes in good reputacion and credit ; and that the said John having maryed Mary, daughter and one of the heys of Robert Arden of Wilmcote, in the said counte, gent.* In consideration wherof, and for encouragement of his posterite, *to whom theyse achymentes maie descend by the auncient custom and lawes of armes I have therefore assigned graunted, and by these presentes confirmed*, this shield or cote of arms, viz., Gould on a bend sable a speare of the first, *the poynt steeled, proper*, and for his creast or cognizance, a faulcon, *his winges displayed, argent*, standing on a wrethe of his coullors,

supporting a speare Gould steeled *as aforesaid*, sett upon a healmett with mantelles and tasselles as *hath ben accustomed and more playnely appeareth depicted on this margent*. Signefieng hereby that it shal be lawfull for the sayd John' Shakespeare gent. and for his children, yssue and posterite, *at all tymes convenient, and to make shewe of and beare blazon the same atchevement on theyre shield or escucheons, cote of arms, seales, ringes, signettes, creast, cognizance or penons, guydons, edefices, utensiles, lyveries, tombes or monumentes, or otherwyse, at all tymes in all lawfull warrlyke factes or civile use and exercises, according to the lawes of armes*, without lett or interruption of any *other* person or persons. Yn witnesse wherof I have hereunto subscribed my name, and fastened the seale of my office endorzed with the signett of my armes, At the Office of Arms, London, the xx.th daye of October, in the xxxix.te yeare of the reigne of our Sovereigne Lady Elizabeth, by the Grace of God Quene of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faithe, &c., 1596.

*XIII. Deed of the Conveyance, from John Shakespeare to George Badger, of a slip of land belonging to the Birth-Place estate, January, 1596-7.*

Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos hoc præsens scriptum pervenerit, Johannes Shakespere de Stretford-super-Avonam in comitatu Warwici yoman salutem in Domino sempiternam. Noveritis me præfatum Johannem, pro et in consideracione summæ quadraginta solidorum bonæ et legalis monetæ Angliæ mihi per quendam Georgium Badger de Stretford prædict. draper præmanibus solut., unde fateor me fideliter esse solut. et satisfact., dictumque Georgium Badger hæredes executores et administratores suos inde quiet. esse et exonerat. imperpetuum per præsentis, barganizavi et vendidi, necnon dedi et concessi, et hac præsentis carta mea confirmavi præfato Georgio Badger, hæredibus, et assignatis suis, totum illud toftum et parcellum terræ meæ cum pertinentiis jacencium et existen. in Stretford-super-Avon prædicto, in quodam vico ibidem vocato Henlye Strete, inter liberum tenementum mei prædicti, Johannis Shakespere ex parte orientali et liberum tenementum prædicti Georgii

Badger ex parte occidentali, continent. in latitudine per æstimacionem dimid. unius virgat. apud utrosque fines, et jacet in longitudine a prædicto vico vocat. Henlye Strete ex parte austral. usque regia<sup>m</sup> viam ibidem vocatam Gyllpyttes ex parte boreali, contin. en. peræstimacionem in longitudine viginti et octo virgat. vel circa, et modo est in tenuta sive occupatione mei prædicti Johannis Shakespere; habendum et tenendum prædictum toftum et parcellum terræ cum pertinentiis præfato Georgio Badger, hæredibus et assignatis suis, ad solum et proprium opus et usum ejusdem Georgii, hæred. et assign. suorum, imperpetuum, tenendum de capitalibus dominis feod. ill. per servicium inde prius debit. et de jure consuet. Et ego vero prædictus Johannes Shakespere et hæredes mei totum prædictum toftum et parcellum terræ cum pertinentiis præfato Georgio Badger, hæredibus et assignatis suis, ad opus et usum supradictum contra omnes gentes, warrantizabimus et imperpetuum defendemus per præsentes. Sciatis insuper me præfatum Johannem Shakespere plenam et pacificam possessionem et seisinam de et in prædicto tofto et parcello terræ, cum pertinentiis, præfato Georgio Badger, secundum vim, formam, tenorem, et effectum hujus præsentis cartæ meæ inde ei confect. in propria persona mea tradidisse et deliberasse. In cujus rei testimonium huic præsentis scripto meo sigillum meum apposui. Datum vicesimo sexto die Januarii anno regni dominæ nostræ Elizabethæ, Dei gracia Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ reginæ, Fidei defensor. &c. tricesimo nono, 1596.—*Signum Johannis + Shakespere.*—Sigillat. et deliberat. ac pacifica possessio et seisina de tofto et parcell. terræ infrascript. deliberat. fuit per infra-nominatum Johannem Shakespere infra-scripto Georgio Badger, die et anno infrascripto, secundum formam, tenorem, et effectum hujus præsentis cartæ, in præsentia, viz., Richard Lane, Harry Walker, per me Willielmum Courte scriptor., Thomas Loche, Thomas Beseley.

*XIV. A Letter from Abraham Sturley to Richard Quincy, 24 January, 1597-8, in which a reference is made to Shakespeare's contemplated purchase of land at Shottery. Although it is not biographically requisite to print this and the two other similar*



*letters in full, yet they are so given as interesting examples of the domestic correspondence of the Stratfordians in the time of the poet.*

Most lovinge and belovedd in the Lord, in plaïne Englishe we remember u in the Lord, and ourselves unto u. I would write nothinge unto u now, but come home. I prai God send u cōfortabli home. This is one speciall remembrance from ur fathers motion. It semeth' bi him that our cōntriman, Mr. Shakspeare, is willinge to disburse some monei upon some od yarde land or other att Shotttri or neare about us; he thinketh it a veri fitt patterne to move him to deale in the matter of our tithes. Bi the instructions u can geve him theareof, and bi the frendes he can make therefore, we thinke it a faire marke for him to shoote att, and not impossible to hitt. It obtained would advance him in deede, and would do us much good. Hoc movere, et quantum in te est permovere, ne negligas, hoc enim et sibi et nobis maximi erit momenti. Hic labor, hic opus esset eximiæ et gloriæ et laudis sibi. U shall understande, brother, that our neighbours are growne with the wantes they feelee throughe the the dearnes of corne, which heare is beionde all other countries that I can heare of deare and over deare, malecontent. Thei have assembled togeather in a great nomber, and travelld to Sir Tho. Luci on Friday last to complaine of our malsters; on Sundai to Sir Foulke Gre. and Sir Joh. Conwai. I should have said on Wensdai to Sir Ed. Grevll first. Theare is a metinge heare to-morrowe. The Lord knoweth to what end it will sorte! Tho. West, returning from the ij. knightes of the woodland, came home so full, that he said to Mr. Bailly that night, he hoped within a weeke to leade of them in a halter, meaninge the malsters; and I hope, saith Jho. Grannams, if God send mi Lord of Essex downe shortli, to se them hanged on gibbettes att their owne dores.—To this end I write this cheifli, that, as ur occasion shall suffer u to stai theare, theare might bi Sir Ed. Grev. some meanes made to the Knightes of the Parliament for an ease and discharge of such taxes and subsidies wherewith our towne is like to be charged, and I assure u I am in great feare and doubte bi no meanes hable to paie. Sir Ed. Gre. is gone

to Brestowe, and from thence to Lond., as I heare, who verie well knoweth our estates, and wilbe willinge to do us ani good.—Our great bell is broken, and Wm. Wiatt is mendinge the pavemente of the bridge.—Mi sister is chearefull, and the Lord hath bin mercifull and comfortable unto hir in hir labours, and, so that u be well imploied, geveth u leave to followe ur occasions for j. weeke or fortnight longer. I would u weare furnisht to pai Wm. Pattrike for me xj. *li.* and bring his quittance, for I thinke his specialtie is in Jho. Knight hand, due on Candlls. daie.—Yestrday I spake to Mr. Sheldon att Sir Tho. Lucies for the staie of Mr. Burtons suite, and that the cause might be referred to Mr. Walkrs of Ellington ; he answered me that Mr. Bur. was nowe att Lond., and, with all his harte and good will, the suite should be staied, and the matter so referred. I have here inclosed a breife of the reckoninge betwene him and me, as I would have it passe, and as in æqitie it should passe, if he wilbe but as good as his faith and promise.—Good brother, speake to Mr. Goodale that there be no more proceedinge in tharches bi Mr. Clopton, whom I am content and most willing to compounde withall, and have bin ever since the beginninge of the laste terme, and thearefore much injured bi somebodie, that I have bin put to an unnecessarie charge of xx.s. and upwardes that terme ; whereas I had satisfied Mr. Clopton, as I was credibli made beleve by some of his srvantes. I was allso assured of the staie of suite bi Mr. Barnes in the harvest, and bi Mr. Pendleburi the latter end of the terme. Mi brothr Woodward cometh up att the latter end of this weeke, who will speake with Mr. Clopton himselfe to that purpose.—U understande bi mi letter I sent bi our countriman Bur'll that masse Brentt dispatc'd 50*l.* for u. Jh. Sdlr. bounde alone as yeat. Because Mr. Barbr might not have it for 12. moneths, he would none att all, wherebi I loste mi expectation, and leafte®, I assure u, in the greatest neede of 30*l.* that possibli maie be. In truth, brother, to u be it spoken and to nonne els, for want thereof knowe skarce wc. wai to turne me. Det Deus misericordiæ dominus exitum secundum bene placitum suum—Ur fathr with his blessinge and comendation, mi sister with her

lovinge remembrance, comendes hir ; in health both, with all ur children and houshold ; ur fathr, extraordinari hartie, chearefull and lustie, hath sent u this remembrance inclosed. It maie be u knowe him his executr and brother, I meane of whom our brothr White borrowed for me the 80*l.* paihable att Mai next ; his name I have not att hand. He dwelleth in Watlinge Streate. If 40*l.* thereof might be proçured for 6. monethes more, it would make me whole. I knowe it doeth u good to be doing good, and that u will do all the good u can. I would Hanlett weare att home, satisfied for his paines taken before his cominge, and so freed from further travell. Nunc Deus omnipotens, opt. max. pater omnimodæ consolationis, benedicat tibi in viis tuis, et secundet te in omnibus tuis per Jhesum Christum, Dominum nostrum ; amico dum ullus sum tuis tum.—Stretfordia, Januarii 24.—ABRAH. STRL.

Commend me to Mr. Tom Bur'll, and prai him for me and mi bro. Da. Bakr. to looke that J. Tub maie be well hooped, that he leake not out lawe to our hurte for his cause ; quod partim avidio non nihil suspicor et timeo.

*Receved of Mr. But :—*

In beanes 23 qrs. att 3 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> the strike -	-	30 <i>l.</i> 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>
Barlei 8 qrs. and 4 str. att 4 <i>s.</i> the str. -	-	13 <i>l.</i> 12 <i>s.</i> 0 <i>d.</i>
Wheate 4 qrs. 4 str. att 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> the str. -	-	12 <i>l.</i> 0 <i>s.</i> 0 <i>d.</i>

56*l.* 5*s.* 4*d.*

I have paid and sowed theareof, 52*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.*

Mi Lad. Gre. is run in arreages with mi sister for malt (as it seemeth), which hindreth and troubleth hir not a littell.

*XV. A Return of the Quantities of Corn and Malt held in February, 1598, by the inhabitants of the locality in which New Place was situated.*

Stratforde	{	The noate of corne and malte taken the iiij.th of Februarii, 1597, in the xl.th yeare of the raigne of our moste gracious soveraigne ladie Queen Elizabeth, &c.
Burrowhe,		
Warrwicke.		

*Chapple Street Warde. \* Townsmens corne.—Frauncys*

Smythe jun., iij. quarters.—John Coxe, v. quarters.—Mr. Thomas Dyxon, xvij. quarters.—Mr. Thomas Barber, iij. quarters.—Mychaell Hare, v. quarters.—Mr. Bifielde, vj. quarters.—Hughe Aynger, vj. quarters.—Thomas Badsey, vj. quarters, bareley j. quarter.—Jhon Rogers, x. str.—Wm. Emmetts, viij. quarters.—Mr. Aspinall, about xj. quarters.—Wm. Shackespere, x. quarters.—Julii Shawe, vij. quarters.

*Straingers.*—Rycharde Dyxon hathe of Sir Thomas Lucies, xvj. quarters.—Of Sir Edw. Grevyles x. quarters.—of Edw. Kennings, iiij. quarters.—Mr. Bifielde of his systers, iiij. quarters.—Hughe Ainger of hys wyves systers, one quarter.—William Emmetts of one Nickes of Whatcoate, iiij. quarters ; of Frauncys Tybbatts vj. str.

*XVI. A Letter from Adrian Quiney to his son Richard, undated, but, from a comparison of it with other correspondence, it is all but certain that it was written either late in the year 1598 or early in 1599. It is thus addressed,—“To my louynge sonne Rychard Quyne at the Belle in Carter Layne deliver thesse in London.”*

Yow shalle, God wyllynge, receve from youre wyfe by Mr. Baylye, thys berrer asewraunce of x.s., and she wolde have yow to bye some grocerye, yff hyt be resonable; yow maye have carryage by a womman who I wylled to com to you. Mr. Layne by report hath receved a great sunnm of money of Mr. Smyth of Wotten, but wylle not be knowyn of hytt, and denyd to lend youre wyff any, but hys wyff sayd that he hade receved v.li. which was gevyn hyr, and wyssyd hym to lent that to youre wyff, which he dyde; she hopyth to mayk provyssyon to paye Mr. Combes and alle the rest. I wrot to yow concerning Jhon Rogersse; the howsse goythe greatly to dekaye; ask Cecelle therin, and doo somewhat therein, as she ys in doubt that Mr. Parsonsse wylle not paye the 3*li.* 13*s.* 4*d*. Wherefore wryte to hym yff yow maye have carryage to bye some such warys as yow maye selle presentlye to profett. Yff you bargaen with Wm. Sha.. or receve money ther, or brynge youre money home, yow maye. I see howe knite stockynges be sold; ther ys gret byinge of them at Aysshorne. Edward Wheat and Harrye, youre brother

man, were both at Evysham thys daye senet, and as I harde bestow 20*li*. there in knyht hosse ; wherefore I thynke yow maye doo good, yff yow can have money.

*XVII. A Letter from Abraham Sturley to his brother-in-law, Richard Quiney, 4 November, 1598, at the commencement of which there is an allusion to Shakespeare.*

Nov. 4, 1598. All health, happines of suites and wellfare, be multiplied unto u and ur labours in God our Father bi Christ our Lord. Ur letter of the 25. of October came to mi handes the laste of the same att night per Grenwai, which imported a stai of suites by Sr. Ed. Gr. advise, untill &c., and that onli u should followe on for tax and sub. presentli, and allso ur travell and hinderance of answeere therein, bi ur longe travell and thaffaires of the Courte; and that our countriman Mr. Wm. Shak. would procure us monei, which I will like of, as I shall heare when, and wheare, and howe; and I prai let not go that occasion, if it mai sorte to ani indifferent condicions. Allso that if monei might be had for 30 or 40*l*., a lease, &c., might be procured. Oh howe can u make dowbt of monei, who will not beare xxx. tie or xl*s*. towards sutch a match! The latter end of ur letter which concerned ur houshold affaires I delivered presently. Nowe to ur other letter of the 1<sup>o</sup>. of Novembr receved the 3d. of the same. I would I weare with u; nai, if u continue with hope of those suites u wrighte of, I thinke I shall wt. concent; and I will most willingli come unto u, as had u but advise and compani, and more monei presente, much might be done to obtaine our charter enlargd, ij. faires more, with tole of corne, bestes and sheepe, and a matter of more valewe then all that; for (sai u) all this is nothinge that is in hand, seeinge it will not rise to 80*l*. and the charges wilbe greate. What this matter of more valewe meaneth I cannot undrstand; but me thinketh whatsoever the good would be, u are afraid of want of monei. Good thinges in hand or neare hand can not choose but be worth monei to bring to hand, and beinge assured, will, if neede be, bringe monei in their mouthes; there is no feare nor dowbte. If it be the rest of the tithes and the College houses and landes in our towne u speake of, the one halfe weare abun-

dantli ritch for us ; and the other halfe to increase Sr. Ed. riallties would both beare the charge and sett him sure on ; the which I take to be your meaninge bi the latter parte of ur letter, where u write for a copie of the particulars, which allso u shall have accordingly. Oh howe I feare when I se what Sr. Ed. can do, and howe neare it sitteth to him selfe, leaste he shall thinke it to good for us, and procure it for himselfe, as he served us the last time ; for it semeth bi ur owne wordes theare is some of hit in ur owne conceite, when u write if Sr. Ed. be as forward to do as to speake, it will be done ; a dowbt I assure u not without dowbt to be made ; whereto allso u ad, notwithstanding that dowbt, no want but monei. Somewhat must be to Sr. Ed. and to each one that dealeth somewhat and great reason. And me thinketh u need not be affraid to promise that as fitt for him, for all them, and for urselfe. The thinge obtained no dowbte will pai all. For present advise and encouragemente u have bi this time Mr. Baili, and for monei, when u certifie what u have done, and what u have spent, what u will do, and what u wante ; somewhat u knowe we have in hand, and God will provide that wc. shall be sufficient. Be of good cowrage. Make fast Sr. Ed. bi all meanes, or els all our hope and ur travelles be utterli disgraced. Consider and advise if Sr. Ed. will be faste for us, so that bi his goodwill to us and his meanes for us these thinges be brought about. What weare it for the fee-farme of his riallties, nowe not above xij. or xiiij.℥. he weare assured of the dowble, when these thinges come to hande, or more, as the goodnes of the thinge procured proveth. But whi do i travell in these thinges, when I knowe not certainli what u intende, neither what ur meanes are, nor what are ur difficulties preciseli and bi name, all which must be knowne bi name, and specialli with an estimate of the charge, before ani thing can be added either for advise or supplie. I leave these matters therefore unto the Allmighties mercifull disposition in ur hand, untill a more neare possibilite or more leisure will encourage u or suffer u to write more plainli and particularli. But withall the Chancell must not be forgotten, which allso obtained would yeald some pretti gub of moffei for ur present busines, as I

thinke. The particulars u write for shalle this morninge be dispatched and sent as soone as mai be. All is well att home ; all ur paimentes made and dispatchd ; mi sister saith if it be so that u can not be provided for Mrs. Pendllbur, she will, if u will, send u up x./ towardses that bi the next after, or if u take it up, pai it to who u appointe. Wm. Wallford sendeth order and monei per Wm. Court nowe cominge, who hath some cause to feare, for he was neweli served with proces on Twsdai last att Alcr. per Roger S. Mr. Parsons supposeth that Weilock came the same dai with Mr. Baili that u writt ur letter. He saith he supposeth u mai use that x./ for our borrowinge matters. Wm. Wiatt answered Mr. Ba., and us all, that he would neither borrowe himselfe, nor submitt himselfe to the order, but bi those veri wordes make against it with all the strength he could possibli make, yeat we do this dai begin Mr. Bar. and miselfe a littell for assai. My bro. D. B. att Shrewsburi or homeward from thence. But nowe the bell hath runge mi time spent. The Lord of all power, glori, merci, and grace and goodnes, make his great power and mercie knowen towardses us in ur weakenes. Take heed of tabacco whereof we heare per Wm. Perri ; against ani longe journei u mai undertake on foote of necessiti, or wherein the exercise of ur bodi must be imploied, drinke some good burned wine, or aquavitæ and ale strongli mingled without bread for a taste, and, above all, keepe u warme. Farewell, mi dare heart, and the Lord increase our loves and comfortes one to another, that once it mai be sutch as becometh Christianiti, puriti, and sinceriti, without staine or blemishe. Fare ye well ; all ur and ours well. From Stretford, Novem. 4th, 1598. urs in all love in the best bond,—  
ABRAH. STURLEI.

Mrs. Coomb, when Gilbert Charnocke paid them their monei, as he told me, said that if ani but he had brought it, she would not receve it, because she had not hir gowne ; and that she would arrest u for hit as soone as u come home, and much twattell ; but att the end, so that youe would pai 4/. toward hit, she would allowe u xx.s. and we shall heare att sofie leasure howe fruictes are, and hoppes, and sutch knakkes. Att this point

came Wm. Sheldon, the silke man, with a warrant to serve Wm. Walford againe upon a trespasse of 500*l*.

*To his most lovinge brother, Mr. Richard Quinei, att the Bell in Carterlane att London, geve these. Paid 2d.*

*XVIII. Papers in a Chancery Suit respecting the estate of Ashbies, Michaelmas Term, 1598. The father and mother of Shakespeare were the plaintiffs, and Edmund Lambert, the poet's uncle by marriage, the defendant.*

24 Nov., 1597. To the righte honorable Sir Thomas Egerton, knighte, lorde keeper of the greate seale of Englande. —In most humble wise complayninge, sheweth unto your good lordshippe your dailye oratours John Shakespere of Stratford-upon-Avon, in the county of Warwicke, and Mary his wief, that whereas your saide oratours were lawfully seised in their demesne as of fee, as in the righte of the saide Mary, of and in one mesuage and one yard land with thappurtenaunces, lyinge and beinge in Wylnecote, in the saide county ; and they beinge thereof so sesed, for and in consideracion of the some of fowerty pounds to them by one Edmounde Lamberte of Barton on the Heath in the saide countie paide, your sayde oratours were contente that he, the saide Edmounde Lamberte, shoulde have and enjoye the same premisses untill suche tyme as your sayde oratours did repaie unto him the saide some of fowertie pounds ; by reasone whereof the saide Edmounde did enter into the premisses and did occupie the same for the space of three or fower yeares, and thissues and profyttes thereof did receyve and take ; after which your saide oratours did tender unto the saide Edmounde the sayde somme of fowerty pounds, and desired that they mighte have agayne the sayd premisses accordinge to their agreement ; which money he the sayde Edmounde then refused to receyve, sayinge, that he woulde not receyve the same, nor suffer your sayde oratours to have the saide premisses agayne, unlesse they woulde paye unto him certayne other money which they did owe unto him for other matters ; all which notwithstandinge, nowe so yt ys ; and yt maye please your good lordshippe that, shortelie after the tendringe of the sayde fowertie pounds to the saide Edmounde, and the desyre,



of your sayde oratours to have their lande agayne from him, he the saide Edmounde att Barton aforesayde dyed, after whose deathe one John Lamberte, as sonne and heire of the saide Edmounde, entred into the said premisses and occupied the same ; after which entrie of the sayde John your said oratours came to him and tendred the saide money unto him, and likewise requested him that he woulde suffer them to have and enjoye the sayde premisses accordinge to their righte and tittle therein and the promise of his saide father to your saide oratours made, which he the saide John denyed in all things, and did withstande them for entringe into the premisses, and as yet doeth so contynewe still ; and by reasone that certaine deedes and other evydences concerninge the premisses and that of righte belong to your saide oratours, are coume to the hands and possession of the sayde John, he wrongfullie still keepeth and detaineth the possession of the saide premisses from your saide oratours, and will in noe wise permytt and suffer them to have and enjoye the sayde premisses accordinge to their righte in and to the same ; and he the saide John Lamberte hathe of late made sondrie secreate estates of the premisses to dyvers persones to your said oratours unknowen, whereby your saide oratours cannot tell againste whome to bringe their accions att the comen lawe, for the recovery of the premisses ; in tender consideracion whereof, and for so muche as your saide oratours knowe not the certaine dates or contentes of the saide wrytings,, nor whether the same be containyd in bagge, boxe, or cheste, sealed locked or noe, and therefore have no remeadie to recover the same evydences and wrytings by the due course of the comen lawes of this realme ; and for that also by reasone of the saide secreate estates so made by the saide John Lamberte as aforesaide, and want of your saide oratours havinge of the evidences and wrytings as aforesaide, your sayde oratours cannot tell what accions or against whome, or in what manner to bring their accion for the recoverie of the premisses at the comen lawe ; and for that also the sayde John Lamberte ys of greate wealthe and abilitie, and well frended and alied amongst gentlemen and freeholders of the countrey in the saide countie of War-

wicke, where he dwelleth, and your saide oratours are of small wealthe and verey fewe frends and alyance in the saide countie, maye yt therefore please your good lordshippe to graunt unto your saide oratours the Queenes Majesties moste gracyous writte of subpœna, to be directed to the saide John Lamberte, comandinge him thereby att a certaine daie and under a certaine payne therein to be lvytted, personally to appear before your good lordshippe in her Majesties highnés courte of chauncerie, then and there to answeere the premisses ; and further to stande to and abyde suche order and direction therein as to your good lordshippe shall seeme best to stande with righte, equitye, and good conscyence, and your sayde oratours shall daylie praye to God for the prosperous healthe of your good lordshippe with increase of honour longe to contynewe.

Juratus coram me, Thomam Legge, 24 November, 1597. The answeare of John Lamberte, defendante, to the byll of complainte of John Shakspeare and Mary his wief complainantes.—The said defendante—savage to himselfe both nowe, and att all tymes hereafter, all advantage of excepcion to the uncertentie and insufficiencie of the said complainants byll, and also savage to this defendante such advantage as by the order of this honorable courte he shalbe adjudged to have, for that the like byll, in effecte conteyninge the selfe-same matter, hath byne heretofore exhibited into this honorable courte againste this defendante, wherunto this defendante hath made a full and directe answeare wherin the said complainante hath not proceeded to hearinge—for a seconde full and directe answeare unto the said complainantes byll sayeth that true yt is, as this defendante verylie thinkethe, that the said complainants were, or one of them was, lawfully seized in theire or one of theire demeasne, as of fee, of and in one messuage and one yearde and fower acres of lande with thappurtenaunces, lyeinge and beinge in Wilmecott, in the parishe of Aston Cawntloe in the countie of Warwicke, and that they or one of them soe beinge thereof seized, the said complainante John Shakspeare, by indenture beringe date uppon or about the fowertenth daye of November, in the twentieth yeare of the raigne of our Sovereigne Lady the

Queenes Majestie that now ys, for and in consideracion of the summe of fortie pownds of lawfull Englishe monney unto the said complainante paide by Edmunde Lamberte, this defendants father in the said byll named, did geve, graunte, bargaine, and sell the said messuage, and one yearde and fower acres of lande with thappurtennaunces, unto the saide Edmunde Lamberte, and his heires and assignes, to have and to holde the said messuage, one yearde, and fower acres of lande with thappurtenaunces unto the saide Edmunde Lamberte, his heires and assignes, for ever ; in which indenture there is a condicionall provisoe conteyned that, if the said complainante did paye unto the said Edmunde Lamberte the summe of fortie pownds uppon the feast daie of St. Michell tharchangell which shoulde be in the yeare of our Lorde God one thousande fyve hundred and eightie, att the dwellinge howse of the said Edmund Lamberte, in Barton on the Heath in the said countie of Warwick, that then the said graunte, bargaine, and sale, and all the covenants, graunts, and agreements therin conteyned, shulde cease and be voyde, as by the said indenture, wherunto this defendante for his better certentie doth referre himselfe, may appeare ; and afterward, the said complainante John Shakspeare, by his Deede Pole and Liverie theruppon made, did infeoffe the said Edmunde Lamberte of the saide premisses, to have and to holde unto him the said Edmunde Lamberte and his heires for ever ; after all which, in the term of Ester, in the one and twentieth yeare of the Queenes Majesties raigne that nowe ys, the said complainantes in due forme of lawe did levye a fyne of the said messuage and yearde lande, and other the premisses, before the Queenes Majesties justices of the comon plees att Westminster, unto the saide Edmunde Lamberte, and his heires, sur conizance de droyt, as that which the said Edmunde had of the gifte of the said John Shakspeare, as by the said pole deede, and the chirographe of the said fine, wherunto this defendante for his better certentie referreth himselfe, yt doth and maye appeare ; and this defendante further sayeth that the said complainante did not tender oꝝ paye the said summe of fortie pownds unto the said Edmunde Lamberte,

this defendants father, uppon the saide feaste daye, which was in the yeare of our Lorde God one thowsande fyve hundred and eightie, accordinge to the said provisoe in the said indenture expressed. By reason whereof this defendants said father was lawfully and absolutly seized of the said premisses in his demeanes as of fee, and, aboute eleven yeares laste paste thereof, dyed seized; by and after whose decease the said messuage and premisses with thappurtenaunces descended and came, as of righte the same oughte to descende and come, unto this defendante, as sonne and nexte heire of the said Edmunde; by vertue whereof this defendante was and yet is of the said messuage, yearde lande and premisses, lawfully seized in his demeanes as of fee, which this defendante hopeth he oughte both by lawe and equitie to enjoye, accordinge to his lawfull righte and tytle therin; and this defendante further sayeth that the said messuage, yearde lande, and other the said premisses or the moste parte thereof, have ever, sythence the purches therof by this defendantes father, byne in lease by the demise of the said complainante; and the lease therof beinge nowe somewhat nere expired, wherby a greater value is to be yearly raised therby, they the said complainants doe now trowble and moleste this defendante by unjuste suits in lawe, thinkinge therby (as yt shoulde seme) to wringe from him this defendante some further recompence for the said premisses then they have alreddy received; without that, that yt was agreed that the said Edmunde Lamberte shoulde have and enjoy the said premisses in anie other manne and forme (to the knowledge of this defendante) then this defendante hath in his said answeare heretofore expressed; and without that, that anie deedes or evidences concernynge the premisses that of righte belonge to the said complainantes are come to the handes and possession of this defendante, as in the said byll is untruly supposed; and without that, that anie other matter, cause, or thinge, in the said complainantes byll contened, materiall or effectuall in the lawe, to be answered unto, towchinge or concernynge him this defendante, and herein before not answered unto, confessed and avoyded, traversed or denied, is true, to this defendants

knowledge or remembrance, in suche manner and forme as in the said byll the same is sett downe and declared. All which matters this defendante is reddey to averre and prove, as this honorable courte shall awarde, and prayethe to be dismissed therhence with his reasonable costs and charges in this wrongfull sute by him unjustly susteyned.

The replicacion of John Shakespere and Mary his wiefe, complainant, to the answere of John Lamberte, defendant.—The said complaynauts, for replicacion to the answere of the said defendant, saie that theire bill of complaynt ys certayne and sufficient in the lawe to be answered ; which said bill, and matters therein conteyned, these complainants will avowe, verefie, and justifie to be true and sufficient in the lawe to be answered unto, in such sorte, manner, and forme, as the same be sett forthe and declared in the said bill : and further they saie that thanswere of the said defendaunt is untrue and insufficient in lawe to be replied unto, for many apparent causes in the same appearinge, thadvantage whereof these complainants praie may be to theym nowe and at all tymes saved, then and not ells ; for further replicacion to the said answere, they saie that, accordinge to the condicion or proviso mencioned in the said indenture of bargaine and sale of the premisses mencioned in the said bill of complaynt, he this complainant John Shakspere did come to the dwellinge house of the said Edmunde Lambert, in Barton uppon the heathe, uppon the feaste daie of St. Michaell tharcheangell, which was in the yeaere of our Lorde God one thousand fyve hundred and eightie, and then and there tendered to paie unto him the said Edmunde Lambert the said fortie poundes, which he was to paie for the redempcion of the said premisses ; which somme the said Edmunde did refuse to receyve, sayinge that he owed him other money, and unles that he the said John would paie him altogether, as well the said fortie pounds as the other money, which he owed him over and above, he would not receive the said fortie pounds, and imediatlie after he the said Edmunde dyed, and by reason thereof, he the said defendant entered into the said p.remisses, and wrongfullie kepeth and detayneth the said premisses from

him the said complainant; without that, any other matter or thinge, materiall or effectuall, for these complainantes to replie unto, and not herein sufficientlie confessed and avoyded, denyed and traversed, ys true; all which matters and things thes complaynants are redie to averr and prove, as this honorable court will awarde, and pray as before in theire said bill they have praied.—*In dorso*, Ter. Michael. Annis 40 et 41.

*XIX. Draft of a Grant of Coat-Armour proposed to be conferred on Shakespeare's Father in the year 1599. From the original manuscript preserved at the College of Arms, the interlineations being denoted by Italics.*

To all and singuller noble and gentelmen of all estates and degrees bearing arms to whom these presentes shall com, William Dethick, Garter, Principall King of Arms of England, and William Camden, alias Clarencieulx, King of Arms for the south east and weste partes of this realme, sendethe greetings. Knowe yee that in all nations and kingdoms the record and remembrances of the valeant factes and verteous dispositions of worthie men have ben made knowne and divulged by certeyne shieldes of arms and tokens of chevalrie, the grant and testimonie wherof apperteyneth unto us by vertu of our offices from the Quenes most exc. majeste, and her highenes most noble and victorious progenitors; wherfore being solicited, and by credible report informed, that John Shakespere, nowe of Stratford-uppon-Avon in the counte of Warwik gent., whose parent, *great grandfather*, and *late* antecessor, for his faithfull and approved service to *the late most prudent prince* King H. 7. of famous memorie, was advaunced and rewarded with landes and tene-mentes geven to him in those partes of Warwikeshere, where they have continewed by *some* descentes in good reputacion and credit; and for that the said John Shakespere having maryed the daughter and one of the heys of Robert Arden of Wellingcote in the said countie, and also produced *this his* auncient cote of arms heretofore assigned to him whilest he was *her Majesties officer* and baylefe of that towne, In consideration of the *premisses*, and for the encouragement of his posterite, unto whom suche blazon of arms and atchevementes of inheritance from theyre

*said* mother by the auntyent custome and lawes of arms maye lawfully descend, We, the said Garter and Clarencieux, have assigned, graunted, and confirmed, and *by these presentes exemplified* unto the said John Shakespere, and to his posterite that shield and cote of arms, viz., in a field of gould uppon a bend sables a speare of the first the poynt upward hedded argent; and for his creast or cognisance, a falcon with his wynges displayed standing on a wrethe of his coullers supporting a speare *armed* hedded *or* steeled *sylver*, fyxed uppon a helmet with mantelles and tasselles, as more playnely *maye* appeare depicted on this margent; and we have *lykewise uppon on other escucheon* impaled the same with the auntyent arms of *the said* Arden of Wellingcote, signifeing thereby that it *maye and* shalbe lawfull for the said John Shakespere gent. to beare and use the same *shieldes of arms*, single or impaled as afore-said, during his naturall lyffe; and that it shalbe lawfull for his children, *yssue*, and posteryte (lawfully begotten) to beare, use, and quarter *and shewe forth* the same with theyre dewe differences *in* all lawfull warlyke factes and civile use or exercises, according to the lawes of arms and custome that to gent. belongethe, without let or interuption of any person or person® for use or for bearing the same. In wyttnesse and testemonye wherof we have subscribed our names and fastened the seales of our offices; yeven at the Office of Arms, London, the . . . . . in the xliij.te. yeare of the reigne of our most gracious soveraigne Ladye Elizabeth, by the Grace of God, . . . . . France, and Ireland, Defendor of the Faythe, &c., 1599.

*XX. Indenture of the Conveyance, of over a hundred acres of land, from William and John Combe to Shakespeare, May, 1602.*

This Indenture, made the firste daie of Maye, in the fowre and fortieth yeare of the raigne of our Sovereigne Ladie Elizabeth, by the grace of God, of England, Fraunce, and Ireland, Queene, Defendresse of the faithe, &c., Betweene William Combe, of Warrwicke, in the countie of Warrwick, esquier, and John Combe, of Olde Stretford, in the countie aforesaide, gen-

tleman, on the one partie, and William Shakespere, of Stretford-uppon-Avon, in the countie aforesaide, gentleman, on thother partye ; Witnesseth that the saide William Combe, and John Combe, for and in consideracion of the somme of three hundred and twentie poundes of currant Englishē money, to them in hande, at and before the ensealinge and deliverie of theis presentes, well and trulie satisfied, contented, and paide ; wherof and wherwith they acknowledge themselves fullie satisfied, contented, and paide, and therof, and of everie parte and parcell therof, doe clearlie exonerate, acquite, and discharge the saide William Shakespere, his heires, executors, administrators and assignes for ever by theis presentes, have aliened, bargayned, solde, geven, graunted and confirmed, and by theis presentes, doe fullye, clearlie, and absolutelie alien, bargayne, sell, give, graunte, and confirme unto the saide William Shakespere, all and singuler those errable landes, with thappurtenaunces, conteyninge by estymacion fowre yarde lande of errable lande, scytuate, lyinge or beinge within the parrishe, feildes, or towne of Olde Stretford aforesaide, in the saide countie of Warrwick, conteyninge by estimacion one hundred and seaven acres, be they more or lesse ; and also all the common of pasture for sheepe, horse, kyne, or other cattle, in the feildes of Olde Stretford aforesaide, to the saide fowre yarde lande belonginge, or in any wise apperteyninge ; and also all hades, leys, tyinges, profits, advantages, and commodities whatsoever, with their and everie of their appurtenaunces to the saide bargayned premisses belonginge or apperteyninge, or hertofore reputed, taken, knowne, or occupied as parte, parcell, or member of the same, and the revercion and revercions of all and singuler the same bargayned premisses, and of everie parte and parcell therof, nowe or late in the severall tenures or occupacions of Thomas Hiccoxe, and Lewes Hiccoxe, or of either of them, or of their assignes, or any of them ; together also with all charters, deedes, writinges, escriptes, and mynumentes whatsoever, touchinge or concerninge the same premisses onlie, or only any paxte or parcell therof ; and also the true copies of all other deedes, evidences, charters, writinges, escriptes,



and mynumentes, which doe touche and concerne the saide premisses before bargayned and solde, or any parte or parcell therof, which the saide William Combe, or John Combe, now have in their custodie, or hereafter may have, or which they may lawfullye gett, or come by, without suite in lawe ; to have and to holde the saide fowre yarde of errable lande, conteyninge by estymacion one hundred and seaven acres, be they more or lesse, and all and singuler other the premisses before by theis presentes aliened and solde, or mencioned, or intended to be aliened and solde, and everie parte and parcell therof ; and all deedes, charters, writings, escriptes, and mynumentes, before by theis presentes bargayned and solde unto the saide William Shakespere, his heires and assignes for ever, to the onlie proper use and behoofe of the saide William Shakespere, his heires and assignes, for ever. And the saide William Combe, and John Combe, for them, their heires, executors, and administrators, doe covenant, promise, and graunte to and with the saide William Shakespere, his heires, executors, and assignes, by theis presentes, that they, the saide William and John Combe, are seazde, or one of them is seazde, of a good, sure, perfect, and absolute estate, in fee simple, of the same premisses before by theis presentes bargayned and solde, or ment, or mencioned to be bargayned and solde, without any further condicion, or lymyttacion of use, or estate, uses, or estates ; and that he, the saide John Combe, his heires and assignes, shall and will, from tyme to tyme, and at all tymes hereafter, well and sufficientlie save and keepe harmles, and indempnified, as well the saide fowre yardes of errable lande, conteyninge one hundred and seaven acres, and all other the premisses, with their appurtenaunces, before bargayned and solde, or mencioned or intended to be bargayned and solde, and everie parte and parcell therof, as also the saide William Shakespere, and his heires and assignes, and everie of them, of and from all former bargaynes, sales, leases, joyntures, dowers, wills, statutes, recognizances, writings obligatorie, fines, feoffamentes. entayles, judgments, execucions, charges, titles, forfeitures, and encombrances whatsoever, at any tyme before the ensealinge herof, had,

made, knowledged, done or suffred by the saide John Combe, or by the saide William Combe, or either of them, or by any other person or persons whatsoever, any thinge lawfullye clayminge or havinge, from, by, or under them, or either of them, the rentes and services hereafter to be due in respect of the premisses before mencioned or intended to be bargayned and solde to the cheife lorde or lordes of the fee or fees onlie excepted and foreprized. And the saide William Combe, and John Combe. for them, their heires, executors, administrators, and assignes, doe covenant, promise and graunte to and with the said William Shakespere, his heires and assignes, by theis presentes, that they, the saide William and John Combe, or one of them, hathe rightfull power and lawfull auctoritie for any acte or actes done by them, the saide William and John Combe, or by the sufferance or procurement of them, the saide William and John Combe, to geve, graunte, bargayne, sell, convey, and assure the saide fowre yardes of errable lande, conteyninge one hundred and seaven acres, and all other the premisses before by theis presentes bargayned and solde, or ment or mencioned to be bargayned and solde, and everie parte and parcell therof, to the saide William Shakespere. his heires and assignes, in suche manner and forme, as in and by theis presentes is lymytted, expressed, and declared; and that they, the saide William and John Combe, and their heires, and also all and everie other person, and persons, and their heires. nowe, or hereafter havinge or clayminge any lawfull estate, righte, title or interest, of, in, or to the said errable lande, and all other the premisses before by theis presentes bargayned and solde, with their and everie of their appurtenances,—other then the chief lorde or lordes of the fee or fees of the premisses, for their rentes and services onlie,—at all tymes hereafter, duringe the space of five years next ensewinge the date herof, shall doe, cause, knowledge, and suffer to be done and knowledged, all and every suche further lawfull and reasonable acte and actes, thinge and thinges, devise and devises, conveyances and assurances whatsoever, for the further, more better, and perfect

assurance, suretie, sure makinge and conveyinge of all the saide premisses before bargayned and solde, or mencioned to be bargayned and solde, with their appurtenaunces, and everie parte and parcell therof, to the saide William Shakespere, his heires and assignes, for ever, accordinge to the true entent and meaninge of theis presentes, as by the saide William Shakespere, his heires and assignes, or his or their learned counsell in the lawe, shalbe reasonablye devized, or advized, and required, be yt by fyne or fynes, with proclamacion, recoverye with voucher or vouchers over, deede or deedes enrolled, enrollment of theis presentes, feoffament, releaze, confirmacion, or otherwise ; with warrantie against the saide William Combe, and John Combe, their heires and assignes, and all other persons clayminge by, from, or under them, or any of them, or without warrantie, at the costes and charges in the lawe of the saide William Shakespere, his heires, executors, administrators, or assignes, so as for the makinge of any suche estate, or assurance, the saide William and John Combe be not compeld to travell above sixe myles. And the saide William Combe, and John Combe, for them, their heires, executors, administrators, and assignes, doe covenant, promise, and graunte to and with the saide William Shakespere, his heires, executors, administrators, and assignes, by theis presentes, that the saide William Shakespere, his heires and assignes, shall or may, from tyme to tyme, from henceforth for ever, peaceably and quietlye have, holde, occupie, possesse, and enjoye the saide fowre yardes of errable lande, and all other the bargayned premisses, with their appurtenaunces, and everie parte and parcell therof, without any manner of lett, trouble, or eviccion of them, the saide William Combe, and John Combe, their heires, or assignes ; and without the lawfull lett, trouble or eviccion, of any other person or persons whatsoever, lawfullie havinge, or clayminge any thinge in, of, or out of the saide premisses, or any parte therof, by, from, or under them, the saide William Combe, and John Combe, or either of them, or the heires or assignes of them, or either of them, or their, or any of their estate, title, or interest. In wytnes wherof, the parties to theis presentes have enter-

changeably set to their handes and seales, the daie and yeare firste above written. 1602.

*XXI. Extract from the Court Rolls of the Manor of Rowington, being the Surrender from Walter Getley to Shakespere of premises in Chapel Lane, Stratford-on-Avon, 1602.*

Rowington.—Vis. franc. pleg. cum cur. baron. prænobilis dominæ Annæ comitissæ Warwici, ibidem tent. xxviii<sup>o</sup>. die Septembris, anno regni dominæ nostræ Elizabethæ, Dei gracia Angliæ, Franciæ et Hiberniæ reginæ, fidei defensor., &c., quadragesimo quarto; coram Henr. Michell generoso deputat. scenescall., Johannis Huggefard ar. capitalis scenescalli, ibidem. —Ad hanc curiam venit Walterus Getley, per Thomam Tibbottes jun. attorn. suum, unum customar. tenent. manerii prædicti (præd. Thoma Tibbottes jur. pro veritate inde), et sursumredd. in manus dominæ manerii prædicti unum cotagium cum pertinent. scit. jacen. et existen. in Stratford-super-Avon, in quodam vico ibidem vocato Walkers Streete alias Dead Lane, ad opus et usum Willielmi Shackespere et hæred. suorum in perpetuum, secundum consuetudinem manerii prædicti; et sic remanet in manibus dominæ manerii prædicti, quousque prædictus Willielmus Shackespere ven. ad capiend. præmissa prædicta. In cujus rei testimonium, prædictus Henricus Michell huic præsentì copiar sigillum suum apposuit die et anno supradictis.

*XXII. The Docket at the Foot of the King's Bill authorising the Licence to Fletcher, Shakespeare, and others, to exercise the art of playing comedies, &c., May, 1603. From the Signet Office Dockets, anno Regni Regis Jacobi primo.*

May, 1603. —A licence from his Majestie to his servaunts, Lawrence Fletcher, William Shakespeare, Richard Burbage, Augustine Phillipps, John Henninges<sup>o</sup>, Henrie Condell, William Slye, Robert Armin, Richard Cowley, and the rest of their associates, to exercise the art of playing comedies, tragedies, histories, enterludes, moralles, pastoroles, stage playes and such like, in all townes and the Universities when the infection of the plague shall decrease.—vj. s. viij. d.

*XXIII. Licence to Fletcher, Shakespeare, and others, to*

*play comedies, &c., 17 May, 1603. Bill of Privy Signet; endorsed, "The Players Priviledge."*

By the King.—Right trusty and wel beloved Counsellour, we greete you well, and will and commaund you that, under our Privie Seale in your custody for the time being, you cause our lettres to be directed to the Keeper of our Greate Seale of England, comaunding him that under our said Greate Seale he cause our lettres to be made patentés in forme following.—James, by the grace of God King of England, Scotland, Fraunce and Irland, Defendor of the Faith, &c., to all justices, maiors, sheriffes, constables, hedboroughes, and other our officers and loving subjectes greeting. Know ye that we, of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge and meere motion, have licenced and authorized, and by these presentes doo licence and authorize, these our servantes, Lawrence Fletcher, William Shakespeare, Richard Burbage, Augustine Phillippes, John Henninges®, Henry Condell, William Sly, Robert Armin, Richard Cowlye and the rest of their associates, freely to use and exercise the arte and facultie of playing comedies, tragedies, histories, enterludes, moralles, pastoralles, stage plaies, and such other, like as they have already studied or heerafter shall use or studie, as well for the recreation of our loving subjectes as for our solace and pleasure when we shall thinke good to see them, during our pleasure. And the said comedies, tragedies, histories, enterludes, morall®, pastoralles, stage plaies and such like, to shew and exercise publiquely to their best commoditie, when the infection of the plague shall decrease, as well within their now usuall howse called the Globe within our countie of Surrey, as also within any towne halles or mouthalles, or other convenient places, within the liberties and freedome of any other cittie, universitie, towne or borough whatsoever within our said realmes and dominions, willing and comaunding you and every of you, as you tender our pleasure, not only to permitt and suffer them heerin without any your lettes, hinderances, or molestacions during our said pleasure, but also to be ayding and assisting to them, yf any wrong be to them offered; and to allowe them

such former courtesies as hath bene given to men of their place and qualitie. And also, what further favour you shall shew to these our servantes for our sake, we shall take kindly at your handes. In witnes whereof &c. And these our lettres shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge in this behalf. Given under our Signet at our Mannor of Greenwich the seaventh day of May in the first yeere of our raigne of England, Fraunce and Irland, and of Scotland the six and thirtieth.—Ex : per Lake.—To our right trusty and wel beloved Counsellour, the Lord Cecill of Esingdon, Keeper of our Privie Seale for the time being.

*XXIV. Writ of Privy Seal, being the Authority for the Patent under the Great Seal licensing Fletcher, Shakespeare and others, to act plays. With the recepi of the Lord Chancellor, 1603.*

Memorandum quod xix.<sup>mo</sup> die Maij, anno infrascripto, istud breve deliberatum fuit Domino Custodi Magni Sigilli Angliæ apud Westmonasterium exequend :—James by the grace of God Kinge of England, Scotland, Fraunce and Ireland, Defendor of the Faith, &c., To our right trusty and wel beloved Counsellor, Sir Thomas Egerton, Knight, Keeper of our Great Seale of England, greeting. Wee will and commaund you that, under our said Great Seale being in your custody, you cause our lettres patentees to be made forth in forme following,—James by the grace of God Kinge of England, Scotland, Fraunce and Ireland, Defendor of the Faith, &c., To all justices, maiors, sheriffes, constables, hedborowes and other our officers and loving subiectes, greeting. Knowe yee that wee, of our speciall grace, certeine knowledge and mere motion, have licensed and authorized, and by these present<sup>®</sup> doe licence and authorize these our servantes, Lawrence Fletcher, William Shakespeare, Richard Burbage, Augustine Phillippes, John Henninges<sup>®</sup>, Henry Con-dell, William Sly, Robert Armyn, Richard Cowlye and the rest of their associates, freely to use and exercise the art and facultie of playinge comedies, tragedies, histories, enterludes, moralles, pastoralles, stage plaies and such other like as they have alreadie studied, or hereafter shall use or studye, as well for the recrea-

tion of our loving subjectes as for our solace and pleasure when wee shall thinke good to see them during our pleasure ; and the said comedies, tragedies, histories, enterludes, morall®, pastorolles, stage playes and such like to shew and exercise publiquely to their best commoditie, when the infection of the plague shall decrease, as well within their now usuall howse called the Globe within our County of Surrey as alsoe within any towne halles, or moutehalles, or other convenient places within the liberties and freedome of any other citie, universitie, towne or borough whatsoever within our said realmes and dominions ; willinge and commaunding you, and every of you, as you tender our pleasure, not only to permitt and suffer them herein, without any your lettes, hinderances or molestations, during our said pleasure, but alsoe to be aiding and assisting to them if any wronge be to them offered, and to allowe them such former courtesies as hath bene given to men of their place and qualety ; and alsoe what further favour you shall shewe to theise our servauntes for our sake wee shall take kindly at your handes. In wittnesse whereof &c. Given under our Privie Seale at our Mannor of Greenewich the eighteenth daie of May in the first yeare of our raigne in England, Fraunce and Ireland, and in Scotland the sixe and thirtieth. Ex : per Mylles.—Rec. 19 Maij, 1603.

*XXV. Patent under the Great Seal licensing Fletcher, Shakespeare and others, to perform Comedies, &c. 19 May, 1603. From the original Entry on the Patent Rolls, 1 Jac. I. Pars 2. Membr. 4.*

Com : Special : pro Laurencio Fletcher et Willielmo Shackespeare et aliis.—James by the grace of God, &c., to all justices, maiors, sheriffes, constables, hedborowes, and other our officers and loving subjectes, greetinge. Knowe yee that wee, of our speciall grace, certeine knoweledge and mere motion have licenced and authorized, and by theise presentes doe licence and authorize theise our servauntes, Lawrence Fletcher, William Shakespeare, Richard Burbage, Augustyne Phillippes, John Heminges, Henrie Condell, William Sly, Robert Armyn, Richard Cowly, and the rest of their associates, freely to use

and exercise the arte and faculty of playinge commedies, tragedies, histories, enterludes, moralls, pastoralls, stage-plaies, and suche others, like as theie have alreadie studied or hereafter shall use or studie, as well for the recreation of our lovinge subjectes, as for our solace and pleasure when wee shall thincke good to see them duringe our pleasure ; and the said commedies, tragedies, histories, enterludes, morrall®, pastoralls, stage-playes, and suche like, to shewe and exercise publiquely to their best commoditie, when the infection of the plague shall decrease, as well within their nowe usuall howse called the Globe, within our county of Surrey, as alsoe within anie towne-halls or moute-halls, or other conveniente places within the liberties and freedom of anie other cittie, universitie, towne or boroughe whatsoever within our said realmes and domynions. Willinge and commaunding you and everie of you, as you tender our pleasure, not onlie to permitt and suffer them herein, without anie your lettes, hindrances or molestacions, during our said pleasure, but alsoe to be aiding and assistinge to them yf anie wronge be to them offered, and to allowe them such former curtesies as hath bene given to men of their place and quallitie ; and alsoe what further favour you shall shewe to theise our servauntes for our sake, wee shall take kindlie at your handes. In wytnesse whereof &c. Witnesse ourselfe at Westminster the nyntenth day of May.—Per Breve de privato sigillo, etc.

*XXVI. Entry of the preceding Document in an ancient Index to the Patent Rolls.*

Fletcher, Shakespeare, Commiss :—R. xix°. Maij con. commissionem Willielmo® Fletcher, Willielmo Shakspeare et al. to plea commodies et al.

*XXVII. The Declaration filed by Shakespeare in the Court of Record of Stratford-on-Avon in the year 1604, to recover the value of malt sold to one Philip Rogers by the poet.*

Phillipus Rogers summonitus fuit per servient. ad clavem ibidem ad respond. Willielmo Shexpere de placito quod reddat ei triginta et quinque solid. decem denar. quos ei debet et injuste detinet, et sunt pleg. de prosequend. Johannes Doe et Ricardus



Roe, &c., et unde idem Willielmus, per Willielmum Tetherton attorn. suum, dicit quod cum prædictus Phillippus Rogers, vicesimo septimo die Marcii, anno regni domini Jacobi regis, nunc Angliæ, Franc. et Hiberniæ, primo, et Scociæ tricesimo septimo, hic apud Stretford præd. et infra jurisdictionem hujus curiæ, emisset de eodem Willielmo tres modios brasii pro sex solid. de præd. triginti et quinque solid. decem denar. ; ac etiam quod cum præd. Phillipus Rogers, decimo die Aprillis, anno regni dicti domini regis nunc Angliæ &c. secundo, hic apud Stretford præd. ac infra jurisdictionem hujus curiæ, emisset de eodem Willielmo quatuor modios brasii pro octo solid. de præd. 35 solid. 10 denar. ; ac etiam quod cum præd. Phillipus 24<sup>o</sup>. die dicti Aprilis, anno regni dicti domini regis nunc Angliæ &c. secundo, hic apud Stretford præd., infra jurisdictionem hujus curiæ, emisset de eodem Willielmo alios tres modios brasii pro sex solid. de præd. 35 solid. 10 denar. ; ac etiam quod cum præd. Phillipus, tercio die Maii, anno regni dicti domini regis nunc Angliæ &c. secundo, hic apud Stretford præd., infra jurisdictionem hujus curiæ, emisset de eodem Willielmo alios quatuor modios brasii pro octo solid. de præd. 35 solid. 10 denar. ; ac etiam quod cum præd. Phillipus, tricesimo die Maii, anno regni dicti domini regis nunc Angliæ &c. secundo, hic apud Stretford præd., ac infra jurisdictionem hujus curiæ, emisset de eodem Willielmo duos modios brasii pro tres solid. decem denar. de præd. 35 solid. 10 denar. ; ac etiam quod cum præd. Phillipus, vicesimo quinto die Junii, anno dicti domini regis nunc Angliæ &c., hic apud Stretford præd., ac infra jurisdictionem hujus curiæ, mutuatus fuisset duos solid. legalis monetæ &c. de præd. 35 solid. 10 denar. resid. solvend. eidem Willielmo, cum inde requisit. fuisset ; quæ omnia seperal. somn. attingunt se in toto ad quadraginta et unum solid. decem denar. Et prædictus Phillipus Rogers de sex solid. inde eidem Willielmo postea satisfacisset, prædictus tamen Phillipus, licet sepius requisit., prædictos trigint. et quinque solid. decem denar. resid. eidem Willielmo nondum reddidit, sed illa ei huc usque reddere contradixit et adhuc contradic., unde quod deter. est et dampna habet ad valenc. decem solidorum. Et inde producit sectam &c.

*XXVIII. The Conveyance to \*Shakespeare of the moiety of a leuse of the tithes in and near Stratford-on-Avon, 24 July, 1605. From the original preserved amongst the records of that town.*

This indenture made the foure and twentythe daye of Iulye in the yeares of the raigne of our soveraigne Lorde James, by the grace of God of Englande, Scotlande, Fraunce and Irelande, Kyng, Defender of the Fayeth, &c., that is to saye, of Englande, Fraunce and Irlande the thirde, and of Scotlande the eighte and thirtythe, Betweene Raphe Hubande of Ippesley in the countye of Warr. esquier on thone parte. and William Shakespear of Stratforde-upon-Avon in the sayed countye of Warr. gent. on thother parte ; Whereas Anthonye Barker clarke, late Warden of the Colledge or Collegiate Church of Stratforde-upon-Avon aforesayed, in the sayed countye of Warr. and Gyles Coventrie subwarden there, and the whole chapter of the same late colledge, by their deade indented, sealed with their chapter seale, dated the seaventh daye of September in the sixe and thirtieth yeare of the raigne of the late kinge of famous memorie Kinge Henrye the eghte. demysed, graunted, and to farme lett (amongste diverse other thinges) unto one William Barker of Sonnyng in the countye of Bark. gent , all and all manner of tythes of corne, grayne, blade and heye yearelye and from tyme to tyme comynge, encreasinge, reneweing, arrysinge, groweing, yssueinge or happeninge, or to bee had, receyved, perceyved or taken out, upon of or in the townes, villages, hamlettes, groundes and fyeldes of Stratforde-upon-Avon, Olde Stratforde, Welcombe, and Bushopton in the sayed countye of Warr., and alsoe all and all manner of tythes of wooll, lambe, and other small and pryvie tythes, oblacions, obventions, alterages, mynumentes and offeringes whatsoever yearelye and from tyme to tyme cominge, encreasinge, reneweing or happeninge, or to bee had, receyved, perceyved or taken within the parishe of Stratforde-upon-Avon aforesayed in the sayed countye of Warr. by the name or names of all and singuler their mannours, landes, tenementes, meadowes, pastures, feedinges, woodes, underwoodes, rentes, revercions, services, courtes, leetes, releeves, wardes, marriages, harriottes, perquisites of courtes, liberties, jurisdictiones, and all

other hereditamentes, with all and singuler other rightes, commodities, and their appurtenaunces, togeather with all manner of parsonages, gleebe landes, tythes, alterages, oblacions, obventions, mynumentes, offeringes, and all other issues, proffittes, emolumentes and advantages in the countye of Warr or Worcester, or elcewhere whatsoever they bee, unto the sayed then colledge apperteyninge,—the mancion-house and the scite of the sayed colledge, with their appurtenaunces within the precinctes of the walls of the sayed colledge unto the sayed warden and subwarden onely excepted,—To have and to holde all the sayed mannours, landes, tenementes, and all other the premisses with all and singuler their appurtenaunces (excepte before excepted) unto the sayed colledge belonginge or in anie wyse apperteyninge, unto the sayed William Barker, his executours and assignes, from the feast of St. Michaell tharchangell then laste paste before the date of the sayed indenture, unto thend and terme of fourescore and twelve yeares then nexte ensueinge, yeldinge and payenge therefore yearelye unto the sayed warden and subwarden and their successours att the sayed colledge cxxij. *l.* xvij. *s.* ix. *d.* of lawfull money of Englande, as more playnely appeareth by the sayed indenture; And whereas alsoe the revercion of all and singuler the sayed premisses, amonge other thinges, by vertue of the Acte of Parliament made in the fyrst yeare of the raigne of our late soveraigne lorde Kinge Edwarde the sixte for the dissolution of chauntries, colledges, and free chappels, or by some other meanes, came to the handes and possession of the sayed late Kinge Edwarde, and whereas the sayed late Kinge Edwarde the sixte beinge seised, as in right of his crowne of Englande, of and in the revercion of all and singuler the premisses, by his lettres patentes bearinge date the eight and twentieth daye of June in the seaventh yeare of his raigne, for the consideracion therein expressed, did gyve and graunte unto the baylif and burgesses of Stratforde aforesayed, and to their successors, amonge other thinges, all and all manner of the sayed tythes of corne, graine and heye, comynge, encreasinge or arrysinge, in the villages and ffyeldes of Olde Stratforde, Welcombe, and

Bushopton aforesayed, in the sayed countye of Warr. then or late in the tenure of John Barker, and to the late Colledge of Stratford-upon-Avon in the sayed countye of Warr. of late belonginge and apperteyninge, and parcell of the possessions thereof beinge, and alsoe all and all manner the sayed tythes of wooll, lambe, and other smalle and pryvie tythes, oblacions and alterages, whatsoever, within the parishe of Stratford-upon-Avon aforesayed, and to the sayed late Colledge of Stratford upon Avon belonginge or apperteyninge, and then or late in the tenure of William Barker or of his assignes, and the revercion and revercions whatsoever of all and singuler the sayed tythes, and everye parte and parcell thereof, and the rentes, revenues, and other yearelye profittes whatsoever reserved upon anye demise or graunte of the sayed tythes or anie parte or parcell thereof: and whereas alsoe the interest of the sayed premisses in the sayed originall lease mencioned, and the interest of certein copiehoides in Shotterie in the parishe of Stratford aforesayed. beinge by good and lawfull conveyans and assurance in the lawe before that tyme conveyed and assured to John Barker of Hurste in the sayed countye of Berk, hee the sayed John Barker by his indenture bearinge date the foure and twentyth daye of June in the twoe and twentythe yeare of the raigne of the late Queene Elizabeth for the consideracions therein specified, Did gyve, graunte, assigne and sett over unto Sir John Hubande Knighte, brother of the sayed Raphe Hubande, all and singuler the sayed laste mencioned premisses. and all his estate, righte, title and interest that he then had to come, of, in and to all and singuler the sayed premisses, and of all other mannours, messuages, landes, tenementes, gleebe lands, tythes, oblacions, commodities, and proffittes in the sayed originall lease mencioned, for and duringe all the yeares and terme then to come unexpired in the sayed originall lease, exceptinge as in and by the sayed laste mencioned indenture is excepted, —as by the same indenture more att large maye appeare, To have and to holde all and singuler the sayed recyted premisses (excepte before excepted) to the sayed Sir John Hubande. his executours and assignes, for and duringe the yeares then to

come of and in the same, yeldinge and payeing therefore yearelye after the feast of St. Michaell tharchangell nexte ensuinge the date of the sayed laste mencioned indenture, for and duringe all the yeares mencioned in the sayed first mencioned indenture then to come and not expired, unto the sayed John Barker, his executours, administrators, and assignes, one annuall or yearelye rente of twentie seaven poundes thirteene shillinges foure pence by the yeare, to be yssueinge and goeing out of all the mannours, landes, tenementes, tythes and hereditamentes, in the sayed indenture specyfyed, to bee payed yearlye to the sayed John Barker, his executors, administrators, and assignes, by the said Sir John Huband, his executours, administrators, and assignes, att the feastes of the Annunciacion of our Ladye and St. Michaell tharchangell, or within fortye dayes after the sayed feastes, in the porche of the Parishe Church of Stratford aforesayed by even porcions, and further payeing, doeinge, and performinge all suche other rentes, dutyes, and servyces, as att anie tyme from thencefourth, and from tyme to tyme, for and duringe the terme aforesayed, should become due to any personne or persons for the same premisses, or anie parte thereof, and thereof to discharge the sayed John Barker, his executours and administrators; and yf yt shoulde happen the sayed twentye-seaven poundes thirteene shillinges ffoure pence to bee behinde and unpaid, in parte or in all, by the space of fortye dayes nexte after anie of the sayed feastes or daies of payement, in which, as is aforesayed, it ought to bee payed, beinge lawfullie asked, that then yt shoulde bee lawfull to and for the sayed John Barker, his executours, administrators and assignes, into all and singuler the premisses, with their appurtenaunces and every parte and parcell thereof, to re-enter and the same to have againe, as in his or their former righte, and that then and from thenceforthe the sayed recyted indenture of assignement, and everye article, cove-naunte, clause, provisoe and agreement, therein conteyned on the parte and behalf of the sayed John Barker, his executours, administrators, and assignes, to bee performed, should cease and bee utterlie voyde and of none effect; with diverse other

covenauntes, grauntes, articles and agreementes in the said indenture of assignement specified to be observed and performed by the sayed Sir John Hubande, his executours and assignes, as in and by the sayed recyted indenture it doth and maye appeare. And whereas the sayed Sir John Hubande did, by his deade obligatorie, bynd himself and his heires to the sayed John Barker in a greate some of money for the performance of all and singuler the covenauntes, grauntes, articles and agreementes, which on the parte of the sayed Sir John Huband were to bee observed and performed, conteyned and specyfyed as well in the sayed recyted indenture of assignement, as alsoe in one other indenture, bearinge the date of the sayed recyted indenture of assignement, made betweene the sayed John Barker on thone partie and the sayed Sir John Hubande on thother partie, as by the sayed deade obligatorie more att large it doth and maye appeare. And whereas alsoe the sayed Sir John Hubande, by his laste will and testament in writinge, did gyve and bequeath unto his executours, amongst other things, the moytie or one half of all and singuler the sayed tythes, as well greate as smalle, before mencioned, to bee graunted to the sayed baylyffe and burgesses of Stratford, and duringe soe longe tyme, and untill of the yssues and profittes thereof, soe much as with other thinges in his sayed will to that purposse willed, lymitted, or appointed, shoulde bee sufficient to discharge, beare, and paye his funeralls debtes and legacies, and alsoe by his sayed laste will and testament did gyve and bequeath the other moytie or one half of the sayed tythes unto the sayed Raphe Hubande and his assignes, duringe all the yeares then to come in the sayed first mencioned indenture and not expired, payeing the one half of the rentes and other charges dewe or goeing out of or for the same, that is to saye the one half of tenne poundes by yeare to bee payed to the sayed John Barker, over and above the rentes thereof reserved upon the sayed originall lease for the same, as by the sayed will and testament more playnelye appeareth; This indentur<sup>e</sup> nowe witnesseth that the sayede Raphe Hubande, for and in consideracion of the somme of foure hundred

and fourtye poundes of lawfull Englishe money to him by the sayed William Shakespeare, before thensealinge and deliverye of thees presentes, well and truelye contented and payed, whereof and of everye parte and parcell whereof hee, the sayed Raphe Hubande, dothe by thees presentes acknowledge the receipt. and thereof and of everye parte and parcell thereof dothe clerelye acquite, exonerate and discharge the sayed William Shakespeare, his executours and administrators, for ever, by thees presentes,—Hathe demised, graunted, assigned, and sett over, and by thees presentes dothe demise, graunte, assigne, and sett over unto the sayed William Shakespear, his executours and assignes, the moytie or one half of all and singuler the sayed tythes of corne, grayne, blade and heye, yearelye, and from tyme to tyme cominge, encreasinge, reneweing, arrysinge, groweing, issueinge, or happenynge or to bee had, receyved, perceyved, or taken out, of, upon, or in the townes, villages, hamlettes, groundes, and fyeldes of Stratforde, Olde Stratforde, Welcombe, and Bushopton, in the sayed countye of Warr., and alsoe the moytie aforesayed or one half of all and singuler the sayed tythes of wooll, lambe, and other smalle and pryvie tythes, herbage oblacions, obvencions, alterages, mynumentes, and offeringes, whatsoever, yearelye, and from tyme to tyme, cominge, encreasinge, reneweing, or happeninge, or to bee had, receyved, perceyved, or taken, within the parishe of Stratforde-upon-Avon aforesayed : and alsoe the moytie or one half of all and all manner of tythes, as well greate as smalle whatsoever, which were by the laste will and testament of the sayed Sir John Hubande gyven and bequeathed to the sayed Raphe Hubande, arrysing, encreasinge, reneweing, or groweing, within the sayed parishe of Stratford-upon-Avon, and whereof the sayed Raphe Huband hath att anie tyme heretofore been, or of right ought to have been, possessed, or whereunto hee nowe hath, or att any tyme hereafter should have, anie estate, right, or interest, in possession or revercion, and all thestate, right, tytle, interest, terme, claime, and demaunde whatsoever, of the sayed Raphe Hubande, of, in, and to all and singler the premisses hereby lastelie mencioned to be

graunted and assigned, and everie or anie parte or parcell thereof, and the revercion and revercions of all and singuler the sayed premisses, and all and singuler rentes and yearely profyttes reserved upon anie demise, graunte, or assignement thereof, or of anie parte or partes thereof heretofore made,—the pryvie tythes of Luddington and suche parte of the tythe heye, and pryvie tythes of Bushopton, as of righte doe belonge to the vicar, curate or minister there for the tyme beinge, alwayes excepted and foreprised,—To have and to holde all and everye the sayed moyties or one halfe of all and singuler the sayed tythes, before, in, and by thees presentes lastelye mencioned to bee graunted and assigned, and everye parte and parcell of them, and everye of them, and all thestate, right, tytle, and interest, of the sayed Raphe Huband, of, in, and to the same, and all other thafore demised premisses, and everye parte and parcell thereof (except before excepted) unto the sayed William Shakespear, his executours and assignes, from the daye of the date hereof, for and duringe the residewe of the sayed terme of fourescore and twelve yeares in the sayed first recited indenture mencioned, and for suche and soe longe terme and tyme, and in as large, ample, and benefyciall manner as the sayed Raphe Hubande should or oughte enjoye the same, yeldinge and payeinge therefore yearely duringe the residewe of the sayed terme of fourescore and twelve yeares which bee yet to come and unexpired, the rentes hereafter mencioned, in manner and forme followeing, that is to saye, unto the baylyffe and burgesses of Stratford aforesaid, and their successours, the yearelye rent of seaventeene poundes, att the feastes of St. Michaell tharchangell and thannunciacion of blessed Marye the Virgin by equall porcions, and unto the sayed John Barker, his executours, administrators or assignes, the annuall yearelye rente of fyve poundes att the feaste dayes and place lymitted, appointed and mencioned in the sayed recyted indenture of assignement made by the sayed John Barker, or within fortye dayes after the sayed feastes by ever~~y~~ porcions, as parcell of the sayed annuall rent of twentye seaven poundes thirteene shillinges foure pence in



the sayed assignement, mencioned ; And the sayed Raphe Hubande dothe, by thees presentes. for him, his heires, executours, and administrators, covenante and graunte to and with the sayed William Shakespear. his executours, administrators, and assignes, that hee the sayed Raphe Hubande att the tyme of thensealinge and delyverye of thees presentes hath, and att the tyme of the first execucion, or intention of anie execucion, of anie estate by force of thees presentes shall have, full power, and lawfull and sufficient authoritie certeinlie, suerlye, and absolutelie, to graunte, demise, assigne, and sett over all and everye the sayed moyties, or one halfe of all and singuler the sayed tythes, and other the premisses before in thees presentes lastelye mencioned to bee assigned and sett over, and everye parte and parcell thereof, unto the sayed William Shakespear. his executours and assignes, accordinge to the true meaninge of thees presentes ; and alsoe that the sayed William Shakespear, his executours, administrators, or assignes, shall and maye from tyme to tyme, and att all tymes duringe the residewe of the sayed terme of foure score and twelve ycares yet to come and unexpired, for the yearelye severall rentes above by thees presentes reserved, peaceable, lawfullye and quietlie have, holde, occupie, possesse and enioie all and everye the sayed moyties, or one halfe of all and singuler the sayed tythes of corne, graine, blade, heye, wolle, lambe and other smalle and pryvie tythes, herbage, oblations, obventions, offeringes, and other the premisses before by thees presentes graunted and assigned, and everye parte and parcell thereof, excepte before excepted, without anie lett, trouble, entrie, distresse, claime, deniall, interrupcion, or molestation whatsoever of the sayed Raphe Hubande, his executours, administrators, or assignes, or of anie other personne or persons havinge or clayminge to have, or which, att anie tyme or tymes hereafter, shall or maye have, or claime to have, anie thinge of, in, or to the afore graunted premisses or anie parte thereof, by, from, or under the sayed Raphe Huband, his executours, administrators, or assignes, or anie of them, or by, from, or under the sayed Sir John Hubande, or by their or anie of

their meanes, consent, forfeiture, act, or procurement, and without anie lawfull lett, trouble, distresse, claime, denyall, entrie or demaunde whatsoever, other then for the sayed yearely rent of twentye seaven poundes thirteene shillinges fourepence by the sayed recyted assignement reserved of the sayed John Barker, his executours, administrators, or assignes, or anie of them, or of anie personne or personns clayeminge by, from, or under them, or anie of them,—thestate and interest of the Lorde Carewe of, in and to the tythes of Bridgtowne and Ryen Clyfforde, and the interest of Sir Edward Grevill knight of and in the moytie of the tythe, heye, woolle, lambe, and other smalle and pryvie tythes, oblacions, obventions, offeringes, and proffittes, before by thees presentes graunted and assigned unto the sayed William Shakespear, which is to endure untill the feast of St. Michaell tharchangell next ensueinge the date hereof, and noe longer, onelye excepted and foreprised ;—and the sayed Raphe Hubande doth by thees presentes, for him his heires, executours, and administrators, covenante and graunte to and with the sayed William Shakespear, his executours, administrators, and assignes, that all and everye the sayed moyties of the sayed tythes before mencioned to be graunted to the sayed William Shakespear, and other the premisses (except before excepted) nowe are, and soe from tyme to tyme. and att all tymes hereafter duringe the residewe of the saied terme of fourescore and twelve yeares yet to come and unexpired, according to the true meaninge hereof unto the sayed William his executours or assignes, shalbe, remaine, and contynewe, free and clere, and freelye and clerelye acquyted, exonerated and discharged, or well and sufficientlie saved and kept harmelesse, of and from all and all manner of bargaines, sales, guiftes, assignementes, leases, recognizances, statutes mercheant, and of the staple, outlaries, judgements, execucions, titles, troubles, charges, encumbrances, and demaundes whatsoever, heretofore had, made, done, comitted, omitted, or suffered, or hereafter to bee had, made, done, comitted, omitted, or suffered, by the sayed Raphe Hubande, Sir John Hubande and John Barker, or anie of them, their or anie of their executours, administrators, or assignes, or

anie of them, or by anie personne, or personnes whatsoever, clayming, or which att anie tyme hereafter during the residewe of the saied terme, shall or maie claime, by, from, or under them or anie of them, their or anie of their executours administrators, or assignes, or anie of them, or by anie personne or personns whatsoever clayminge by, from or under them, or anie of them, or by their or anie of their meanes, act, title, graunte, forfeiture, consent, or procurement, except before excepted; and alsoe that hee the sayed Raphe Hubande, his executours, administrators, and assignes, shall and will, from tyme to tyme and att all tymes duringe the space of three yeares next ensueing, upon reasonable requeste, and att the costes and charges in the lawe of the sayed William Shakespear, his executours or assignes, doe, performe, and execute, and cause, permitt, and suffer to bee done, performed, and executed, all and everye suche further and reasonable acte and actes, thinge and thinges, devyse and devyses in the lawe, whatsoever, bee yt or they by anie meane, course, acte, devise, or assurans in the lawe whatsoever, as by the sayed William Shakespear, his executours or assignes, or his or their learned councell shalbe reasonable devised, advised, or required, for the confirmacion of thees presentes, or for the further or more better or firmer assurans, suertye, suer makinge and conveyeing of all and singuler the premisses before by thees presentes demised and assigned, or ment or intended to bee demised and assigned, and everye parte and parcell thereof, unto the sayed William Shakspear, his executours and assignes, for and duringe all the residewe of the sayed terme of fourescore and twelve yeares which bee yet to come, and unexpired, according to the tenor and true meaninge of thees presentes, soe as the sayed Raphe Hubande, his executours or assignes, bee not hereby compelled to travell from Ippesley aforesayed for the doeing thereof; And the sayed William Shakespear doth by thees presentes for him, his heires, executours, and administrators, covenante and graunte to and with the sayed Raphe Hubande, his executours, administrators, and assignes, that hee the sayed William Shakespeare, his execu-

tours, administrators and assignes, shall and will, duringe the residewe of the sayed terme of fourescore and twelve yeares, which bee yet to come and unexpired, yearelie content and paye the severall rentes above mencioned, vidlt., seaventene poundes to the baylif and burgesses of Stratford aforesayed, and fyve poundes to the sayed John Barker, his executours or assignes, att the dayes and places aforesayed in which it ought to bee payed accordinge to the purporte and true meaninge of thees presentes, and thereof shall and will discharge the saied Raphe Hubande, his executours, administrators and assignes. In witnes whereof the partyes abovesayed to thees presentes interchangeablie have sett their seales the daie and yeare fyrst written.

*Bond for the performance of covenants.*—Noverint universi per præsentēs me Radulphum Huband de Ippesley in com. War., armigerum, teneri et firmiter obligari Willielmo Shakespeare de Stratforde-super-Avon in dicto com. Warr. generoso, in octoginta libris bonæ et legalis monetæ Angliæ solvend. eidem Willielmo, aut suo certo attorn. executoribus vel assign. suis, ad quam quidem solutionem bene et fideliter faciend. obligo me, hæredes, executores, et administratores meos firmiter per præsentēs sigillo meo sigillat. Dat. vicesimo quarto die Julii, annis regni domini nostri Jacobi Dei gratia, Angliæ, Scociæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ, regis, fidei defensoris, &c., scilicet Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ, tertio, et Scociæ tricesimo octavo. The condicion of this obligacion is suche, that if thabove bounden Raphe Hubande, his heires, executours, administrators and assignes, and everye of them, shall and doe, from tyme to tyme and att all tymes, well and truely observe, performe, fulfill and keepe all and everye covenante, graunte, article, clause, sentence, and thinge mencioned, expressed and declared in a certain writinge indented, bearinge date with thees presentes, made betweene the sayed Raphe Hubande on thone parte and the abovenamed William Shakespear on thother parte, and which on the parte and behalf of the saied Raphe, his heires, executors, administrators and assignes, or anie of them, are to bee observed, performed, fulfilled, or kept, according to the purporte

and true meaninge of the saied writinge, that then this present obligacion to bee voyde and of none effect, or els to stand and abide in full force, power, and vertue.

*XXIX. Precepts in an action for debt brought by Shakespeare against John Addenbroke in the Stratford-on-Avon Court of Record, 1609.*

Precept. est servientibus ad clavam ibidem quod capiant, seu &c., Johannem Addenbrooke, si &c., et eum salvo &c., ita quod habeant corpus ejus coram ballivo burgi prædicti ad prox. cur. de recordo ibidem tenend., ad satisfaciend. Willielmo Shackspeare gen. tam de sex libr. debit. quos prædictus Willielmus in eadem curia versus eum recuperavit quam de viginti et quatuor solid. qui ei adjudicat. fuer., et dampnis et custag. suis quos sustinuit occasione detencionis debiti prædicti, et habeant ibi tunc hoc precept. Teste Francisco Smyth jun. gen. ball. ibidem 15°. die Marcii, annis regni domini nostri Jacobi, Dei gracia regis Angliæ, Franciæ et Hiberniæ, sexto, et Scotiæ 42°.—*Indors.* Infrajurat. Johannes non est invent. infra libertat. hujus burgi.—Fr. Royce servien.

Precept. est servientibus ad clavam ibidem quod cum quidam Willielmus Shackspeare gen., nuper in cur. domini Jacobi, nunc regis Angliæ, burgi prædicti ibidem tent., virtute literarum patent. domini Edwardi, nuper regis Angliæ, sexti, levavit quandam quer. suam versus quendam Johannem Addenbrooke de placito debiti; cumque eciam quidam Thomas Horneby de burgo prædicto in eadem quer. devenit pleg. et manucap. præd. Johannis; scilicet quod, si prædictus Johannes in quer. ill. legitimo modo convinceretur, quod idem Johannes satisfaceret præfato Willielmo Shackspeare tam debit. in quer. ill. per præfat. Willielmum versus præd. Johannem in cur. præd. recuperand. quam mis. et custag. quæ eidem Willielmo in quer. ill. per eandem cur. adjudicat. forent versus eundem Johannem, vel idem se redderet prisonæ dicti domini regis Jacobi nunc burg. præd. ad satisfaciendum eidem Willielmo eadem debit. mis. et custag.; et ulterius quod si idem Johannes non satisfaceret eidem Willielmo debit. et mis. et custag., nec se redderet præd. prisonæ dicti domini regis nunc ad satisfaciendum

eidem Willielmo in forma præd., quod tunc ipse idem Thomas Horneby debet. sic recuperand. et mis. et custag. sic adjudicat. eidem Willielmo satisfacere vellet. Cumque eciam in quer. ill. taliter process. fuit in eadem curia quod prædictus Willielmus, in loquela ill., per iudicium ejusdem curiæ, recuperabat versus prædictum Johannem tam sex libr. de debito quam viginti et quatuor solid. decrement. mis. et custag. ipsius Willielmi in sect. querela ill. apposit. Super quo precept. fuit servient. ad clavam ibidem quod capiant, seu &c., præd. Johannem, si &c., et eum salvo &c., ita quod habeant corpus ejus coram ballivo burgi prædicti ad prox. cur. de recordo ibidem tenend., ad satisfaciendum prædicto Willielmo de debito præd. sic recuperat, quam de viginti et quatuor solid. pro præd. dampnis et custag. adjudicat. Unde Franc. Boyce, tunc et nunc servien. ad clavam, ad diem retorn. inde mand. quod prædictus Johannes non est invent in balliva sua ; unde idem Willielmus ad præd. cur. dicti domini regis supplicavit sibi de remedio congruo versus præd. manupactorem in hac parte provideri, super quod precept. est servient. ad clavam ibidem quod per probos et legales homines de burgo prædicto scire fac. seu &c. præfat. Thomam, quod sit coram ballivo burgi præd. ad prox. cur. de recordo in burgo prædicto tenend. ostensur. si quid pro se habeat vel dicere sciat, quare predictus Willielmus execucionem suam versus eundem Thomam de debito et mis. et custag. ill. habere non debeat, juxta vim, formam, et effectum manupacionis præd. si sibi viderit expedire, et ulterius factur. et receptur. quod præd. cur. dicti domini regis cons. in ea parte ; et habeant ibi tunc hoc preceptum : teste Franc. Smyth jun., gen., ball. ibidem, septimo die Junii, annis regni domini nostri Jacobi, Dei gratia regis Angliæ, Franc. et Hiberniæ, septimo, et Scotiæ 42°.

*XXX. Conveyance of Premises adjoining the Birth-Place in Henley Street, 20 July, 1609. Although no doubt the result of a mere clerical oversight, it should be noticed that, in the description of the parcels, the word late before the poet's name is interpolated.*

To all Faithfull in Christe to whome this presente wrytinge

indented shall come, Edward Willies of Kingsnorton in the countye of Worcester, yeoman, sendeth greetinge in our Lorde God everlastinge ; knowe yee that I, the foresaid Edward Willeis, as well for the natewrrall love and affection which I beare to Edward Wylleis of Honsworthe in the countye of Stafforde, nailor, my kynsman, as for other good causes and reasonable considerations me the foresaid Edward Willies hereunto especiallie movinge, have given, graunted, enfeoffed, conveyed and assured, and by this my presente wrytinge indented confirmed, to Thomas Osborne of Hampsteede in the county of Stafforde aforesaid, yeoman, and Bartholmewe Austyne of Norfeilde in the countye of Worcester, yeoman, and their heires, all that messuage or tenement and burgage with appurtenances called the Bell, otherwise the signe of the Bell, heretofore used or occupied in two tenementes, scituate and beinge in Stratforde-upon-Avon in the countye of Warwicke, in a streete there comonlie called Henley Streete, and nowe or late in the tenure or occupation of Roberte Brookes, or of his assignes or undertenautes, betwene the tenement of Thomas Hornebie on the easte parte, and the tenement late of William Shakespere on the weaste parte, and the streete aforesaid on the southe parte, and the Kinges heighe waye called the Gillpittes on the northe parte, togeather with all gardens, edifices, howses, barnes, stables, and buildinges, easementes, proffittes, commons, and commodities whatsoever to the said messuage, tenement or burgage, and premysses, or to anye parte or parcell thereof belonginge or in any wise apperteyninge, scituate lyinge and beinge in Stratford-upon-Avon aforesaid, and now or late in the tenure or occupation of the said Roberte Brookes, or of his assignes or undertenautes ; to have and to holde the foresaid messuage or tenement and burgage, edifices, howses, barnes, stables, buildinges, garden, easementes, commons and commodities, and other the premysses above mentioned, and everye parte and parcell thereof with appurtenances, unto the foresaid Thomas Osborne and Bartholmewe Austyne and their heires, to the use and behoofe of the foresaid Edward Willies for terme of my natewrrall lyfe, without

impeachemente of anye manner of waste ; and from and after the decesse of me the said Edwarde Willies, then to the use and behoofe of the foresaid Edwarde Willies of Honsworth, my kynsman, and of the heires of the bodye of the said Edwarde Willies lawefullie begotten, and for defaulte of such issue, the remainder thereof to the use and behoofe of Thomas Willies of Honsworthe aforesaid, brother of the said Edwarde Willies, and of the heires of the bodye of the said Thomas Willeis lawefullie begotten, and, for defaulte of such issue, the remainder thereof to the use and behoofe of the righte heires of me the foresaid Edwarde Willies of Kingsnorton for ever, to be holden of the cheife lorde or lordes of the fee or fees thereof by the rentes and services therefore of righte due and accustomed. And I the foresaid Edwarde Willies, and my heires, the foresaid messuage or tenement and burgage, and other the premyssees above mentioned, to the foresaid Thomas Osborne and Bartholmew Austyn and their heires, to the severall uses and behoofes afore expressed and declared againste me and my heires will warrante and defende for ever by these presentes. In witnesse whereof, to the one parte of these presentes, remayninge with the said Edwarde Willies, I the foresaid Edwarde Willies of Kingsnorton have put my hande and seale ; and to thother parte of these presentes, remayringe with me the foresaid Edwarde Willies, the said Thomas Osborne and Bartholmew Austyne have putt their seales, the twentiethe daye of Julye in the yeare of the raigne of our soveraigne lorde James, by the grace of God of Englande, Scotlande, Fraunce, and Ierlande kinge, defender of the Faithe, &c., that is to saye of Englande, Fraunce, and Ierlande the seaventh, and of Scotlande the two and fortithe.—*Edward Willis + his merke.*— Sealed and delivered, and also possession and season was given and delivered, by the within named Edwarde Willies, of and in the messuage or tenement within written, to Thomas Osborne and Bartholmewe Austyne, the feffees within written, to the uses within written, the fyfte of Auguste the yeare within written in the presence of—Thomas Leighe ; signum Willielmi + Kylcoppe ; signum + Willielmi Watton ; John Kendricke and others.



*XXXI. Note of a Fine levied in Trinity Term, 8 Jac. I., 1610, on the estate purchased by Shakespeare from the Combes.*

Inter Willielmum Shakespere generosum quer., et Willielmum Combe armigerum et Johānnem Combe generosum deforc., de centum et septem acris terræ et viginti acris pasturæ cum pertinentiis in Old Stratford et Stratford-super-Avon; unde placitum convencionis sum. fuit inter eos, &c.,—scilicet quod prædicti Willielmus Combe et Johannes recogn. prædicta tenementa cum pertinentiis esse jus ipsius Willielmi Shakespere, ut illa quæ idem Willielmus habet de dono prædictorum Willielmi Combe et Johannis; et ill. remiser. et quietclam. de ipsis Willielmo Combe et Johanne et hæredibus suis prædicto Willielmo Shakespere et hæredibus suis in perpetuum; et præterea idem Willielmus Combe concessit, pro se et hæredibus suis, quod ipsi warant. prædicto Willielmo Shakespere et hæredibus suis prædicta tenementa cum pertinentiis contra prædictum Willielmum Combe et hæredes suos in perpetuum. Et ulterius idem Johannes concessit pro se et hæredibus suis quod ipsi warant. prædicto Willielmo Shakespere et hæred. suis prædicta tenementa cum pertinentiis contra prædictum Johannem et hæredes suos in perpetuum. Et pro hac &c. idem Willielmus Shakespere dedit prædictis Willielmo Combe et Johanni centum libras sterlingorum.

*XXXII. Draft of a Bill of Complaint respecting the Stratford tithes, Thomas Greene and William Shakespeare being the plaintiffs, 1612. In the original manuscript there are several interlineations and corrections in the handwriting of Thomas Greene. The following is a copy of the document in its corrected state.*

Richard Lane et al. quer., et Dominus Carewe et al deff. in Canc. bill. To the Right Honorable Thomas Lord Ellesmere, lord Chauncellour of England. In humble wise complayninge, shewen unto your honorable good Lordshipp your dayly oratours Richard Lane of Awston in the cownty of Warwicke esquire, Thomas Greene of Stratford-uppon-Avon in the said county of Warwicke esquire, and William Shackspeare of Stratford-uppon-Avon aforesaid in the said county of Warwicke gentle-

man, that whereas Anthonie Barker clarke, late warden of the late dissolved Colledge of Stratford-uppon-Avon aforesaid in the said county of Warwicke, and Gyles Coventrey late subwarden of the same colledge. and the chapter of the said colledge, were heretofore seised in their demesne as of fee in the right of the said colledge, of and in divers, messuages, landes, tenementes, and glebe landes, scituate, lyeinge, and beinge within the parishe of Stratford-uppon-Avon aforesaid, and of and in the tythes of corne, grayne, and haye, and of and in all, and all manner of tythes of wooll, lambe, and all other small and pryvye tythes and oblacions and alterages whatsoever, cominge groweinge aryseinge reneweinge or happeninge within the whole parishe of Stratford-uppon-Avon aforesaid; and beinge soe thereof seised by their indenture beareinge date in or aboute the seaventh day of September in the six and thirtieth yeare of the raigne of our late soveraigne lord of famous memory Kinge Henry the Eight sealed with their chapter seale, they did demise, graunte, and to ferme lett (amongst divers mannours, and other messuages landes tenementes and hereditamentes) unto one William Barker, gentleman, nowe deceased, the aforesaid messuages, landes, tenementes, and glebe landes, scituate, lyeinge, and beinge within the said parishe of Stratford-uppon-Avon aforesaid, and the aforesaid tythes of corne grayne and hay, and all and all manner other the said tythes of wooll, lambe, and smale and pryvie tythes, oblacions and alterages whatsoever; To have and to hould from the feast of Ste. Michaell tharchangell then last past, for and duringe the terme of fourescore and twelve yeares thence next and immediately followeing, and fully to be compleate and ended; By vertue of which demise the said William Barker entred into the said demised premisses, and was thereof possessed for all the said terme of yeares therein to come and not expired, and being soe thereof possessed of such estate, terme, and interest, the said estate, terme, and interest of the said William Barker, by some sufficient meanes in the law afterwards, came unto one John Barker, gent., by vertue whereof the said John Barker entred into the same premisses soe demised to the said

William Barker, and was thereof possessed for and duringe the residue of the sayd terme of yeares then to come and not expired, and beinge soe thereof possessed, he the said John Barker, in or aboute the xxij.th yeare of the raigne of our late soveraigne lady Queene Elizabeth, by sufficiente assureance and conveyance in the lawe, did assigne assure and convey over unto Sir John Huband knight, synce deceased, the said messuages, landes, tenementes, and glebe landes, scituate lyeinge and beinge within the said parishe of Stratford-uppon-Avon, and all and singuler the tythes before specified, and all his estate, right, tittle, interest and terme of yeares of and in the same; To have and to hould for and duringe all the residue of the said terme of lxxxij. yeares then to come and not expired, reserveinge uppon and by the said assureance and conveyance the annuell or yearely rente of xxvij. *l.* xiiij. *s.* iiij. *d.* of lawfull money of England at the feastes of Ste. Michaell tharchangell and thannunciacion of our blessed lady Ste. Mary the Virgin, by even and equall porcions; In and by which said assureance and conveyance (as one Henry Barker gent. executour of the last will and testamente of the said John Barker, or administratour of his goodes and chattles, or otherwise assignee of the said rente from the said John Barker, hath divers and sundry tymes given forth; and of which, yf the said rente of xxvij. *l.* xiiij. *s.* iiij. *d.* or anie parte thereof shall happe at anie tyme to be unpaid, the tenauntes of the premisses as he sayeth shall find) there was, by some sufficiente meanes, good and sufficiente provision causion and securty hadd and made, that yf the said annuell or yearely rente or anie parte thereof, should be behind and unpaid in parte or in all after eyther of the said feaste dayes wherein the same ought to be paid by the space of forty dayes, beinge lawfully demaunded at the porch of the parishe church of Stratford aforesaid, that then yt should and might be lawfull to and for the said William Barker his executours administrators and assignes, into all and singuler the said messuages, landes, tenementes, glebe land and tythes, and other the premisses soe assured and assigned unto the said Sir John Huband, to enter, and the same to have againe repossede®, and

enjoy as in his or their former estate; by vertue of which said assignement assurance and conveyance soe made to the said Sir John Huband, he the said Sir John Huband entred into all and singuler the same premisses soe assigned unto him, and was thereof possessed for and duringe all the residue of the said terme of lxxxij. yeares then to come and not expired, under the condicion aforesaid, and subjecte to the forfeiture of all the said terme to him assured and conveyed, yf defaulte of payement of the aforesaid rente xxvij. *li.* xiiij. *s.* iiij. *d.* happened to be mad contrary to the true entente and meaninge of the said provision and security in and uppon the same assurance soe hadd and made; and whereas sythence the said assurance and conveyance soe made to the said Sir John Huband, all the said assigned premisses are of divers and sundry parcells, and by divers and sundry severall sufficiente meane assignementes and under estates deryved under the said assurance and conveyance soe made unto the said Sir John Huband, for very greate sumes of money and valuable consideracions, come unto and nowe remayne in your said oratours, and other the persons hereafter in theis presentes named, and they have severall estates of and in the same parcells, as followeth; that is to saie, your oratour Richard Lane an estate or interest for and duringe all the residue of the said terme of and in the tythes of corne and grayne of and in the barony of Clopton, and the village of Shottery, being of and within the parishe of Stratford-uppon-Avon, of the yearely value of lxxx. *li.*, and of and in divers messuages, landes, tenementes and other hereditamentes in Shottery aforesaid and Drayton, within the said parishe of Stratford-uppon-Avon, of the yearely value of x. *li.* by the yeare; and your oratour Thomas Greene an estate or interest for and duringe all the residue of the said terme of and in one messuage with thappurtenaunces in Old Stratford, of the yearely value of three powndes; and your oratour William Shackspeare hath an estate and interest of and in the moyty or one half of all tythes of corne and grayne aryseinge within the townes villages and fieldes of Old Stratford, Byshopton and Welcombe, being of and in the said parishe of Stratford, and

of and in the moiety or half of all tythes of wool and lamb, and of all small and privy tythes, oblations, and alterages arising or increasynge in or within the wholl parishe of Stratford-uppon-Avon aforesayd, for and duringe all the residue of the said terme, beinge of the yearely value of threescore powndes ; and the right honorable Sir George Carewe knight, Lord Carewe of Clopton, hath an estate and interest for the terme of nyneteene yeares or thereaboutes yet to come, of and in the tythes of corne grayne and hay arisinge in the village and fieldes of Bridgtowne in the said parishe of Stratford of the value of xx.*li.* ; and your oratour the said Richard Lane an estate of and in the same, in reversion thereof, for and duringe all the residue of the said terme of lxxxij. yeares then to come and not expired : and Sir Edward Grevill knight the reversion of one messuage at Stratford aforesaid, after the estate of one John Lupton therein determined, for and duringe all the residue of the said terme of lxxxij. yeares, beinge of the yearely value of forty shillings or thereaboutes ; and Sir Edward Conway, knight hath an estate and interest for and duringe the residue of the said terme of and in the tythes of corne grayne and haye of Loddington, another village of and within the said parishe of Stratford-uppon-Avon, of the yearely value of xxx.*li.* ; and Mary Combe widowe and William Combe gent. and John Combe gent., or some or one of them, an estate for the terme of six yeares or thereaboutes yet to come of and in the other moiety or half of the tythes of corne and grayne arisinge within the townes, villages, and fieldes of Old Stratford aforesaid, and Bishopton and Welcome in the said parishe of Stratford, and of and in the moiety or half of all tythes of wooll and lambe and of all smale and pryvy tythes oblations and alterages arisinge or encreasinge in or within the wholl parishe of Stratford-uppon-Avon aforesaid, of the yearely value of lx.*li.* and of and in the tythes of corne, grayne and hay of Rien Clyfford, within the parishe of Stratford aforesaid, of the yearely value of x.*li.* ; and the said Thomas Greene an estate of and in the reversion of the same moiety of all the same tythes of corne and grayne, and wooll and lambe, and smale and privie tythes,

oblacions and alterages, for and during all the residue of the said terme of fourescore and twelve yeares which after the feast day of thannunciacion of our blessed lady Ste. Mary the Virgin which shalbe in the yeare of our Lord God 1613 shalbe to come and unexpired, and John Nashe gent. an estate of and in the tythes of corne, grayne, and haie aryseinge within the village and fieldes of Drayton within the parish of Stratford aforesaid, of the yearely value of xx. markes for and duringe all the residue of the said terme of lxxxij. yeares ; and John Lane gent., an estate for and duringe all the residue of the said terme, of and in one hereditamente in Stratford aforesaid, heretofore called Byddles Barne, lately made and converted into divers and sundry tenementes or dwellinge howses, and divers other messuages or tenementes of the yearely value of viii.*li.* or thereabouts ; and Anthonie Nashe an estate of and in one messuage or tenemente in Bridgstreete in Stratford aforesaid of the yearely value of foure powndes, for and duringe all the residue of the said terme of yeares yet to come ; the said William Combe and Mary Combe widowe, mother of the said William, or one of them, an estate of and in divers cottages and gardens in Old Stratford, and of and in fyve leyes of pasture in Ryen-Clyfford in the said parishe of Stratford aforesaid, and of and in certayne landes or leyes in their or one of their crosse or enclosure called Ste. Hill in the same parishe, of the yearely value of fyve powndes [*xl.s, interlined*] or thereabouts, for and duringe all the residue of the said terme of lxxxij. yeares yet to come and unexpired ; Daniell Baker gent., an estate and<sup>o</sup> in the tythes of Shottery meadowe and Broad Meadowe within the said parishe, of the yearely value of xx.*li.* for and duringe all the residue of the sayd terme of lxxxij. yeares yet to come and unexpired ; John Smyth gent., an estate of and in divers messuages, tenementes, barnes, and gardens in Stratford-uppon-Avon aforesaid, of the yearely value of viij.*li.* by the yeare, for and duringe all the residue of the said terme of lxxxij. yeares yet to come and unexpired ; Frauncys Smyth the younger gent., an estate of and in two barnes and divers messuages and tenementes with thappurtenaunces in the parishe

of Stratford aforesaid, of the yearely value of xij.*li.* for and duringe all the residue of the said terme of lxxxxij. yeares yet to come and unexpired ; William Walford, draper, an estate of and in two messuages or tenementes lyeinge and beinge in the Chappell Streete in Stratford-uppon-Avon aforesaid, of the yearely value of xl.*s.* for and duringe all the residue of the said terme of lxxxij. yeares yet to come and unexpired ; William Courte gent., an estate of and in two messuages or tenementes in the Chappell streete in Stratford-uppon-Avon aforesaid, of the yearely value of iij.*li.* for and duringe all the residue of the said terme of lxxxxij. yeares yet to come and unexpired ; John Browne gent., an estate of and in one messuage in Bridge streete aforesaid, in Stratford-uppon-Avon aforesaid, of the yearely value of iiij.*li.* for and duringe all the residue of the same terme of lxxxxij. yeares yet to come and unexpired ; Christopher Smyth of Willmecott an estate of and in one messuage with the appurtenaunces in Henley Streete in Stratford-uppon-Avon aforesaid, of the yearely value of iiij.*li.* for and duringe all the residue of the said terme of lxxxxij. yeares yet to come and unexpired ; Thomas Jakeman ["Tho. Jakeman in the bill named of Shottery I take is of Bynton, for eyther Jakeman, Kampson. or Cowper, bought the land in Bynton. The land which you entytyle Jakeman to have, doth ly in Bynton Fields," MS. note.] an estate of and in one yard land in Shottery aforesaid in the parishe of Stratford aforesaid, of the yearely value of x.*li.* for and duringe all the residue of the said terme of lxxxxij. yeares yet to come and unexpired ; and Richard Kempson of Bynton, one yard land and a half in Bynton, of the yerely value of eight poundes for and duryng all the residue of the sayd terme of lxxxxij. yeres yet to come and unexpired ; Stephen Burman, an estate of and in one yard land and a half in Shottery aforesaid in the parishe of Stratford aforesaid, of the yearely value of xv.*li.*, for and duringe all the residue of the said terme of lxxxij. yeares yet to come and not expired ; Thomas Burman, an estate of and in half a yard land in Shottery in the parishe of Stratford aforesaid of the yearely value of v.*li.* for and dureinge all the residue of the said terme

of lxxxij. yeares yet to come and not expired ; and William Burman and the said Thomas Burman, executours of the last will and testament of one Stephen Burman late deceased, an estate of and in one tenemente in Church Streete in Stratford aforesaid, of the yearely value of iij.*li.* for and duringe all the residue of the said terme of lxxxij. yet<sup>o</sup> to come and not expired ; Thomas Horneby, an estate of and in the messuage wherein he nowe dwelleth in Stratford-uppon-Avon aforesaid of the yearely value of iij.*li.* x.s. for and duringe all the residue of the said terme of lxxxij. yeares yet to come and not expired ; Thomas Hamond, John Fifield, William Smarte, Thomas Ayngge, Thomas Holmes, Edward Ingram, Richard Ingram, Thomas Bucke, Thomas Gryffin, Edward Wylkes, . . Brunte widowe, Thomas Vicars, Roberte Gryffin, Phillipp Rogers, . . Peare widowe, . . Younge widowe, and . . Byddle, have every of them severall estates for all the residue of the said terme of lxxxij. yeares, some of them of and in severall messuages with thappurtenaunces, and other of them of and in severall shoppes barnes and severall gardens, every of the said severall messuages and partes of the premisses wherein they severally have such estates, beinge of the severall yearely values of three powndes by the yeare or thereaboutes ; and by reason of the said severall estates and interestes soe respectyvely beinge in the said Lord Carewe, Sir Edward Grevill, Sir Edward Conway, and in your said oratours, and in the sayd Mary Combe, William Combe, John Combe, John Lane, Anthonie Nashe, Thomas Barber, Daniell Baker, John Smyth, Frauncys Smyth, John Nashe, William Walford, William Courte, John Browne, Christopher Smyth, Thomas Jakeman, Stephen Burman, William Burman, Thomas Burman, John Lupton, Thomas Horneby, Thomas Hamond, John Fifield, William Smarte, Thomas Ayngge, Thomas Holmes, Edward Ingram, Richard Ingram, Thomas Bucke, Thomas Gryffin, Edward Wylkes, . . Brunte, Thomas Vicars, Roberte Gryffin, Phillipp Rogers, . . . Fletcher, . . . Peare, . . . Younge, and . . . Byddle, every of them, and every of their executours and assignes, ought in all right, equity, reason,



and good conscience, for and duringe the severall respectyve contynuances of their severall respectyve interestes, estates, and termes in the premisses, and accordinge to the severall values of the said severall premisses soe enjoyed by them, and the rentes they doe yearely receyve for the same, to pay unto the executors, administrators, or assignes of the said John Barker, a ratable and proporcionable parte and porcion of the same annuell or yearely rente of xxvij.*li.* xiiij.*s.* iiij.*d.* by and uppon the said assurance and conveyance soe as aforesaid by the said John Barker made unto the said Sir John Huband reserved and payable ; But soe yt is, yf yt may please your honorable good lordshippe, that the said Lord Carewe, Sir Edward Grevill, Sir Edward Conway, Mary Combe, William Combe, or anie other the said other parties, at anie tyme synce the said assurances and conveyances soe made and derived from or under the said interest of the said Sir John Huband, for that uppon or by the deedes of their severall under estates or assignementes unto them made, they, or those under whom they clayme (excepte the said Mary Combe, Thomas Greene, William Combe, John Combe, and William Shackspeare, whoe only are to pay for tythes of their said severall moytyes before specified *v.li.* and noe more yearely duringe their said respectyve interestes), were not directed nor appoynted nor anie covenantes by them or anie of them, or anie other under whom they or anie of them doe clayme (excepte touchinge the said severall yearely fyve powndes soe to be paid for the said moytyes) were made, whereby yt might appeare howe much of the same rente of xxvij.*li.* xiiij.*s.* iiij.*d.* ought to be paid for every of the said severall premisses (excepte concernyng the sayd moytyes) could never yet be drawen to agree howe to paye the residue of the said rente, or be brought to pay anie precise parte or porcion at all towards the same ; but divers of them, beinge of greater ability, doe divers tymes forebeare and deny to pay anie parte at all towards the same (except the persons before excepted only as touchinge the said severall fyve powndes for their said severall moytyes), alledginge and saieinge, Lett them that are affrayd to forfeyte or loose their estates looke to yt, and amongst

them see the said rente be truely and duelye paid, for they doubt but they shall doe well enoughe with the executours or assignes of the said Jo. Barker ; further excusinge their not paieinge anie rente at all for the residue of the premisses other then the said moytyes, by sayeing that yf they could fynd anie thinge in anie of their deedes of assignmentes or conveyances chargeinge them precisely with any part thereof, or in anie wise declareinge howe much they are to pay, they would willingly as is fitt pay such rate and porcion as they were soe bownd unto, but because they find noe such matter to charge them (excepte the said parties excepted, which by the deedes of their estates are directed for the said severall moytyes to pay the said severall yearely rentes of v.*li* apeece), therefore they will not paye anie thinge at all towards the said residue of the said rente of xxvij.*li*. xiiij.*s*. iiij.*d*., untill, by some legall course or proceedinge in some courte of equity, yt shalbe declared what parte or porcion in reason and equity every severall owner of the said severall premisses ought to pay towards the same, and be judicially ordered thereunto, which lett them that thinke that a good course endeavour to bringe to passe, when they shall see good, or wordes to such lyke effecte ; soe as your oratours, their said respectyve estates and interestes of and in their said severall premisses aforesaid, and the estates of divers of the said parties, which would gladly pay a reasonable parte towards the said rente, but doe nowe refuse to joyne with your said oratours in this their said suite, for feare of some other of the said parties which doe so, refuse to contrybute, doe remayne and stand subjecte to be forfeited by the negligence or willfullnes of divers or anie other of the said parties, which manie tymes will pay nothinge, whenas your oratours Richard Lane and William Shackspeare, and some fewe others of the said parties, are wholly, and against all equity and good conscience, usually dryven to pay the same for preservacion of their estates of and in the partes of the premisses belonginge unto them, and albeyt your said oratours have taken greate paynes and travayle in entreatinge and endeavoringe to bringe the said parties of their owne accordes,

and without suite of lawe, to agree every one to a reasonable contribucion toward the same residue of the said rente of xxvij.*l.* xiiij.*s.* iiij.*d.* accordinge to the value of such of the premisses as they enjoy, and onely for their respectyve tymes and termes therein, yet have they refused and denied and styll doe refuse and deny to be perswaded or drawen thereunto, and some of them beinge encoraged, as yt should seme, by some frendly and kind promise of the said Henry Barker, assignee of the said John Barker, that they should find favour, though their said estates should be all forfeited, have given yt forth that they should be glade and cared not a whitt yf the estates of some or all the said premisses should be forfeited, for they should doe well enough with the sayd Henry Barker. In tender consideracion whereof, and for soe much as yt is against all equitye and reason that the estates of some that are willinge to paie a reasonable parte toward the said residue of the said rente of xxvij.*l.* xiiij.*s.* iiij.*d.* having respecte to the smalnes of the values of the thinges they doe possesse, should depend uppon the carlesnes and frowardnes or other practices of others, which will not paie a reasonable parte or anie thinge at all toward the same, and for that yt is most agreable to all reason, equity and good conscience, that every person, his executours and assignes, should be ratably charged with a yearely porcion toward the said residue of the sayd rente, accordinge to the yearely benefitt he enjoyeth or receaveth, and for that your oratours have noe meanes, by the order or course of the common lawes of this realme, to enforce or compell anie of the said parties to yeald anie certayne contrybucion toward the same, and soe are and styll shalbee remediles therein, unles they may be in that behalf relieved by your Lordshippes gracious clemency and relyef to others in such lyke cases extended; May yt therefore please your good lordshippe, the premisses considered, and yt beinge alsoe considered that very manie poore peoples estates are subjecte to be overthrowen by breach of the condicion aforesaid, and thereby doe depend uppon the negligences, wills, or practices of others, and shall contynue dayly in doubte to be turned out of dopres, with their

wives, and families, thorough the practice or wilfullnes of such others, to write your honorable lettres unto the said Lord Carewe, thereby requiringe him to appeare in the highe Courte of Chancery to answere to the premisses, and to graunte unto your said oratours his Majesties most gracious writtes of subpena to be directed unto the said Sir Edward Grevill, Sir Edward Conway, and other the said parties before named, and to the said Henry Barker, whose claymeth under the right and tyle of the said John Barker, and usually receyveth the said rente in his owne name, and usually maketh acquittaunces upon the receipt thereof, under his owne hand and in his owne name, as in his owne right, and usually maketh acquittances of divers partes thereof, thereby comaundinge them and every of them at a certayne day, and under a certayne payne therein to be lymitted, to be and personally appeare before your good lordshippe in his highnes most honorable Courte of Chancery, fully, perfectly, and directly to awnswere to all and every the premisses, and to sett forth the severall yearely values of the severall premisses soe by them enjoyed, and to shewe good cause whie a comission should not be awarded forth of the said most honorable courte for the examininge of witnesses to the severall values aforesaid, and for the assessinge, taxinge, and ratinge thereof, that there-uppon yt may appeare howe much every of the said parties, and their executours, administrators, and assignes, for and duringe their said severall respectyve estates and interestes, ought in reason proporcionably to pay for the same towards the said residue of the said yearely rente of xxvij. *l.* xiiij. *s.* iiij. *d.*, that the same may be ordered and established by decree of your most honorable good Lordshippe accordingly, and the said Henry Barker to awnswere to the premisses, and to sett forth what estate or interest he claymeth in the said rente of xxvij. *l.* xiiij. *s.* iiij. *d.*, and alsoe to shewe good cause whie he should not be ordered to accept the rentes ratable to be assessed as aforesaid, and to enter onely into the tenement and estate onely of such persons which shall refuse or neglecte to pay suche parte of the said rente, as by your most honorable order there shalbe sett downe and rated uppon them severally to paie, and further to

stand to and abide such further and other order and direccions touchinge the premisses as to your good Lordshipp shall seeme to stand with right equity and good conscience. And your Lordships said oratours shall dayly pray unto thalmightie for your Lordshippes health with dayly encrease in all honour and happines.

*XXXIII. Conveyance of Premises adjoining the Birth-Place in Henley Street, 22 January, 1613. It includes a contingent notice of Shakespeare.*

This Indenture made the two and twentithe daye of Januarie, in the yeare of the raigne of our soveraigne lorde James, by the grace of God of Englande, Scotlande, Fraunce and Ierlande kinge, defender of the faith &c, that is to saye, of Englande, Fraunce, and Ierlande the tenth, and of Scotlande the sixe and fortithe; Betwene Edwarde Willies of Kingesnorton in the countye of Worcester, yeoman, on the one partie, and Edwarde Willyes of Honsworthe in the countye of Stafforde, nailor, and Thomas Willies of Honsworth aforesaid and brother of the said Edwarde Willyes, and coosens to the foresaid Edwarde Wyllies of Kingesnorton, on the other partie,—Witnessith that the said Edwarde Willies of Kingesnorton, for the natewrall love and affection which he beareth to the said Edwarde Willies and Marye his wife, and to the said Thomas Willies his coosens, and for the setlinge, establishinge and contynewinge of thestate and inheritaunce of the messuages or tenementes and burgage landes, tenementes and hereditamentes of the said Edwarde Willies, hereafter in these presentes mentioned and expressed, in the name and bloode of the Willies so longe as it shall please Almightye God to contynewe the same, and for the better mayntenance, staye of lyvinge, and prefermente of the said Edwarde Willies of Honsworth, and Thomas Willies his coosens, he the said Edwarde Willies of Kingesnorton doth covenante, promyse and graunte, for himselfe, his heires executors and admynistrators, and everye of them, to and with the said Edwarde Willies of Honsworthe and Thomas Willies, and either of them, theire and ether of theire heires executors and admynfstrators, and everye of them, by these presentes, that he the said Edwarde

Willies of Kingesnorton and his heires, and all and every other parson and parsones and their heires, which nowe are or be or hereafter shall stande or be seased of or in, All that messuage or tenement and burgage with appurtenaunces called the Belle, otherwise the signe of the Belle, heretofore used or occupied in two tenementes, and also of and in all edifices, howses, barnes, stables, buildinges, gardens, courtes, easementes, liberties, profittes, commons and comodities whatsoever to the said messuage tenement or burgage, or to any parte or parcell thereof, belonging, or in any wise apperteyning, scituate and being in Stratforde upon-Avon, in the countye of Warwicke, in a streete there comunlie called Henley streete, and nowe or late in the tenure or occupation of Roberte Brookes or of his assignes or undertenantes, betwene the tenement of Thomas Hornebye on the easte parte, and a tenement late William Shakespere on the weaste parte, and the streete aforesaid on the southe parte, and the kinges heighewaye called the Gilpittes on the northe parte, or of or in any parte or parcell thereof with appurtenaunces, shall stande and be seased thereof, and of everye parte thereof with appurtenaunces, to the use and behoofe of the said Edward Willies of Honsworthe and Marye his wife, and the heires of the bodye of the said Edward Willies of Honsworthe-lawefullie begotten and to be begotten ; and, for defaulte of such issue, to the use and behoofe of the foresaid Thomas Willies, and the heires of the bodye of the said Thomas lawefullie begotten and to be begotten ; and, for defaulte of such issue, to the use and behoofe of the righte heires of the foresaid Edward Willies of Kingesnorton for ever, and to none other use or uses, intentes or purposes. In witnes whereof to one parte of these presentes, remayninge with the said Edward Willies and Thomas Willies, the said Edward Willies of Kingesnorton hath putt his hande and seale ; and to the other parte of these presentes, remayninge with the said Edward Willies of Kingesnorton, the said Edward Willies of Honsworthe and Thomas Willies have put their handes and seales the daye and yere firste above written.—*Signum predicti Edwardi + Willies de Kingesnorton*.—Sealed and delyvered in the presence

of Henry Cookes, William Willis of Honsworthe, John Kenricke per signum P.

*XXXIV. The Deed of Bargain and Sale of the Blackfriars Estate from Henry Walker to Shakespeare and Trustees, 10th March, 1612-3. This indenture was the one handed over to the great dramatist, after it had been enrolled by the vendor in the Court of Chancery. From the original in my own possession.*

This Indenture made the tenth day of March, in the yeare of our Lord God according to the computacion of the Church of England one thowsand six hundred and twelve, and in the yeares of the reigne of our soveraigne Lord James, by the grace of God king of England, Scotland, Fraunce, and Ireland, defender of the faithe, &c., that is to saie, of England, Fraunce and Ireland the tenth, and of Scotland the six and fortith, Betweene Henry Walker citizein and minstrell of London of th'one partie, and William Shakespeare of Stratford vpon Avon in the countie of Warwick gentleman, William Johnson citizein and vintener of London, John Jackson and John Hemmyng of London gentlemen, of th'other partie ; Witnesseth, that the said Henry Walker, for and in consideracion of the somme of one hundred and fortie poundes of lawfull money of England to him in hande before th'ensealing hereof by the said William Shakespeare well and trulie paid, whereof and where-with hee the said Henry Walker doth acknowledge himselfe fullie satisfied and contented, and thereof and of every part and parcell thereof doth cleerlie acquite and discharge the said William Shakespeare, his heires, executours, administratours, and assignes, and every of them, by theis presentes, hath bargayned and soulded, and by theis presentes doth fullie cleerlie, and absolutlie bargayne and sell unto the said William Shakespeare, William Johnson, John Jackson, and John Hemmyng, their heires and assignes for ever, All that dwelling house or tene-ment with th'appurtenaunces situate and being within the precinct, circuit, and compasse of the late Black Fryers, London, sometymes in the tenure of James Gardyner esquier, and since that in the tenure of John Fortescue gent. and now or late

being in the tenure or occupacion of one William Ireland, or of his assignee or assignes, abutting upon a streete leading downe to Pudle Wharffe, on the east part, right against the Kinges Majesties Wardrobe; part of which said tenement is erected over a great gate leading to a capitall mesuage which sometye was in the tenure of William Blackwell esquour deceased, and since that in the tenure or occupacion of the right Honourable Henry now Earle of Northumberland; and also all that plott of ground on the west side of the same tenement, which was lately inclosed with boordes on two sides thereof by Anne Bacon widow, soe farre and in such sorte as the same was inclosed by the said Anne Bacon, and not otherwise; and being on the thirde side inclosed with an olde bricke wall; which said plott of ground was sometye parcell and taken out of a great peece of voyde ground lately used for a garden; and also the soyle whereupon the said tenement standeth; and also the said brick wall and boordes which doe inclose the said plott of ground; with free entrie, accesse, ingresse, egresse, and regresse, in by and through the said greate gate and yarde thereunto the usuall dore of the said tenement; and also all and singuler cellours, sollers, romes, lightes, easiamentes, profittes commodities, and hereditamentes whatsoever, to the said dwelling house or tenement belonging or in any wise apperteyning; and the reversion and reversions whatsoever of all and singuler the premisses, and of every parcell thereof; and also all rentes and yearlie profittes what-oever reserved and from hensforth to growe due and paiable upon whatsoever lease, dimise or graunt, leases, dimises, or grauntes, made of the premisses or of any parcell thereof; and also all thestate, right, title, interest, propertie, use, possession, clayme, and demaunde whatsoever, which hee the said Henry Walker now hath, or of right may, might, should, or ought to have, of in or to the premisses or any parcell thereof; and also all and every the deedes, evidences, charters, escriptes, minimentes, and writinges whatsoever, which hee the said Henry Walker now hath, or any other person or persons to his use have or hath, or which hee may lawfullie come by without suite in the lawe, which touch or



concerne the premises onlie, or onlie any part or parcell thereof, together with the true coppies of all such deedes, evidences, and writings as concerne the premisses, amouniges other thinges, to bee written and taken out at the onlie costes and charges of the said William Shakespeare, his heires or assignes ; which said dwelling house or tenement, and other the premisses above by theis presentes mencioned to bee bargayned and sould, the said Henry Walker late purchased and hadd to him, his heires and assignes, for ever, of Mathie Bacon of Graies Inne in the countie of Midd. gentleman, by indenture bearing date the fifteenth day of October in the yeare of our Lord God one thowsand six hundred and fower, and in the yeares of the reigne of our said sovereigne lord king James of his realmes of England, Fraunce and Ireland, the seconde, and of Scotland the eight and thirtieth : To have and to holde the said dwelling house or tenement, shopps, cellors, sollers, plott of ground, and all and singuler other the premisses above by theis presentes mencioned to bee bargayned and sould, and every part and parcell thereof, with th'appurtenaunces, unto the said William Shakespeare, William Johnson, John Jackson, and John Hemmyng, their heires and assignes for ever, to th'onlie and proper use and behoofe of the said William Shakespeare, William Johnson, John Jackson, and John Hemmyng, their heires and assignes for ever. And the said Henry Walker, for himselfe, his heires, executours, administratours, and assignes, and for every of them, doth covenante, promisse and graunt to and with the said William Shakespeare, his heires and assignes, by theis presentes, in forme following, that is to saie, that hee the said Henry Walker, his heires, executours, administratours, or assignes, shall and will cleerlie acquite, exonerate, and discharge, or otherwise from tyme to tyme and at all tymes hereafter well and sufficientlie save and keepe harmles, the said William Shakespeare, his heires and assignes and every of them, of for and concernyng the bargayne and sale of the premisses, and the said bargayned premisses, and every part and parcell thereof, with th'appurtenaunces, of and from all and al manner of former bargaynes, sales, guiftes, grauntes, leases, statutes,

recognizaunces, joyntures, dowers, intailes, lymittacion and lymittacions of use and uses, extentes, judgmentes, executions, annuities, and of and from all and every other charges, titles, and incumbraunces whatsoever, wittinglie and wilfullie had, made, committed, suffered, or donne by him, the said Henry Walker, or any other under his auctoritie or right, before th'en-sealing and deliverie of theis presentes, except the rentes and services to the cheefe lorde or lordes of the fee or fees of the premisses from hensforth, for or in respecte of his or their seignorie or seigniories onlie to bee due and donne. And further the said Henry Walker, for himselfe, his heires, executours, and administratours, and for every of them, doth covenaute promisse and graunt to and with the saide William Shakespære, his heires and assignes, by theis presentes in forme following, that is to saie, that for and notwithstanding any acte or thing donne by him the said Henry Walker to the contrary, hee the said William Shakespeare, his heires and assignes, shall or lawfullie may peaceablie and quietlie have, holde, occupie and enjoye the said dwelling house or tenement, cellours, sollers, and all and singuler other the premisses above by theis presentes mencioned to bee bargayned and soulded, and every part and parcell thereof with th'appurtenaunces, and the rentes, yssues, and profittes thereof, and of every part and parcell thereof, to his and their owne use receave perceave take and enjoye from hensforth for ever without the lett, troble, eviccion or interrupcion of the said Henry Walker, his heires, executours, or administratours or any of them, or of or by any other person or persons which have, or maye before the date hereof pretende to have, any lawfull estate, right, title, use, or interest, in or to the premisses or any parcell thereof, by from or under him the said Henry Walker. And also that hee, the said Henry Walker, and his heires, and all and every other person and persons and their heires, which have or that shall lawfullie and rightfullie have or clayme to have any lawfull and rightfull estate, righte, title, or interest, in or to the premisses or any parcell thereof, by from or under the said Henry Walker, shall and will from tyme to tyme and at all tymes from hensforth, for and during the space of three yeares now next ensuing,

at or upon the reasonable request and costes and charges in the lawe of the said William Shakespeare, his heires and assignes, doe make knowledge and suffer to bee donne made and knowledgede all and every such further lawfull and reasonable acte and actes, thing and thinges, devise and devises in the lawe whatsoever, for the conveying of the premisses, bee it by deed or deedes inrolled or not inrolled, inrolment of theis presentes, fyne, feoffament, recoverye, release, confirmacion, or otherwise, with warrantie of the said Henry Walker and his heires against him the said Henry Walker and his heires onlie, or otherwise without warrantie. or by all any or as many of the wayes, meanes, and devises aforesaid, as by the said William Shakespeare, his heires or assignes, or his or their counsell learned in the lawe shal bee reasonable devised or advised, for the further, better, and more perfect assurance, suertie, suermaking and conveying of all and singuler the premisses, and every parcell thereof, with th'appurtenaunces, unto the said William Shakespeare, his heires and assignes, for ever, to th'use and in forme aforesaid ; And further that all and every fyne and fynes to bee levyed, recoveryes to bee suffered, estates and assurances at any tyme or tymes hereafter to bee had, made, executed or passed by or betweene the said parties of the premisses, or of any parcell thereof, shal bee, and shal bee esteemed, adjudged, deemed, and taken to bee, to th'onlie and proper use and behoofe of the said William Shakespeare, his heires and assignes, for ever, and to none other use, intent or purpose. In witnesse whereof the said parties to theis indentures interchaungable have sett their seales. Yeoven the day and yeares first above written.—*Henry Walker*.—Sealed and delivered in the presence of Will. Atkinson ; Robert Andrewes, scr. ; Edw. Ouary ; Henry Lawrence, servant to the same Scr.

*XXXV. A Duplicate of the preceding Conveyance of the Blackfriars Estate to Shakespeare and Trustees, 10 March, 1612-3. It is difficult to understand the reason for the execution of this indenture, but perhaps the vendor desired to possess, in addition to the security of the mortgage-deed, evidence of the devolution of the property to Shakespeare. It is worth notice*

*that in this copy of the deed there is an erasure of a few lines referring to a lease of the premises which had been granted by Walker in December, 1604. From the original in the Library of the City of London.*

This Indenture made the tenth day of Marche, in the yeare of our Lord God according to the computacion of the church of England one thowsand six hundred and twelve, and in the yeares of the reigne of our soveraigne Lord James, by the grace of God king of England, Scotland, Fraunce, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. that is to saie, of England, Fraunce, and Ireland the tenth, and of Scotland the six and fortith, Betweene Henry Walker citizein and minstrell of London of th'one partie, and William Shakespeare of Stratford vpon Avon in the countie of Warwick gentleman, William Johnson citizein and vintener of London, John Jackson and John Hemmyng of London, gentlemen, of th'other partie ; Witnesseth, that the said Henry Walker, for and in consideration of the somme of one hundred and fortie poundes of lawfull money of England to him in hande before th'ensealing hereof by the said William Shakespeare well and trulic paid, whereof and wherewith hee the said Henry Walker doth acknowledge himselfe fullie satisfied and contented, and thereof and of every part and parcell thereof doth cleerlie acquite and discharge the saide William Shakespeare, his heires, executours, administratours, and assignes, and every of them, by theis presentes hath bargayned and soulded, and by theis presents doth fullie cleerlie and absolutlie bargayne and sell unto the said William Shakespeare, William Johnson John Jackson, and John Hemmyng, their heires and assignes for ever, all that dwelling house or tenement with thappurtenaunces situate and being within the precinct, circuit and compasse of the late Blackffryers, London, sometyes in the tenure of James Gardyner esquior, and since that in the tenure of John Fortescue gent. and now or late being in the tenure or occupacion of one William Ireland or of his assignee or assignes, abutting upon a streete leading downe to Pudle<sup>e</sup> Wharffe on the East part, right against the Kinges Majesties Wardrobe ; part of which said tenement is erected

over a great gate leading to a capitall mesuage which sometye was in the tenure of William Blackwell esquior deceased, and since that in the tenure or occupacion of the right Honorable Henry now Earle of Northumberland ; and also all that plott of ground on the West side of the same tenement, which was lately inclosed with boordes on two sides thereof by Anne Bacon, widowe, soe farre and in such sorte as the same was inclosed by the said Anne Bacon, and not otherwise ; and being on the thirde side inclosed with an olde brick wall ; which said plott of ground was sometye parcell and taken out of a great peece of voyde ground lately used for a garden ; and also the soyle whereuppon the said tenement standeth, and also the said brick wall and boordes which doe inclose the said plott of ground ; with free entrie, accesse, ingresse, egresse, and regresse, in by and through the said greate gate and yarde thereunto the usuall dore of the said tenement : and also all and singuler cellours, sollers, romes, lightes, easiamentes, profittes, commodities, and hereditamentes whatsoever, to the said dwelling house or tenement belonging or in any wise apperteyning ; and the reversion and reversions whatsoever of all and singuler the premisses, and of every parcell thereof ; and also all rentes and yearlie profittes whatsoever reserved and from hensforth to growe due and paiable upon whatsoever lease, dimise or graunt, leases, dimises, or grauntes, made of the premisses or of any parcell thereof ; and also all the state, right, title, interest, propertie, use, possession, clayme, and demaunde whatsoever, which hee the said Henry Walker now hath, or of right may, might, should, or ought to have, of in or to the premisses or any parcell thereof ; and also all and every the deedes, evidences, charters, escriptes, minimentes, and writinges whatsoever, which hee the said Henry Walker now hath, or any otter person or persons to his use have or hath, or which hee may lawfullie come by without suite in the lawe, which touch or concerne the premisses onlie, or onlie any part or parcell thereof, together with the true coppies of all such deedes, evidences, and writinges as concerne the premisses (amounges other thinges), to bee written and taken out at the onlie costes and charges of the said

William Shakespeare, his heires or assignes ; which said dwelling house or tenement, and other the premisses above by theis presents mencioned to bee bargayned and soulded, the said Henry Walker late purchased and had to him, his heires and assignes, for ever, of Mathie Bacon of Graies Inne in the countie of Middlesex gentleman, by indenture bearing date the fifteenth day of October in the yeare of our Lord God one thowsand six hundred and fower, and in the yeares of the reigne of our said sovereigne lord king James of his realmes of England Fraunce and Ireland the second, and of Scotland the eight and thirtieth : To have and to holde the said dwelling house or tenement, shoppes, cellours, sollers, plott of ground, and all and singuler other the premisses above by theis presentes mencioned to bee bargayned and soulded, and every part and parcell thereof, with thappurtenaunces, unto the said William Shakespeare, William Johnson, John Jackson, and John Hemmyng, their heires and assignes for ever, to thonlie and proper use and behoofe of the said William Shakespeare, William Johnson, John Jackson, and John Hemyng, their heires and assignes for ever. And the said Henry Walker, for himselfe, his heires, executours, administratours and assignes, and for every of them, doth covenaut, promisse and graunt to and with the said William Shakespeare, his heires and assignes, by theis presentes, in forme following, that is to saie, that hee the said Henry Walker, his heires, executours, administratours, or assignes, shall and will cleerlie acquite, exonerate, and discharge, or otherwise from tyme to tyme and at all tymes hereafter well and sufficientlie save and keepe harmles, the said William Shakespeare, his heires and assignes and every of them, of for and concernyng the bargayne and sale of the premisses, and the said bargayned premisses and every part and parcell thereof with thappurtenaunces, of and from all and al manner of former bargaynes, sales, guiftes, grauntes, leases, statutes, recognizaunces, joyntures, dowers, intailes, lymittacion and lymittacions of use and uses, extentes, judgmentes, execucions, annuities, and of and from all and every other charges, titles, and incumbraunces whatsoever, wittinglie and wilfullie had, made, committed, suffered, or donne

by him the said Henry Walker, or any other under his authoritie or right, before then sealing and deliverie of theis presents, except the rentes and services to the cheefe lord or lordes of the fee or fees of the premisses from hensforth, for or in respecte of his or their seignorie or seignories onlie to bee due and donne. And further the saide Henry Walker, for himselfe, his heires, executours, and administratours, and for every of them, doth covenant promise and graunt to and with the said William Shakespeare, his heires and assignes, by theis presentes in forme following, that is to saie, that for and notwithstanding any acte or thing donne by him the said Henry Walker to the contrarye, hee the said William Shakespeare, his heires and assignes, shall or lawfullie maye peaceablie and quietlie have, holde, occupie and enjoye the said dwelling house or tenement, cellours, sollers, and all and singuler other the premisses above by theis presentes mencioned to bee bargayned and soulded, and every part and parcell thereof. with thappurtenaunces, and the rentes, yssues, and profittes thereof, and of every part and parcell thereof, to his and their owne use receive perceave take and enjoye from hensforth for ever without the lett, troble, eviccion or interrupcion of the said Henry Walker, his heires, executours or administratours or any of them, or of or by any other person or persons which have, or may before the date hereof pretende to have, any lawfull estate, righte, title, use, or interest, in or to the premisses or any parcell thereof, by from or under him the said Henry Walker. And also that hee, the said Henry Walker, and his heires, and all and every other person and persons and their heires, which have or that shall lawfullie and rightfullie have or clayme to have any lawfull and rightfull, estate, right, title, or interest, in or to the premisses or any parcell thereof, by from or under the said Henry Walker, shall and will from tyme to tyme and at all tymes from hensforth, for and during the space of three yeares now next ensuing, at or upon the reasonable request and costes and charges in the lawe of the said William Shakespeare, his heires and assignes, doe make knowledge and suffer to bee donne made and knowledgede all and every such further lawfull and reasonable acte

and actes, thing and thinges, devise and devises in the law whatsoever, for the conveying of the premises, bee it by deed or deedes inrolled or not inrolled, inrolment of theis presentes, fyne, feoffament, recoverye, release, confirmacion, or otherwise, with warrantie of the said Henry Walker and his heires against him the said Henry Walker and his heires onlie, or otherwise without warrantie, or by all any or as many of the wayes, meanes, and devises aforesaid, as by the said William Shakespeare, his heires or assignes, or his or their counsell learned in the lawe shal bee reasonable devised or advised for the further, better, and more perfect assyurance, suertie, suermaking and conveying of all and singuler the premisses, and every parcell thereof, with thappurtenaunces, unto the saide William Shakespeare, his heires and assignes, for ever, to th'use and in forme aforesaid ; And further that all and every fyne and fynes to bee levyed, recoveryes to bee suffered, estates and assurances at any tyme or tymes hereafter to bee had. made, executed or passed by or betweene the said parties of the premisses, or of any parcell thereof, shal bee, and shal bee esteemed, adjudged, deemed, and taken to bee, to thonlie and proper use and behoofe of the said William Shakespeare, his heires and assignes, for ever, and to none other use, intent, or purpose. In witnesse whereof the said parties to theis indentures interchaungable have sett their seales. Yeoven the day and yeares first above written.—*William Shaksperc.—Wm. Johnson.—Jo. Jackson.*—Sealed and delivered by the said William Shakespeare, William Johnson, and John Jackson, in the presence of Will: Atkinson ; Ed. Ouery ; Robert Andrewes, scr. ; Henry Lawrence, seruant to the same scr.

*XXXVI. The Deed from Shakespeare and Trustees to Henry Walker, by which the Blackfriars Estate was mortgaged to the latter, 11 March, 1612-3. From the original in the Library of the British Museum.*

This Indenture made the eleaventh day of March, in the yeares of the reigne of our Sovereigne Lord James, by the grace of God, king of England, Scotland, Fraunce, and Ireland,



defender of the Faith, &c., that is to saie, of England, Fraunce and Ireland the tenth, and of Scotland the six and fortith, Betweene William Shakespeare of Stratford-upon-Avon in the countie of Warwick, gentleman, William Johnson, citizein and vintener of London, John Jackson, and John Hemmyng of London, gentlemen, of th'one partie, and Henry Walker, citizein and minstrell of London, of th'other partie: Witnesseth that the said William Shakespeare, William Johnson, John Jackson, and John Hemmyng, have dimised, graunted and to ferme letten, and by theis presentes doe dimise, graunt, and to ferme lett vnto the said Henry Walker, all that dwelling house or tenement, with th'appurtenaunces, situate and being within the precinct, circuit and compasse of the late Black Fryers, London, sometymes in the tenure of James Gardyner, esquour, and since that in the tenure of John Fortescue, gent., and now or late being in the tenure or occupacion of one William Ireland, or of his assignee or assignees, abutting upon a streete leading downe to Puddle Wharffe on the east part, right against the Kinges Majesties Wardrobe; part of which said tenement is erected over a greate gate leading to a capitall mesuage, which sometime was in the tenure of William Blackwell, esquour, deceased, and since that in the tenure or occupacion of the right honourable Henry now Earle of Northumberland: and also all that plott of ground on the west side of the said tenement, which was lately inclosed with boordes on two sides thereof by Anne Bacon, widow, soe farre and in such sorte as the same was inclosed by the said Anne Bacon, and not otherwise, and being on the third side inclosed with an olde brick wall; which said plott of ground was sometime parcell and taken out of a great voyde peece of ground lately vsed for a garden; and also the soyle whereuppon the said tenement standeth, and also the said brick wall and boordes which doe inclose the said plott of ground, with free entrie, accesse, ingresse, egresse, and regresse, in, by, and through the said great gate and yarde there, unto the usuall dore of the said tenement, and also all and singuler cellours, sollers, romes, lightes, easiamentes, profittes, commodities, and appurtenaunces

whatsoever to the said dwelling-house or tenement belonging or in any wise apperteyning: To have and to holde the said dwelling-house or tenement, cellers, sollers, romes, plott of ground, and all and singuler other the premisses above by theis presentes mencioned to bee dimised, and every part and parcell thereof, with th'appurtenaunces, unto the said Henrye Walker, his executours, administratours, and assignes, from the feast of th'annunciacion of the blessed Virgin Marye next comming after the date hereof, unto th'ende and terme of one hundred yeares from thence next ensuing, and fullie to bee compleat and ended, without ympeachment of or for any manner of waste; yeelding and paying therefore yearlie during the said terme unto the said William Shakespeare, William Johnson, John Jackson, and John Hemmyng, their heires and assignes, a pepper corne at the feast of Easter yearlie, yf the same bee lawfullie demaunded, and noe more; provided alwayes, that if the said William Shakespeare, his heires, executours, administratours, or assignes, or any of them, doe well and trulie paie or cause to bee paid to the said Henry Walker, his executours, administratours, or assignes, the somme of threescore poundes of lawfull money of England, in and upon the nyne and twentieth day of September next comming after the date hereof, at or in the nowe dwelling-house of the said Henry Walker, situate and being in the parish of Saint Martyn near Ludgate, of London, at one entier payment without delaie, that then and from thensforth this presente lease, dimise and graunt, and all and every matter and thing herein conteyned (other then this proviseo) shall cease, determine, and bee utterlie voyde, frustrate, and of none effect, as though the same had never beene had ne made, theis presentes or any thing therein conteyned to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding. And the said William Shakespeare, for himselfe, his heires, executours, administratours, and for every of them, doth covenaut, promisse and graunt to and with the said Henry Walker, his executours, administratours, and assignes, and every of them, by theis presentes, that he the said William Shakespeare, his heires, executours, administratours or assignes, shall and will cleerlie

acquite, exonerate, and discharge, or from tyme to tyme, and at all tymes hereafter, well and sufficientlie save and keepe harmles the said Henry Walker, his executours, administratours, and assignes, and every of them, and the said premisses by theis presentes dimised and every parcell thereof, with th'appurtenaunces, of and from all and al manner of former and other bargaynes, sales, guiftes, grauntes, leases, joyntures, dowers, intailes, statutes, recognizaunces, judgments, execucions, and of and from all and every other charge, titles, troubles, and incumbrances whatsoever by the said William Shakespeare, William Johnson, John Jackson, and John Hemmyng, or any of them, or by their or any of their meanes, had, made, committed or donne, before th'ensealing and delivery of theis presentes, or hereafter before the said nyne and twentieth day of September next comming after the date hereof, to bee had, made, committed or donne, except the rentes and services to the cheefe lord or lordes of the fee or fees of the premisses, for or in respect of his or their seignorie or seignories onlie, to bee due and done. In witnesse whereof the said parties to theis indentures interchaungablie have sett their seales. Yeoven the day and yeares first above written.—*Wm. Shakspeare. — Wm. Johnson. — Jo. Jackson.*—Sealed and delivered by the said William Shakespeare, William Johnson, and John Jackson, in the presence of Will : Atkinson ; Ed : Ouery ; Robert Andrewes, scr. ; Henry Lawrence, seruant to the same scr.

*XXXVII. Articles of Agreement between Shakespeare and William Replingham, by which the latter agrees to compensate the poet should loss accrue to him by enclosures contemplated by Replingham, 1614. The following is taken from a contemporary transcript entitled—"Coppie of the articles with Mr. Shakespeare."*

Vicesimo octavo die Octobris, anno Domini 1614. Articles of agreement indented [and] made betwene William Shackespeare of Stretford in the County of Warwick gent. on the one partye, and William Replingham of Great Harborow in the Countie of Warwick gent. on the other partie, the daye and yeare abovesaid. —Item, the said William Replingham for him,

his heires, executors, and assignes, doth covenante and agree to and with the said William Shackespeare, his heires and assignes, That he the said William Replingham, his heires or assignes, shall, uppon reasonable request, satisfie content and make recompence unto him the said William Shackespeare or his assignes, for all such losse, detriment, and hinderance as he the said William Shackespeare, his heires and assignes, and one Thomas Greene gent. shall or maye be thought in the vewe and judgement of foure indifferent persons, to be indifferentlie elected by the said William and William, and their heires, and in default of the said William Replingham, by the said William Shackespeare or his heires onely, to survey and judge the same to sustayne or incurre for or in respecte of the increasinge of the yearlie value of the tythes they the said William Shackespeare and Thomas doe joyntlie or severallie hold and enjoy in the said fields or anie of them, by reason of anie inclosure or decaye of tyllage there ment and intended by the said William Replingham, and that the said William Replingham and his heires shall procure such sufficient securitie unto the said William Shackespeare and his heires for the performance of theis covenants, as shal bee devised by learned counsell ; In witnes whereof the parties abovesaid to theis presents interchaungeable their hands and seales have put, the daye and year first above wrytten. Sealed and delivered in the presence of us,—Tho. Lucas ; Jo. Rogers ; Anthonie Nasshe ; Mich. Olney.

*XXXVIII. Deed of Transfer of the Legal Estate of the Blackfriars property, 10 February, 1617-8, in trust to follow the directions of Shakespeare's will, subject only to the remaining term of a lease granted by the poet to one John Robinson. From the original in a private library.*

This Indenture, made the tenth day of February in the yeres of the reigne of our soveraigne Lord James, by the grace of God kinge of England, Scotland, Fraunce and Ireland defendor of the faith, &c., that is to say, of England, Fraunce, and Ireland, the fifteenth, and of Scotland the one and fiftith ; Between John Jackson and John Hemynge of London, gentlemen, and William Johnson, citizen and vintiner of London, of

thone part, and John Greene of Clementes Inn in the County of Midd. gent. and Mathew Morrys of Stretford upon Avon in the County of Warwick gent. of thother part ; Witnesseth, that the said John Jackson, John Hemynge and William Johnson, as well for and in performance of the confidence and trust in them reposed by William Shakespeare, deceased, late of Stretford aforesaid, gent., and to thend and intent that the landes, tenementes and hereditamentes hereafter in theis presentes mencioned and expressed, may be conveyed and assured according to the true intent and meaning of the last will and testament of the said William Shakespeare, and for the some of ffyve shillinges of lawfull money of England to them payd, for and on the behalf of Susanna Hall, one of the daughters of the said William Shakespeare, and now wife of John Hall of Stretford aforesaid gent. before thensealling and delivery of theis presentes, Have aliened, bargained, sold and confirmed, and by theis presentes doe, and every of them doth, fully, cleerely and absolutely alien bargainne sell and confirme unto the said John Greene and Mathew Morry, their heires and assignes for ever, All that dwelling honse or tenement with thappurtenaunces scituat and being within the precinct, circuite, and compase of the late Blackfriars, London, sometymes in the tenure of James Gardyner esquior, and since that in the tenure of John Fortescue, gent., and now or late being in the tenure or occupacion of one William Ireland or of his assignee or assignes, abutting upon a street leadinge downe to Puddle Wharfe, on the east part, right against the kinges Majesties warderobe, part of which tenement is erected over a great gate leading to a capitall messuage which sometymes was in the tenure of William Blackwell esquior deceased, and since that in the tenure or occupacion of the right Honorable Henry Earle of Northumberland, and also all that plot of ground on the west side of the said tenement, which was lately inclosed with boordes on twoe sides thereof by Anne Bacon widdow, soe farr and in such sort as the same was inclosed by the said Anne Bacon and not otherwise ; and being on the third side inclosed with an ould brick wall ; which said plot of ground was sometymes parcell and

taken out of a great peece of voyd ground lately used for a garden ; and also the soyle whereupon the said tenement standeth ; and also the said brick wall and boordes which doe inclose the said plot of ground, with free entry, accesse, ingres, egres, and regres, in by and through the said great gate and yarde there unto the usuall dore of the said tenement ; and also all singuler<sup>®</sup> cellers, sollars, roomes, lightes, easementes, profittes, comodities and hereditamentes whatsoever to the said dwelling howse or tenement belonging or in any wise apperteyning, and the revercion and revercions whatsoever of all and singuler the premisses and of every parcell thereof ; and also all rentes and yerely profittes whatsoever reserved and from henceforth to grow due and payable upon whatsoever lease demise or graunt, leases demises or grauntes, made of the premisses or any parcell thereof ; and also all thestate, right, title, interest, property, use, clayme, and demaund whatsoever, which they the said John Jackson, John Hemynge, and William Johnson, now have or any of them hath or of right may, might, shoold or ought to have in the premisses : To have and to holde the said dwelling howse or tenement, lights, cellers, sollars, plot of ground, and all and singuler other the premisses above by theis presentes mencioned to be bargained and sold, and every part and parcell thereof, with thappurtenaunces, unto the said John Green and Mathew Morrys their heires and assignes for ever, to the use and behoofes hereafter in theis presentes declared mencioned expressed and lymitted, and to none other use, behoofe, intent or purpose : That is to say, to the use and behoofe of the afore-said Susanna Hall for and during the terme of her naturall life, and after her decease to the use and behoofe of the first sonne of her body lawfully yssueing, and of the heires males of the body of the said first sonne lawfully yssueing ; and for want of such heires to the use and behoofe of the second sonne of the body of the said Susanna lawfully yssueing, and of the heires males of the body of the said second sonne lawfully yssueing ; and for want of such heires to the use and behoofe of the third sonne of the body of the said Susauna lawfully yssueing, and of the heires males of the body of the said third

sonne lawfully yssueing ; and for want of such heires, to the use and behoofe of the fowerth, fyveth, sixt and seaventh sonnes of the body of the said Susanna lawfully yssueing, and of the severall heires males of the severall bodyes of the said fowerth, fiveth, sixt and seaventh sonnes, lawfully yssueing, in such manner as it is before lymitted to be and remeyne to the first, second, and third sonnes of the body of the said Susanna lawfully yssueing, and to their heires males as aforesaid ; and for default of such heires, to the use and behoofe of Elizabeth Hall daughter of the said Susanna Hall, and of the heires males of her body lawfully yssueing ; and for default of such heires, to the use and behoofe of Judyth Quiney, now wife of Thomas Quiney of Stretford aforesaid vintner, one other of the daughters of the said William Shakespeare, and of the heires males of the body of the said Judyth lawfully yssueing ; and for default of such yssue, to the use and behoofe of the right heires of the said William Shakespeare for ever. And the said John Jackson, for himself, his heires, executours, administratours and assignes, and for every of them, doth covenaut, promise, and graunt, to and with the said John Green and Mathew Morrys and either of them, their and either of their heires and assignes, by theis presentes, that he the said John Jackson, his heires, executours, administratours or assignes, shall and will from tyme to tyme and at all tymes hereafter within convenient tyme after every reasonable request to him or them made, well and sufficiently save and keepe harmeles the said bargained premisses, and every part and parcell thereof, of and from all and all manner of former bargaines, sales guiftes, grauntes, leases, statutes, recognizaunces, joynctures, dowers, intayles, uses, extentes, judgements, execucions, annewyties, and of and from all other charges, titles, and incombraunces whatsoever, wittingly and willingly had, made, comitted, or done by him the said John Jackson alone, or joynctly with any other person or persons whatsoever ; except the rentes and services to the cheiffe lord or lordes of the fee or fees of the premisses from henceforth to be due, and of right accustomed to be done, and except one lease and demise of the premisses with thappurtenaunces heretofore

made by the said William Shakespeare, together with them the said John Jackson, John Hemynge, and William Johnson, unto one John Robinson, now tennant of the said premisses, for the terme of certen yeres yet to come and unexpired, as by the same whereunto relacion be had at large doth appeare. And the said John Hemynge, for himself, his heires, executours, administratours, and assignes, and for every of them, doth covenaut, promise, and graunt, to and with the said John Greene and Mathew Morrys, and either of them, their and either of their heires and assignes, by theis presentes, that he the said John Hemynge, his heires, executours, administratours, or assignes, shall and will from tyme to tyme and at all tymes hereafter, within convenient tyme after every reasonable request, well and sufficiently save and keepe harmles the said bargained premisses, and every part and parcell thereof, of and from all and all manner of former bargaines, sales, guiftes, grauntes, leases, statutes, recognizaunces, joynctures, dowers, intayles, uses, extentes, judgmentes, execucions, annewyties, and of and from all other charges, titles, and incombraunces whatsoever, wittingly and willingly had, made, comitted, or done by him the said John Hemynge alone, or joynctly with any other person or persons whatsoever, except the rentes and services to the cheiffe lord or lordes of the fee or fees of the premisses from henceforth to be due and of right accustomed to be done, and except one lease and demise of the premisses with thappurtenaunces heretofore made by the said William Shakespeare, together with them the said John Jackson, John Hemyng and William Johnson, unto one John Robinson, now tennant of the said premisses, for the terme of certen yeres yet to come and unexpired, as by the same whereunto relacion be had at large doth appeare. And the said William Johnson, for himself, his heires, executours, administratours and assignes, and for every of them, doth covenaut, promise, and graunt, to and with the said John Green and Mathew Morrys, and either of them, their and either of their heires and assignes, by theis presentes, that he the said William Johnson, his heires, executours, administratours or assignes, shall and will from tyme to tyme and at all



tymes hereafter within convenient tyme after every reasonable request, well and sufficiently save and keepe harmeles the said bargained premisses, and every part and parcell thereof, of and from all and all manner of former bargaines, sales, guiftes, grauntes, leases, statutes, recognizaunces, joynctures, dowers, intayles, uses, extentes, judgements, execucions, annewyties, and of and from all other charges, titles, and incombraunces whatsoever, wittingly and willingly had made comitted or done by him the said William Johnson alone, or joyntly with any other person or persons whatsoever, except the rentes and services to the cheiff lord or lordes of the fee or fees of the premisses from henceforth to be due and of right accustomed to be done, and except one lease and demise of the premisses with thappurtenaunces heretofore made by the said William Shakespeare, together with them the said John Jackson, John Hemynges, and William Johnson, unto one John Robynson, now tennant of the said premisses, for the terme of certen yeres yet to come and unexpired, as by the same whereunto relation be had at large doth appeare. In witnes whereof the parties aforesaid to theis presente indentures have interchaungeably sett their handes and sealls. Yeoven the day and yeres first above written, 1617.—*Jo: Jackson.*—*John Heminges.*—*Wm. Johnson.* Sealed and delyvered by the within named John Jackson in the presence of Roc. Swale; John Prise. Sealed and delyvered by the withinamed William Johnson in the presence of Nickolas Harysone; John Prise. Sealed and delyvered by the withinamed John Hemynges in the presence of Matt: Benson; John Prise. Memorand. that the xj<sup>th</sup> daye of Februarye in the yeres within written, John Robynson, tenant of the premysse withinmencioned, did geve and delyver unto John Greene withinnamed to the use of Susanna Hall withinnamed five pence of lawfull money of England in name of Attornement in the presence of Matt: Benson; John Prise. *Per me Rycharдум Tyler.*

*XXXIX. Indenture of Conveyance, from Dr. Hall to Francis Smith and others, 1625, of the Tithes purchased by Shakespeare in the year 1605.*

This Indenture, made the first day of Marche, in the yeare of the raigne of our Sovereigne Lord James, by the grace of God of England, Scotland, Fraunce, and Ireland, Kinge, Defendor of the Faith, etc., the two and twentieth, and of Scotland the eighte and fiftieth, Betwene John Hall of Stratford-upon-Avon, in the countie of Warwick, gentleman, on the one partie, and Frauncis Smith of the Burrowe of Stratford aforesaid, Danyell Baker of the same, gentleman, Frauncis Aynge of the same, gentleman, and Anthony Smith of the same, gentleman, on the other partie : Witnesseth that, whereas Anthony Barker, clarke, late warden of the late Colledge or Collegiate Church of Stratford-upon-Avon, in the said countie of Warwick, and Gyles Coventree, sub-warden there, and the whole chapter of the same late colledge, by there deed, indented, sealed with there chapter seale, dated the seaventh day of September, in the six and thirtieth yeare of the raigne of the late Kinge of famous memorie, Kinge Henrie the Eighte, demised, graunted, and to farme lett, amongste divers other things, unto one William Barker, of Sonnynges, in the countie of Bark, gentleman, all and all manner of tythes of corne, grayne, blade, and hey, yearlie and from tyme to tyme comeinge, encreaseinge, reneweinge, arryseinge, groweinge, yssueinge, or happeninge, or to be had, received, perceived, or taken oute, upon, off, or in the townes, villages, hamlettes, groundes, and fieldes of Stratford-upon-Avon, Olde Stratford, Wellcombe, and Bishopton, in the said Countie of Warwick ; and alsoe all and all manner of tythes of wooll, lambe, and other smaule and privye tythes, oblations, obventions, alterages, mynuments, and offeringes whatsoever, yearelie and from tyme to tyme encreaseinge, reneweinge, or happeninge, or to be had, received, perceived, or taken, within the parish of Stratford-upon-Avon aforesaid, in the said countie of Warwick, by the name or names of all and singuler there mannors, landes, tenementes, meadowes, pastures, feedinges, woodes, underwoodes, yearelie rentes, revercions, services, courtes, leites, releeves, wardes, marriages, harriottes, perquisites of courtes, liberties, jurisdictions, and all other hereditamentes, with all and singuler other rightes, comodities, and there appurtenaunces, together with

all and all manner of persoenages, gleebe landes, tythes, alterages, oblacions, obvencions, mynumentes, offeringes, and all other yssues, proffittes, emolumentes, and advantages, in the countie of Warwick or Worcester, or elsewhere whatsoever they be, unto the said then colledge apperteineinge ; the maunsion howse and scyte of the said colledge, with there appurtenaunces, within the precinctes of the wall of the said colledge, unto the warden and sub-warden only excepted ; To have and to holde all the said mannors, landes, tenementes, and all other the premisses, with all and singuler their appurtenaunces (excepte before excepted), unto the said colledge. belongeinge, or in anywyse apperteineinge, unto the said William Barker, his executors and assignes, from the feaste of Ste. Michaell tharchangell then laste paste before the date of the said indenture, unto thende and terme of fourscore and twelve yeares thence nexte ensueinge, yeldeinge and payinge therefore yearelie unto the said warden and subwarden, and there successors att the said colledge, one hundred twentie two poundes eightene shillinges nyne pence of lawfull money of England, as more playnelie appeareth by the said indenture. And whereas alsoe the revercion of all and singuler the said premisses, amongste other thinges, by vertue of the Acte of Parlemeute made in the firste yeare of the raigne of the late soveraigne lord Kinge Edward the Sixth for the dissolucion of chauntries, colledges, and free chappelles, or by some other meanes, came to the handes and possession of the said late Kinge Edward ; and wheras the said late Kinge Edward the Sixth beinge seised, as in righte of his crowne of England, of and in the revercion of all and singuler the premisses, by his lettres pattentes, beareinge date the eighte and twentieth day of June, in the seaventh yeare of his raigne, for the consideracion therein expressed, did geve and graunte unto the bayliffe and burgesses of Stratford aforesaid, and to there successors, amongste other thinges, all and all manner of the said tythes of corne, grayne, and hey, comeinge, encreaseinge, or arryseinge in the village and fieldes of Olde Stratford, Wellcombe, and Bishopton, aforesaid, in the said countie of Warwicke, then or late in the tenure

of John Barker, and to the late colledge of Stratford-upon-Avon, in the said countie of Warwicke, of late belonginge and apperteineinge, and parcell of the possession thereof beinge ; and alsoe all and all manner of the said tythes of wooll, lambe, and other smaule and privie tythes, oblacions, and alterages whatsoever, within the parish of Stratford-upon-Avon aforesaid, and to the said late colledge of Stratford upon Avon belonginge or apperteineinge, and then late in the tenure of William Barker, or of his assignes, and the revercion and revercions whatsoever of all and singuler the said tythes, and everie parte and parcell thereof, and all the rentes, reynues, and other yearelie proffittes whatsoever reserved upon any demyse or graunte of the said tythes, or any parte or parcell thereof. And whereas alsoe the intereste of the said premisses in the said originall lease mencioned. and the intereste of certeine copyholdes in Shotterie, in the parish of Stratford aforesaid, beinge by good and lawfull conveyance and assuraunce in lawe before that tyme conveyed and assured unto one John Barker, of Hurste, in the said countie of Bark, he, the said John Barker, by his indenture beareinge date the foure and twentieth day of June, in the two and twentieth yeare of the raigne of the late Queen Elizabeth, for the considerations therein speciefied, did geve, graunte, assigne, and sett over unto Sir John Huband, knighte, all and singuler the said laste mencioned premisses, and all his estate, righte, tittle, and intereste, that he then had to come of and in and to all and singuler the said premisses, and all other mannors, messuages, landes, tenementes, glebe landes, tythes, oblacions, comodities, and proffittes in the said originall lease mencioned, for and dureinge all the yeares and terme then to come unexpired in the said originall lease contained or speciefied (exceptinge as in and by the said laste mencioned indenture is excepted), as by the same indenture more att large may appeare ; to have and to holde all and singuler the said recvted premisses, excepte before excepted, to the said Sir John Huband, his executors and assignes, for and dureinge the yeares then to come of and in the same, yeldinge and payinge therefore yearelie, after the feaste of St. Michaell tharchangell nexte ensueinge the date of

the said laste mencioned indenture, for and dureinge all the yeares mencioned in the said firste mencioned indenture then to come and not expired, unto the said John Barker, his executors, administrators, and assignes, one annuall or yearelie rente of twentie seaven poundes thirteene shillinges four pence by the yeare, to be yssueinge and goeing oute of all the mannors, landes, tenementes, tythes, and hereditamentes, in the said indenture specified to be paid yearelie unto the said John Barker, his executors, administrators, and assignes, by the said Sir John Huband, his executors, administrators, and assignes, att the feastes of thannunciacion of our Ladie and Ste. Michaell tharchangell, or within fortie dayes after the said feastes, in the porch of the parish church of Stratford aforesaid, by even porcions ; and further payinge, doeinge and performinge all such other rentes, duties, and services, as att any tyme from thenceforth, and from tyme to tyme for and dureinge the terme aforesaid, shoulde become due to any person or persons for the same premisses, or any parte thereof, and thereof discharge the said John Barker, his executors and assignes ; and yf it should happen the said twentie seaven poundes thirteene shillinges foure pence to behynde and unpaid in parte or in all by the space of fortie dayes nexte after any of the said feastes or dayes of paymente in which, as is aforesaid, it oughte to be paid, beinge lawfullie asked, that then yt should be lawfull for the said John Barker, his executors, administrators, and assignes, into all and singuler the premisses, with there appurtenaunces, and everie parte and parcell thereof, to reenter, and the same to have againe as in his or there former righte ; and that then and from thenceforth the said recyted indenture of assignmente, and everie article, covenante, clause, provisoe, and agreemente therein conteined, on the parte and behalfe of the said John Barker, his executors, administrators, and assignes, to be performed, should cesse and be utterlie voyde and of none effecte, with divers other covenantes, grauntes, articles, and agreementes, in the said indenture of assignmente speciefied to be observed and performed by the said Sir John Huband, his executors and assignes, as in and by the said recyted indenture

it doeth and may appeare. And whereas the said Sir John Huband did, by his deed obligatorie, bynd himselfe and his heires to the said John Barker in a greate sume of money for the performance of all and singuler the covenantes, grauntes, articles, and agreementes which, on the parte of the said Sir John Huband weare to be observed and performed, contained and specified, as well in the said recyted indenture of assignment, as alsoe in one other indenture beareinge the date of the said recyted indenture of assignmente, made betwene the said John Barker on the one partie, and the said John Huband on the other partie, as by the said deed obligatorie more at large yt doeth and may appeare. And whereas alsoe the said Sir John Huband, by his laste will and testamente in writeinge, did geve and bequeth unto his executors, amonge other thinges, the moietie or one halfe of all and singuler the said tythes, as well greate as smaule before mencioned, to be graunted to the said bayliffe and burgesses of Stratford, for and dureinge soe longe tyme, and untill, of the yssues and profittes, thereof, soe much, as with other thinges in his said will to that purpose willed, lymitted, or appoynted, should be sufficiente to discharge, beare, and pay his funerall debtes and legasies ; and alsoe, by his said laste will and testamente, did geve and bequeth the other moitie or one halfe of the said tythes unto Raphe Huband his brother, and his assignes, dureinge all the yeares to come in the said firste mencioned indenture and not expired, payinge the one halfe of the rentes and other charges due, or goeing oute, of or for the same, that is to say, the one halfe of tenn poundes a yeare to be paid to the said John Barker over and above the rentes thereof reserved upon the said originall lease for the same, as by the said will and testamente more playnelie appeareth. And whereas the said Raphe Huband, by his indenture of graunte and assignmente, beareinge date the four and twentieth day of Julie, in the yeares of the raigne of our soveraigne lord James, nowe Kinge over England the third, and of Scotland the eighte and thirtieth, made betwene him the said Raphe Huband, by the name of Raphe Huband, esquier, on the one partie, and William Shakespere, of Stratford-upon-Avon, in the countie of

Warwick, gentleman, on the other partie, did, for good causes and valuable consideracions in the said indenture specified, demyse, graunte, assigne, and sett over unto the said William Shakespere, his executors and assignes, the moitie or one half of all and singuler the said tythes of corne, grayne, blade, and hey yearelie, from tyme to tyme comeinge, encreaseinge, reneweinge, ariseinge, groweinge, yssueinge, or happeninge, or to be had, received, perceived, or taken oute of. upon, or in the townes, villages, hamlettes, groundes, and field of Stratford, Olde Stratford, Welcombe, and Bishopton aforesaid, in the said countie of Warwicke, and alsoe the moitie or one halfe of all and singuler the said tythes of wooll, lambe, and other smaule and privie tythes, herbage, oblations, obventions, alterages, mynumentes, and offeringes whatsoever, yearelie, and from tyme to tyme comeinge, encreaseinge, reneweinge, or happeninge, or to be had, received, perceived, or taken within the parish of Stratford-upon-Avon aforesaid ; and alsoe that moitie, or one half of all and all manner of tythes, as well greate as smaule whatsoever, which was by the laste will and testament of the said Sir John Huband geven and bequethed to the said Raphe Huband, aryseinge, encreaseinge, reneweinge. or groweinge within the said parish of Stratford-upon-Avon, and whereof the said Raphe Huband hath att any tyme heretofore byn, or of righte oughte to have beene possessed, or whereunto he then had, or att any tyme thereafter should have, any estate, righte, or intereste in possession or revercion, and all thestate, righte, tytle, intereste, terme, clayme, or demaund whatsoever of the said Raphe Huband, of, in, and to all and singuler the premises lastelie mencioned to be graunted and assigned, and evrie or any parte or parcell thereof, and the revercion and revercions of all and singuler the said premisses, and all and singuler rentes and yearelie proffittes reserved upon any demyse, graunte, or assignemente thereof, or of any parte or partes thereof made — the previe tythes of Ludington, and such parte of the tythe, hey, and previe tythes of Bishopton, as of righte doe belonge to the vicar, curate, or minister there for the tyme beinge alwaies excepted and foreprised,—to have and to holde all and everie

the said moities, or one halfe of all and singuler the said tythes, before, in, and by these presentes lastelie mencioned to be graunted and assigned, and everie parte and parcell of them, and everie of them, and all thestate, righte, tittle, and intereste of the said Raphe Huband, of, in, and to the same, and all other thafore demysed premisses, and everie parte and parcell thereof, excepte before excepted, unto the said William Shakespere, his executors and assignes, from the day of the date of the said indenture, for and dueringe the resydue of the said terme of fourscore and twelve yeares in the said first recyted indenture mencioned, and for such and soe longe terme and tyme, and in as large, ample, and beneficiall manner as the said Raphe Huband should or mighte enjoye the same, yeldeinge and payinge therefore yearlie, dureinge the resydue of the said term of fourscore and twelve yeares which be yett to come and unexpired, the rentes hereafter mencioned, in manner and forme followeinge, that is to say, to the said bayliffe and burgesses of Stratford aforesaid, and there successors, the yearelie rente of seaventeene poundes att the feaste of St. Michaell tharchangell and thannunciacion of blessed Marie the Virgyn by equall porcions ; and unto the saide John Barker, his executors, administrators, or assignes, the annuall or yearelie rente of five poundes att the feaste dayes and place lymitted, apoynted, and mencioned in the said recyted indenture of assignement, made by the said John Barker, or within fortie dais after the said feaste dayes, by even porcions, as parcell of the said annuall rente of twentie seaven poundes thirteene shillinges four pence in the said assignement mencioned. And whereas the said William Shakespere, beinge possessed of the said moitie, or parcell of the said tythes, to him soe graunted and assigned by the said Raphe Huband, by his laste will and testamente, beareinge date the fyve and twentythe day of Marche, in the yeares of the raigne of our soveraigne lord James, nowe Kinge over England the fowerteenthe, of Scotland the nyne and fortythe, did devise and will unto the said John Hall and Susanna his wiefe all the said moitye or one halfe of the said tythes to him soe graunted or assigned by the said Raphe



Huband, together with all his estate and term of yeares therein then to come and unexpired ; by force and vertue whereof, or some other good assuraunce in lawe, the said John Hall and Susanna doe, or one of them doeth, nowe stand lawfullie estated and possessed of the said moitie of all and everie the said tythes for and dueringe the resydue of the said tyme of fourscore and twelve yeares yett to come and not expired. Nowe this indenture witnesseth that the said John Hall, for and in consideracion of the summe of four hundred poundes of lawfull money of England, to his handes paid by the said Frauncis Smith, Daniell Baker, Francis Aynge, and Anthonye Smith, before thensealeinge and deliverye hereof well and truelie contented and paid, whereof, and of everie parte and parcell whereof, he, the said John Hall, doeth, by these presentes, acknowledge the receipte, and thereof, and of everie parte and parcell thereof doeth cleerlie exonere, acquite, and discharge the said Frauncis Smith, Danyell Baker, Frauncis Aynge, and Anthonye Smithe, there executors and administrators for ever, by these presentes hath demised, graunted, assigned, and sett over, and by these presentes doeth demyse, graunte, assigne, and sett over unto the said Frauncis Smith, Daniell Baker, Frauncis Aynge, and Anthony Smith, there executors and assignees, all the said moitie or one half of all and singuler the said tythes of corne, grayne, blade, and hey yearelie and from tyme to tyme comeinge, encreaseinge, reneweinge, arryseinge, growinge. yssueinge, or happeninge, or to be had, received, perceived, or taken oute of, upon, or in the townes, villages, hamlettes, groundes and fieldes of Stratford, Olde Stratford, Wellcombe, and Bishopton aforesaid, in the said Countie of Warwick, the tythes of two closses late leased to William Combe, esquier, att the yearelie rente of twentie shillings, excepted ; and alsoe the said John Hall, by these presentes, doth graunte, assigne, and sett over the moitie or one halfe of all and singuler the said tythes of wooll, lambe, and other smaule and previe tythes, herbage, oblacions, obvencions, alterages, mynumentes and offeringes whatsoever yearelie, and from tyme to tyme comeinge, encreaseinge, reneweinge, or happeninge, or to be had, received, perceived,

or taken within the parish of Stratford-upon-Avon aforesaid ; and alsoe that moitie, or one halfe of all and all manner of tythes, as well greate as smaule whatsoever, which was, by the laste will and testament of the said Sir John Huband, geven and bequethed unto the said Raph Huband, arryseinge, encreaseinge, reneweing, or groweing within the said parish of Stratford-upon-Avon, and whereof the said Raphe Huband hath att any tyme heretofore bene, or of righte oughte to have ben possessed, or whereunto the said John Hall and Susanna, or either of them nowe hath, or have, or att any tyme hereafter shall, or oughte to have, any estate, righte, terme, estate, or interreste, in possession or revercion ; and all the estate, righte, tytle, interreste, terme, clayme and demaund whatsoever, of the said John and Susanna, or which of righte belongeth to there said testator's estate, or which they have, or either of them hath, as executor or executors of the laste will and testamente of the said William Shakespere, of, in, or to all and singuler the premisses and tythes hereby lastelic mencioned to be graunted or assigned, and everie or any parte or parcell thereof, and the revercion of all and singuler the said tythes and premisses, with the said yearelie rente or sune of twentie shillinges reserved upon the said lease made to the said William Combe, and all and singuler rentes and yearelie profittes reserved upon any demyse, graunte, or assignement of any parte or partes thereof heretofore made, the previe tythes of Ludington, and such parte of the tythe hey, and previe tythes of Bishopton as of righte doe belonge unto the viccar, curate, or minister for the tyme beinge, and the said tythes of the said two closses leased unto the said William Combe, allwaies excepted and foreprised ; to have and to holde all and everie the said moities, or one half of all and singuler the said tythes, and everie parte and parcell of them, and everie of them, and all the premisses by the said William Shakespere devised, and all the estate, righte, tytle, and interreste of the said John and Susanna of, in or to the same, and all other the afore-demised premisses, and everie parte and parcell thereof, excepte before excepted, unto the said Frauncis Smith, Daniell Baker,

Frauncis Aynge, and Anthonye Smith, there executors and assignes, for and dureinge all the resydue of the said fourscore and twelve yeares, in the said firste recyted indenture mencioned, and for such and soc longe tyme, and in as large, ample and beneficiall manner and forme as the said John and Susanna Hall, or either of them, should or oughte to enjoye the same by force and vertue of the laste will and testamente of the said William Shakespeere, or his executor or executors thereof, yeldeinge and payinge therefore yearelie, dureinge the resydue of the said terme of fourscore and twelve yeares which be yett to come and unexpired, the rentes hereafter mencioned, in manner and forme followeing ; that is to say, to the bayliffe and burgesses of Stratford aforesaid, and there successors, the yearelie rente of seaventeene poundes, att the feastes of Ste. Michaell tharchangell and thannunciacion of Blessed Marie the Vyrgyn, by even porcions ; and unto the said John Barker, his executors, administrators, or assignes, the annuall or yearelie rente of five poundes att the feaste dayes and place lymitted or mencioned in the said recyted indenture of assignmente made by the said John Barker, or within fortie dayes after the said feaste dayes, by even porcions, as parcell of the said annuall rente of twentie seaven poundes, thirteene shillinges four pence in the said assignmente mencioned. And the said John Hall, for him, his heires, executors, and assignes, doeth by these presentes coveynante and graunte to and with the said Frauncis Smith, Danyell Baker, Frauncis Aynge, and Anthony Smith, there executors, administrators, and assignes, that he the said John Hall, att the tyme of then sealeinge and deliverye of these presentes, notwithstandinge any acte or thinge by him the said John, and Susanna his wife, or the said William Shakespeere, done, suffered, or assented unto to the contrarie, hath, and att the tyme of the firste execucion or intencion of any execucion, of any estate by force of these presentes, shall have full power, and lawfull and sufficyente authoritie, certeinlie, surelie, and absoelutelie to graunte, demyse, assigne, and sett over, all and everie the said moities, or one halfe of all and singuler the said tythes, and other the premisses heretofore graunted as aforesaid to the

said William Shakespeare by the said Raphe Huband, excepte before excepted, which moities, excepte before excepted, are mentioned to be assigned and sett over, and everie parte and parcell thereof, unto the said Frauncis Smith, Daniell Baker, Frauncis Ayngge, and Anthonye Smith, there executors and assignes, accordinge to the true entente and meaneinge of these presentes. And alsoe that the said Frauncis Smith, Daniell Baker, Frauncis Ayngge, and Anthonye Smith, there executors, administrators, and assignes, shall and may from tyme to tyme, and att all tymes dureinge the resydue of the said fourscore and twelve yeares yett to come and unexpired, for the yearelie severall rentes above by these presentes mencioned to be reserved, notwithstandinge any such acte or thinge done or suffered to the contrarye by the said John, Susanna or William Shakespeare, peaceablelie, lawfullie and quietlie have, hold, occupye, possesse and enjoye, all and everie the said moities, or one halfe of all and singuler the said tythes of corne, grayne, blade, hey, wooll, and lambe, and other smaule and previe tythes, alterages, oblations, obventions, offerings, and other the premisses ; which moities are by these presentes graunted and assigned, and everie parte and parcell thereof, excepte before excepted, withoute any lett, trouble, entrie, distresse, blayme, denyall, interupcion or molestacion whatsoever, of the said John Hall, his executors, administrators, or assignes, Susanna his wiefe, or of any other person or persons whatsoever haveinge, or clayminge to have, or which att any tyme or tymes hereafter shall or may have, or clayme to have, any thinge of, in, or to the afore graunted premisses, or any parte thereof, by, from, or under the said John Hall, his executors, administrators, or assignes, the said William Shakespeare, his executors, administrators, or assignes, or any of them, or by there or any of there meanes, consente, acte, assente, previtie, suffrance, neglecte or procuremente, thestate and interreste of the Lord Carewe, of, in and to the tythes of Bridgetowne, and Ryen Clifford excepted, and oute of these presentes foreprised. And the said John Hall, for him, his heires, executors, administrators and assignes, doethe coveynante and graunte to and with the said

Frauncis Smith, Daniell Baker, Frauncis Aynge and Anthonye Smith, there executors, administrators, and assignes, that all and everie the said moities of the said tythes, which moities are before mencioned to be graunted to the said Frauncis Smith, Daniell Baker, Frauncis Aynge and Anthony Smith, and other the premisses, excepte before excepted, nowe are and soe, from tyme to tyme, and att all tymes hereafter, dureinge the resydue of the said fourescore and twelve yeares yett to come and un-expired, accordinge to the true meaneinge hereof, shal be, remayne and contynue unto the said Frauncis Daniell, Frauncis, and Anthonye Smith, there executors and assignes, free and cleere, and freelie and cleerlie acquitted, exonerated, and discharged, or well and sufficientlie saved and kepte harneles of and from all and all manner of bargaines, sailes, guiftes, assignmentes, leases, recognizances, statutes merchaunt and of the staple, outelawries, judgements, execucions, tytles, troubles, charges, incombraunces and demaundes whatsoever, heretofore had, made, done, comytted, omitted, assented unto or suffered, or hereafter to be had, made, done, comitted, omitted, or suffered by the said John Hall, Susanna his wiefe, or any of them, there, or any of there executors, administrators, or assignes, or any of them, or any person or persons whatsoever. claymeinge from, by, or under them, or any of them, or by there or any of there meanes, acte, tytle, graunte, forfeiture, consente or procuremente, excepte before exceptede. And alsoe that the said John Hall, his executors, administrators, and assignes, shall and will from tyme to tyme, and att all tymes hereafter, dureinge the space of five yeares nexte ensueinge the date hereof, upon reasoenable requeste, and att the costes and charges in the lawe of the said Frauncis Smith, Daniell Baker, Frauncis Aynge and Anthony Smith, there executors or assignes, doe performe and execute, and cause, permitt, and suffer to be done, performed and executed, all and everye such further and reasoenable acte and actes, thinge and thinges, demise and demises in the lawe whatsoever, be yt or they by any meane, acte, course, devise or assurance in the lawe whatsoever, as by the said Frauncis Smith, Daniell Baker, Frauncis Aynge, and Anthony Smith,

there executors or assignes, or there or any of there learned counsell shal be reasoenable devised, advised or required for the confirmation of these presentes, or for the further or more better or firmer assurance, suertie, suremakeinge, and conveyinge of all and singuler the premisses before by these presentes demysed or assigned or mente, or intended to be demised and assigned, and everie parte and parcell thereof, unto the said Frauncis Smith, Daniell Baker, Frauncis Aynges and Anthony Smith. there executors and assignes, dureinge all the resydue of the said terme of fourscore and twelve yeares yett to come and unexpired, accordinge to the true intende and meaneinge of these presentes, soc as the said John Hall, his executors or assignes, be not thereby compelled to travell for the doeing thereof out of the Countie of Warwick, nor to enter into any more ample, large or further warrantie then what is herein expressed. And the said Frauncis Smith, Daniell Baker, Frauncis Aynges and Anthony Smyth, doe by these presentes, for them and everie of them, there heires, executors, and administrators, covenante and graunte to and with the said John Hall, his executors, administrators, and assignes, and everie of them, that they the said Frauncis Smith, Daniell Baker, Frauncis Aynges, and Anthony Smith, there executors, administrators and assignes, shall and will, dureinge the resydue of the said fourscore and twelve yeares which be yett to come and unexpired, yearelie contente and pay the severall rentes above mencioned, videlicet, seaventeene poundes yearelie to the bayliffe and burgesses of Stratford aforesaid, and five poundes to the said John Barker, his executors or assignes. att the dayes and places aforesaid in which yt oughte to be paid, accordinge to the purporte and true meaneinge of these presentes, dureinge the said terme, and thereof shall and will att all tymes hereafter discharge, save harmeles and keepe indempnified, the said John Hall and Susanna his wiefe, there executors, administrators, and assignes. And it is explainned, declared and agreed, by and betweene the parties to these presentes, that these presente indentures, or any matter or thinge therein contened, shall not extend, or be of force, to compell the said John Hall, his heires, executors, or adminis-

trators, or any of them, to any further or more large or more generall warrantie or aquitall then onelie againste and from actes and thinges made, comitted or done, or wittingelie or willingelie suffered to be done, by him the said John Hall, Susanna his wiefe, and William Shakespere, or by them or any of them, or by there or any of there heires, executors, administrators or assignes. And furthermore this Indenture witnesseth that, whereas the said Raphe Huband did become bound to the said William Shakespere deceased by one obligacion or writeinge obligatorie, beareinge date the four and twentieth day of Julye, in the third yeare of the raigne of the Kinges Majestie that nowe is over England, in the sume of eighte hundred poundes of lawfull English money, to be paid unto the said William Shakespere, his executors, administrators or assignes, or some of them, with condicion subscribed for the performance of the coveynantes and agreeementes contained in the said indenture of assignement made by the said Raphe unto the said William Shakespere, as by the said writeinge obligatorie more att large doeth and may appeare ; and whereas the said bond is nowe come and accrewed unto the said John Hall and Susanna, or one of them, as executor or executors of the laste will and testamente of the said William Shakespere, nowe the said John Hall, for and in consideracion of the premisses, hath bargained and solde, and by these presentes doeth bargaine and sell unto the said Frauncis Smith, Daniell Baker, Frauncis Aynges and Anthony Smith, there executors, administrators or assignes, the said obligacion or writeinge obligatorie of eighte hundred poundes aforesaid ; and alsoe by these presentes doeth make, constitute, and in the place of him and the said Susanna, either and everie of them, putt the said Frauncis Smith, Daniell Baker, Frauncis Aynges, and Anthony Smith, his true and lawfull attorney in his name, or in the name of him and Susanna his wiefe, or either of them, and place to aske, demaund, leavye, recover, and receive of the said Raphe Huband, his heires, executors and administrators, and everie of them, the said eighte hundred poundes in the said writeinge obligatorie mencioned and expressed, soe soone as the said writeinge obligatorie shal

become forfeited ; and alsoe, by these presentes, doeth geve and graunte full power and auctoritie unto the saide Frauncis, Daniell, Frauncis and Anthony, there executors, administrators, and assignes, to arreste, ymprison, or cause to be arrested and condempned, the said Raphe Huband, his heires, executors and administrators, or any of them, upon the said bond obligatorie of eighte hundred pounds, and alsoe to procure judgements and execucion to be had and made againste the said Raphe, his heires, executors and administrators, and everie or any of them for the same, and release and releases, acquittance and acquittances to make, seale, and deliver unto them, and everie or any of them, of the same sune of eighte hundred poundes, and one attorney or more for the doinge of the premisses, to make and the same to revoke and newe in his or there place to substitute, and to doe, performe and execute all and singular thinge and thinges needfull and necessarie concerneinge the premisses so fullie as he the said John Hall and Susanna, or either of them, could or mighte doe, the same being personallie presente att the doinge thereof ; and the said John Hall, for him, his heires, executors, and assignes, doeth further coveynante, graunte and agree, by these presentes, to and with the said Frauncis, Daniell, Frauncis, and Anthony, and everie of them, there and everye of there executors and assignes, that neither he the said John, his executors nor assignes, nor the said Susanna, nor her executors or assignes, shall or will att any tyme hereafter release the said debte of eighte hundred poundes, or any parte thereof, nor revoke, countermaund or adnull this presente lettre of attorney, nor any auctoritie thereby geven ; and that upon the receipte of the said sune of eighte hundred poundes, or any parte thereof, yt shal be lawfull to and for the said Frauncis, Daniell, Frauncis, and Anthony, there executors and assignes, to hold, deteine, and converte the same to there owne proper uses, without any accompte thereof to be made or yelded unto the said John or Susanna, there executors or assignes. In witnes whereof the parties above said to these indentures interchaungeablelie there handes and seales have putt, the day and yeare firste above written.—*Jo. Hall.*—Sealed



and delyvered in the presence of Henry Walker ; Tho. Lucas ; William Wyatt ; Jo. Grene ; Wm. Smith ; Richard Castell ; William Shawe.

*XL. Deed of Covenant, 1639, to levy a Fine for the re-settlement of the estates of Shakespeare, and of a messuage at Acton which had belonged to Dr. Hall. This document exists in triplicate, but the variations between the three copies are merely literal and of no importance.*

This indenture tripartite made the seaven and twentieth day of May, anno Domini 1639, and in the fifteenth yeare of the raigne of our soveraigne lord Charles, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, Fraunce, and Ireland, Defendor of the Faith, &c., Betweene Susan Hall of Stratford-upon-Avon in the countie of Warwicke widdowe, Thomas Nash of Stratford-upon-Avon aforesaid in the countie of Warwicke esq., and Elizabeth his wife, of the first parte ; George Nash of the borrough of Southwarke in the countie of Surrey gent., and Edmond Rawlins of Stratford upon Avon aforesaid in the said countie of Warwicke gent., of the second parte ; and George Townesend of Staple Inn in the countie of Middlesex gent., and John Stephens of Staple Inn aforesaid in the said countie of Middlesex gent., of the third parte, Witnesseth that the said Susanna Hall, Thomas Nash, and Elizabeth his wife, as well for the better barring and determynynge of an estate in taile heretofore made of all or some part of the messuages, lands, tenements, and hereditaments hereafter in theis presents mentioned, and for the setling of all the same messuages, lands, tenements and hereditaments hereafter in theis presents mentioned, to such uses and in such manner as hereafter in theis presents is declared and mencioned, as also for divers and sundry other good causes and reasonable consideracions them the said Susan Hall, Thomas Nash and Elizabeth his wife, hereunto specially moving, doe in and by theis presents for themselves, their heires, executors and administrators, covenaut promise and graunt to and with the said George Nash and Edmond Rawlins, their heires, executors and administrators,

by theis presents, that they the said Susan Hall, Thomas Nash and Elizabeth his wife, shall and will before the end of Trinitie Terme next ensuyng the date hereof, in and by one or more fyne or fynes to be levied with proclamacions, according to the forme of the statute in that case made and provided, by names and tearmes meete and convenient, recognize and acknowledge all that messuage or tenement with thappurtenaunces, scituate and being in Blackfriers, London, neere the Wardrobe, now or late in the tenure or occupacion of . . . . Dickes, cordiner, and heretofore in the occupacion of one John Robinson ; and all that one other messuage or tenement with thappurtenaunces scituate and being in Acton in the countie of Middlesex, nowe or late in the occupacion of one . . . . Leerewood or his assignes ; and all that capitall messuage or tenement with thappurtenaunces scituate and being in Stratford-upon-Avon in the said countie of Warwicke, commonlie called or knowne by the name of the New Place ; and all those two other messuages or tenements with thappurtenaunces scituate and being in Stratford-upon-Avon aforesaid, in a certaine streete there called Henley streete, and nowe or late in the severall occupacions of Jane Hiccox and Johan Hart, widdowes ; and all and singular howses, edifices, buildings, chambers, cellars, sollers, lights, easements, barnes, stables, backsides, orchards, gardens, profitts and commodities whatsoever, to the said severall messuages or tenements or any of them belonging or in any wise apperteyning, or accepted, reputed, esteemed or taken as part, parcell, or member of the same, or of any of them ; and all those fower yards land and a halfe of arrable, meadowe and pasture, with thappurtenaunces, lying and being in the townes, hamblets, villages, feilds and grounds of Stratford-upon-Avon, Ould Stratford, Bishopton and Welcombe, in the countie of Warwicke, and all other the messuages, lands, tenements and hereditaments whatsoever, scituate lying and being in the townes, hamblets, villages, feilds and grounds of Stratford-upon-Avon, Old Stratford, Bishopton and Welcombe, or any of them, in the said countie of Warwicke, which heretofore were the inheritance of William Shakespeare gent. deceased, late

father of the said Susan, to bee the right of the said George Nash as those which the said George and Edmond shall have of the guift of the said Susan Hall, Thomas Nash, and Elizabeth his wife, and the same shall remise and quite-clayme for them and their heires unto the said George Nash and Edmond Rawlins, and to the heires of the said George Nash for ever. And the said Susan Hall, Thomas Nash and Elizabeth his wife, shall further by the same fyne or fynes graunt for them and their heires, that they shall warrant the said messuages or tenements, lands, and all and singular other the premisses in the said fyne or fynes to bee comprised, to the said George Nash and Edmond Rawlins, and to the heires of the said George Nash for ever. And it is covenanted, graunted, concluded and fullie agreed by and betweene all the said parties to theis presents, that the said fyne or fynes to bee levied in manner and forme aforesaid or in any other manner or forme, shall be and shall be deemed, accepted, reputed, adjudged and taken to bee, and the cognisee or cognisees in the said fyne or fynes to be named, and his and their heyres, immediatelie from and after the levyinge and ingrossing of the said fyne or fynes, shall stand and bee seised of and in the said messuages, lands, tenements and hereditaments in the said fyne or fynes to bee comprised, to the onlie use and behoofe of the said George Nash and Edmond Rawlins, their heires and assignes, for ever, and to none other use, intent or purpose whatsoever ; to the end, intent and purpose that the said George Nash and Edmond Rawlins may bee perfect tenants of the freehould and inheritance of all and singular the said messuages, lands, tenements and premisses, against whome one or more common recovery or recoveries may bee had and suffered of all and singular the said premisses, according to the usuall forme of common recoveries in such cases used and accustomed ; and for that purpose, it is covenanted, graunted, concluded and fullie agreed by and betweene the said parties to theis presents, that the said George Townsend and John Stephens, or one of them, shall and will before the end of the terme of St. Michael<sup>e</sup> next ensuyng the date of theis presents, pursue and prosecute one or

more writt or writts of entry *sur disseisin in le post* against the said George Nash and Edmond Rawlins, wherebyhee or they shall demaund the said messuages, lands, tenements, and all and singular other the premisses in the said fyne or fynes to bee comprised, against the said George Nash and Edmond Rawlins, to which writt or writts of entry *sur disseisin* the said George Nash and Edmond Rawlins shall appeare and vouch to warrantie the said Susan Hall, Thomas Nash and Elizabeth his wife, who shall enter into the said warrantie, and shall vouch over the common vouchee, to the end and intent that one or more perfect recovery or recoveries may bee had and executed of the said messuages, lands, tenements, and all and singular other the premisses in the said fyne or fynes to bee comprised, according to the usuall manner and forme of common recoveries in such cases used and accustomed. And it is further covenanted, graunted, concluded and agreed by and betweene the said parties to theis presents, that the said recoverie or recoveries so to be had, suffered and executed, of the said messuages, and of all and singular other the said premisses in the said recoverie or recoveries to bee comprised, and the full force and execucion of the same, shal bee and enure, and shal be adjudged, accepted, reputed and taken to bee and enure ; and the said recoverer or recoverors, and his and their heires, immediatelie from and after the said recovery or recoveryes so had, suffered and executed, shall stand and bee seised of and in all and singular the said messuages, lands and premisses, in the said recovery or recoveries to bee comprised, and of everie part and parcell of them and every of them, to the severall uses, intents and purposes hereafter mencioned, that is to say, of for and concernyng the said messuage or tenement with thappurtenaunces in Acton aforesaid, to the onely use and behoofe of the said Thomas Nash and Elizabeth his wife for and during the terme of their naturall lives and the life of the longest liver of them, and after their deceases to the use and behoofe of the heires of the bodies of the said Thomas Nash and Elizabeth his wife betweene them lawfullie to bee begotten, and for want of such issue, to the use and behoofe of the heires of the bodie of the said

Elizabeth lawfullie to bee begotten, and for want of such issue, to the use and behoofe of the said Thomas Nash his heires and assignes for ever ; and of for and concerning all and singular other the messuages, lands, tenements and hereditaments whatsoever, whereof no use is herein before lymitted and declared, to the onlie use and behoofe of the said Susan Hall for and during the terme of her naturall life, and after her decease, to the use and behoofe of the said Thomas Nash and Elizabeth his wife for and during the terme of their naturall lives, and the life of the longest liver of them, and after their deceases, to the use and behoofe of the heires of the bodies of the said Thomas Nash and Elizabeth his wife betweene them lawfullie begotten or to bee begotten, and for default of such issue, to the use and behoofe of the heires of the bodie of the said Elizabeth lawfullie begotten or to bee begotten, and for default of such issue, to the use and behoofe of the said Thomas Nash and of his heires and assignes for ever, and to none other use or uses, intent or purpose whatsoever. In witnes whereof to one part of their indentures remaynyng with the said Susan Hall, Thomas Nash and Elizabeth his wife, they the said George Nash, Edmond Rawlins, George Townesend and John Stephens have sett theis hands and seales ; and to another part thereof remaynyng with the said George Nash and Edmond Rawlins, they the said Susan Hall, Thomas Nash and Elizabeth his wife, George Townesend and John Stephens have sett their hands and seales ; and to the other part thereof remayning with the said George Townesend and John Stephens, they the said Susan Hall, Thomas Nash and Elizabeth his wife, George Nash and Edmond Rawlins have sett their hands and seales the day and yeare first above written.

*XLI. A Re-settlement of the Estates of Shakespeare made in the year 1647. This document exists in triplicate, but the variations between the three copies are merely literal and of no importance.*

This indenture tripartite made the second day of June, in the three and twentieth yeare of the raigne of our Soveraigne

Lord Charles, by the grace of God of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, king, Defender of the Faith, &c. Betweene Susan Hall of Stratford-upon-Avon in the county of Warwicke widow, and Elizabeth Nash of Stratford-upon-Avon aforesaid in the said county of Warwicke widow, on the first part ; Richard Lane of Stratford-upon-Avon aforesaid in the county of Warwick aforesaid gent., and William Smith of Balsall in the aforesaid county of Warwicke gent., on the seconde parte ; William Hathaway of Weston-upon-Avon in the county of Glocester yeoman, and Thomas Hathway of Stratford-upon-Avon aforesaid joyner, on the third parte ; Witnesseth that whereas the said Susan Hall and Elizabeth Nash, as well for the better barringe, cuttinge off and dockinge of a remainder in fee simple limmited upon an estate taile, heretofore made, of all the messuages, lands, tenements and hereditaments hereafter in theis presents mencioned, to such uses and in such manner as in theis presents is specified and declared, as alsoe for divers and sundry other good causes and reasonable consideracions them the said Susan Hall and Elizabeth Nash especially movinge, did, in or aboute Easter Terme last past before the date hereof, levy two severall fynes with proclamacions accordinge to the forme of the statute in that case made and provided, by which said fines they did recognize and acknowledge by names and termes meet and convenient all that messuage or tenement with thappurtenaunces scituate and beinge in Blackfryers, London, neere the Wardrope, then or late in the tenure or occupacion of John Dicks cordweyner ; and all that capitall messuage or tenement with thappurtenaunces scituate and beinge in Stratford upon-Avon in the said county of Warwicke, commonly called or knowne by the name of the New Place ; and all that messuage or tenement with thappurtenaunces scituate and beinge in Stratford-upon-Avon aforesaid, in a certen streete there called Henley Streete, commonly called or knowne by the name of the Maidenhead, and now or late in the tenure of John Rutter or his assignes ; and all that other messuage or tenement scituate and beinge in Henley Streete aforesaid, now or late in the tenure

of Thomas Hart, and adjoyninge unto the said messuage or tenement called the Maidenhead, and all and singuler houses, edifices, buildings, chambers, cellers, sollers, lights, easements, barnes, stables, backsides, orchardes, gardens, profits and commodities whatsoever to the said severall messuages or tenements or any of them belonginge or in any wise apperteyninge, or accepted, reputed, esteemed or taken as parte, parcell or member of the same, or of any of them ; and all those fowre yards land and a halfe of arrable, meadowe, and pasture, with thappurtenaunces, lyinge and beinge in the townes, hamblets, villages, feilds, and grounds of Stratford-upon-Avon aforesaid, Old Stratford, Bishopton, and Welcombe in the county of Warr., and all other the messuages, lands, tenements, and hereditaments whatsoever scituate, lyinge and beinge in the townes, hamblets, villages, feilds, and grounds of Stratford-upon-Avon, Old Stratford, Bishopton, or Welcombe, or any of them, in the said countie of Warwick, which heretofore were the inheritance of William Shakespere gent. deceased, late father of the said Susan, to bee the right of the said Richard Lane as those which the said Richard Lane and William Smith had of the guifte of the said Susan and Elizabeth, and the same did remise and quite-clayme for them and their heires unto the said Richard Lane and William Smithe, and to the heires of the said Richard Lane for ever ; and whereas the said Susan Hall and Elizabeth Nash did further by the same severall fynes grant for them and their heires to warrant the said messuages or tenements, lands, and all and singuler other the premisses in the said fynes comprised, to the said Richard Lane and William Smith, and to the heires of the said Richard Lane for ever, and it is now covenanted, granted, concluded, declared and fully agreed by and betweene all and every the said parties to theis presents, and the true meaning, purpose and intent of all and every of the said parties and of theis presents now is, and at the tyme of the levyinge of the said severall fines as aforesaid was, that both the said severall fines soe levyed in manner and forme as aforesaid, or in any other maner and forme, should be and shal be deemed, accepted, reputed,

adjudged and taken to bee, and the cognisee or cognisees in the said fines named and their heires should and shall immediately, from and after the levyinge and ingrossinge of the said fines, stand and bee seised of and in the said messuages, lands, tenementes and hereditaments in the said fines comprised or meant or intended to bee comprised, to the only use and behoofe of the said Richard Lane and William Smith, their heires and assignes for ever, and to none other use, intent, or purpose whatsoever, to the end, intent, and purpose that the said Richard Lane and William Smith might and may be perfect tenants of the freehold and inheritance of all and singuler the said messuages, lands, tenements and premisses, against whome one or more common recoverye or recoveries might or may be had and suffered, of all and singuler the said premisses, according to the usuall forme of common recoveryes in such cases used and accustomed; and for that purpose it is further covenanted, granted, concluded and fully agreed, by and betweene the said parties to theis presents, that the said William Hathway and Thomas Hathway, or one of them, shall and will, before the end of the terme of St. Michael next ensuing the date of theis presents, pursue and prosecute one or more writt or writts of *entre sur disseisin in le post* against the said Richard Lane and William Smith, to which writt or writts of *entre sur disseisin* the said Richard Lane and William Smith shall appeare and vouch to warrantie the said Susan Hall and Elizabeth Nash, who shall enter into the said warrantie, and shall vouch over the common vouchee, to the end and intent that one or more perfect recoverie or recoveries may be had and executed of the said messuages, lands, tenements and all and singuler other the premisses in the said severall fine or fines comprised, according to the usuall manner and forme of common recoveries in such cases used and accustomed; and it is further covenanted, granted, declared, concluded and agreed, by and betweene the said parties to theis presents, that the said recoverie or recoveries soe to be had, suffered and executed of the said messuages, and of all and singuler other the premisses in the said recoverie or recoveries to be comprised,



and the full force and execution of the same shal be and enure, and shal be adjudged, accepted, reputed and taken to be and enure; and the said recoveror or recoverors, and his and their heires, immediately from and after the said recoverie or recoveries soe had, suffered and executed, shall stand and be seised of and in all and singuler the said messuages, lands and premisses in the said recoverie or recoveries to be comprised, and of every parte and parcell of them and every of them, to the severall uses, intents and purposes hereafter mentioned, that is to say, to the onlie use and behoofe of the said Susan Hall for and duringe the terme of her naturall life, and after her decease, to the use and behoofe of the said Elizabeth Nash and the heires of her body lawfully begotten or to be begotten, and, for default of such issue, to the use and behoofe of the right heires of the said Elizabeth Nash for ever; in witnesse whereof to the one parte of theis indentures remaynyng with the said Susan Hall and Elizabeth Nash, they the said Richard Lane, William Smith, William Hathway and Thomas Hathway, have sett their hands and seales; and to another parte thereof, remaynyng with the said Richard Lane and William Smith, they the said Susan Hall, Elizabeth Nash, William Hathway and Thomas Hathway have sett their handes and seales; and to the other parte thereof remaynyng with the said William Hathway and Thomas Hathway they, the said Susan Hall, Elizabeth Nash, Richard Lane and William Smith have sett their handes and seales the day and yeare first above written.

*XLII. Bill of Complaint against Elizabeth Nash and others respecting the disposition of Shakespeare's estates, February, 1648.*

12 Februar. 1647-8.—To the Right Honorable the Commissioners for the Great Seale of England, humbly complaining, sheweth unto your honours your dayly oratour Edward Nashe, sonne and heire of George Nashe late of London gent., and cousin and next heire of Thomas Nashe late of New Place nere Stratford-upon-Avon in the countye of Warwicke esq., deceased, that whereas the said Thomas Nashe in his life tyme, being seized of divers messuages, lands, tenements and here-

ditaments hereafter mentioned, and being mynded and intended to settle the same and the reversion thereof upon your said oratour and his heires, and being allsoe possessed of a good and considerable personall estate, he the said Thomas Nashe, on or about the five and twentieth day of August, which was in the year of our Lord God, 1642, and in the eighteenth yeare of the raigne of our Sovereigne Lord the Kings Majestic that now is, made his last Will and Testament in writeing, and therein and thereby did give, dispose and bequeath unto Elizabeth, wife of the said Thomas Nashe, and her assignes, for and during the tearme of her naturall life, in lfeū of her joynturē and thirds, all that messuage or tenement with the appurtenances scituate, lyeing and being in Stratford-upon-Avon in the said county of Warwicke, in a street there called and knowne by the name of Chappell Street, and then in the tenure, use and occupation of one Joane Norman widdow, and allsoe one meddow with the appurtenances lyeing and being in the parishe of Old Stratford in the said countye of Warwicke called and knowne by the name of the Square Meddow, lyeing near unto the great stone bridge of Stratford aforesaid, and then in the tenure, use and occupation of one William Abbott inholder, and alsoe one other meadow with the appurtenances lyeing and being in the parishe of Old Stratford aforesaid in the said county of Warwicke called and knowne by the name of Washe Meadow, lyeing near unto the said great stone bridge of Stratford aforesaid, then in the tenure, use and occupation of him the said Thomas Nash, and allsoe one little meddow with the appurtenances lyeing and being in the parishe of Old Stratford, and adjoyning to the said meddow called the Washe Meddow, then in the tenure use and occupation of the said Thomas Nashe, and alsoe all the tithes of corne and grane, blade and hay whatsoever to be yearly and every yeare comeing, growing, renueing, happening or increasing, or to be had or taken, within the mannor or lordship of Shottery in the said countye of Warwicke, or within the precincts, liberties and fields thereof; and the said Thomas Nashe in and by the said Will did give, dispose and bequeath unto

your orator the respective premisses hereafter mentioned, in manner and forme hereafter mentioned,—Item, I give, dispose and bequeath unto my loveing kinsman Edward Nashe gent., sonne and heire unto my uncle George Nashe of London gent., meaning your said orator, and to his heires and assignes for ever after the death and decease of Elizabeth my said wife, meaning the said Elizabeth before mentioned, all the said messuage or tenement with the appurtenances scituate, lying and being in Stratford-upon-Avon aforesaid in the said countie of Warwicke, in the said street there called the Chapel Street, now in the tenure, use and occupation of the said Joane Normand, and alsoe the said meddow with the appurtenances lying and being in the parishe of Old Stratford aforesaid in the said countie of Warwicke called and knowne by the name of the Square Meddow, and lying near unto the great stone bridge of Stratford aforesaid, and now in the tenure, use and occupation of William Abbotts, inholder, and alsoe the said meddow with the appurtenances lying and being within the parishe of Old Stratford aforesaid in the said countie of Warwick called or knowne by the name of the Washe Meddow, and lying near unto the said great stone bridge of Stratford aforesaid, and now in the tenure, use and occupation of mee the sayd Thomas Nashe, and the sayd little meadow with the appurtenances lying and being within the said parishe of Old Stratford in the said countie of Warwick, and adjoyning to the said meddow called the Washe Meddow, and now in the tenure, use and occupation of mee the said Thomas Nashe, and alsoe all the said tithes of corne, grayne, blade and hay whatsoever issueing, or to be yearly or every yeare to be comeing, growing, reneweing, happninge or encreasing, or to be had or taken, out of or within the mannor or lordship of Shottery aforesaid, in the said countie of Warwick, or within the precincts, liberties and feilds thereof. And in and by the said will he the said Thomas Nashe did give dispose and bequeath unto Anne Wither, his sister, the premisses hereafter mentioned by such words and expressions as are hereafter mentioned,—Item, I

give dispose and bequeath unto my dearly beloved sister, Anne Wither, the now wife of Anthony Wither, Esq. and her assignes, for and dureing the tearme of her naturall life, all the issues, rents, profitts and commodities issueing, and to be yearly and every yeare had, receaved, taken and enjoyed out of and from one messuage or tenement with the appurtenances, scituate lyeing and being in Haseler, in the countye of Warwick, called or known by the name of the Parsonage Howse, and out of and from all those two yard lands gleab, being arrable land, meddow and pasture, with the closes and closures, easements, commons, proffits and commodities to the same messuage and tenement and two yard land belonging and apperteyning, yet nevertheless upon condition that she the said Anne and her assignes shall yearly and every yeare during her naturall life pay or cause to be payd to such person or persons, as the same shall become due, the rent and all other payments and duties for or in respect of the said messuage or tenement and two yard lands and rectory or parsonage of Haseler aforesaid, and allsoe all rents, profitts and commodities out of and from one messuage or tenement with the appurtenances scituate lyeing and being in Strattford-upon-Avon aforesaid, in the said countye of Warwicke, in a certaine street called the Henley Street, and then in the tenure, use and occupation of one John Horneby, black-smyth, and out of and from one other messuage or tenement with the appurtenances scituate, lyeing and being in Strattford-upon-Avon aforesaid in the said countye of Warwicke, in a certaine street or place there called the Moores Townes End, and then in the tenure, use, and occupation of one Thomas South, and out of and from one other messuage with their appurtenances scituate, lyeing and being in Strattford-upon-Avon aforesaid, in a certaine street there called the Hye Street, and being near the High Cross there, and then in the tenure, use and occupation of one John Copeland, and out of and from one other messuage or tenement with the appurtenances scituate, lyeing and being in Strattford-upon-Avon aforesaid, in a certayne street there called the Chappell Street, and then in the tenure and occupation of one Nicholas Ingram, and out of and from

two cottages or tenements scituate, lyeing and being in Stratford-upon-Avon aforesaid, by the Waterside there, and then in the severall tenures, uses and occupations of James Doughty and Cricke, and alsoe out of and from one barne with the appurtenances scituate, lyeing and being in Old Stratford aforesaid, in the said countye of Warwicke, and commonly called and knowne by the name of the Boorded Barne, and then in the tenure, use and occupation of the said Thomas Nashe, and alsoe out of and from one close inclosure or parcell of ground with the appurtenances lyeing and being within the parishe of Old Stratford aforesaid, near unto the great stone bridge of Stratford aforesaid, and commonly called or knowne by the name of the Butt Close, then in the tenure, use and occupation of the said Thomas Nashe ; and the said Thomas Nashe in and by the said will did further give and devise unto your said orator, by the name of Edward Nashe his kinsman, and to the heires and assignes of your said orator for ever, one messuage or tenement with the appurtenances commonly called or knowne by the name of the New Place, scituate, lyeing and being in Stratford-upon-Avon aforesaid, in the said countye of Warwicke, in a street there called or known by the name of Chappell Street, together alsoe with all and singuler howses, outhowses, barns, stables, orchards, gardens, and easements, proffitts, and commodities, to the same belonging, or in any wise apperteyning, or reputed, taken, esteemed or enjoyed as thereunto belonging, and then in the tenure, use and occupation of the said Thomas Nashe, and also fower yard land of arrable land, meddow and pasture, with the appurtenances, lyeing and being in the common feild of Old Stratford, in the said county of Warwicke, together with all easements, proffitts, commons, commodities and hereditaments to the same fower yards land or any of them belonging, or in any wise apperteyning, then in the tenure, use and occupation of him the said Thomas Nashe, and alsoe one other messuage or tenement with the appurtenances scituate, lyeing and being in the parishe of . . . . in London, and called and knowne by the name of the Wardrop, and then in the tenure, use and

occupation of one . . . . and the said Thomas Nashe did in and by the said will further give and bequeath unto your said orator, by the name of Edward Nashe his heires, executors, administrators and assignes, for ever, all and every the messuages, lands, meddowes, pastures, feedings and tenements which he the said Thomas Nashe had and did hold in mortgage of William Broad, Frances his wife, Thomas Broad and Francis Broad, or any of them, lyeing and being in the towne and feilds of Barton in the said county of Warwicke; and if the said William Broad, Frances his wife, Thomas Broad and Frances Broad, or any of them, or any other of them, shall redeem the said message, lands, tenements and hereditaments, and pay the money for which the said lands and tenements are conveyed or mortgaged for, then the said Thomas Nash did in and by his said will declare his will and meaning to be that the said Edward Nashe, meaning your said orator, should have and receive the same money, and not his executors nor his heirs, administrators or assignes, but that the whole proffitt, commoditye and advantage which should and would have come unto him the said Thomas Nashe, by reason of the said conveyance made, shall fully and wholly be and remain unto the said Edward Nashe, meaning your said orator, his heires, executors, administrators and assignes, whether it should happen to be land or money repayd; and the said Thomas Nashe in and by the said will did farther give and bequeath unto the said Edward Nashe, meaning your said orator, his heirs and assignes, for ever, from and after the decease of his said sister Anne Wither, the rectory and parsonage of Hasler, and the said message and tenement with the appurtenances, called the Parsonage Howse, scituate, lyeing and being in Haseler aforesaid, in the said countye of Warwick, togeather allsoe with the two yards land, gleab land, being arrable land, meddow and pasture, with the closes, inclosures, easements, proffitts and commodities to the same messuages or tenements and two yard land belonging or in any wise apperteyning, or reputed, knowne, used or enjoyed to or with the same, and allsoe all other his the said Thomas Nashe his messuages, cottages, lands, tenements and hereditaments

whatsoever, which he the said Thomas Nashe had or might clayme in Haseler aforesaid, or within the parishe thereof,—and allso the said messuage and tenement with the appirtenances scituate, lyeing and being in Strattford-upon-Avon aforesaid, in the said countye of Warwicke, in the said street called the Henly Street, and then in the tenure and occupation of the said John Horneby, blacksmyth, and allsoe one other messuage or tenement with the appirtenances scituate, lyeing and being in Strattford-upon-Avon aforesaid, in the countye of Warwicke, in a certayne place or street there called the Moore's Townes End, and then in the tenure, use and occupation of Thomas South, and allsoe one messuage or tenement with the appurtenances scituate, lyeing and being in Strattford-upon-Avon aforesaid, in the countye of Warwicke, in a certayne street there called the High Street, and lyeing near the High Cross there, and then in the tenure, use and occupation of John Copyland, and allsoe one other messuage or tenement with the appurtenances scituate, lyeing and being in Strattford-upon-Avon aforesaid, in the said countye of Warwicke, in a certaine street there called the Chappell Street, and then in the tenure, use and occupation of Nicholas Ingram, and allso two cottages or tenements with their appurtenances scituate, lyeing and being in Strattford-upon-Avon aforesaid by the Water Side, there and then in the severall tenures, uses and occupacion of James Doughty and . . . Cricke, and allso the said barne with the appurtenances called the Boarded Barne, scituate, lyeing and being in Old Strattford aforesaid, in the said countye of Warwicke, and then in the tenure, use and occupation of him the said Thomas Nashe, and allsoe the said close inclosed or parcell of ground with the appurtenances called the Butt Close, lyeing and being in the parishe of Old Strattford aforesaid, and neere unto the said great stone bridge there, and then in the tenure, use and occupation of the said Thomas Nashe ; and in and by the said will he the said Thomas Nashe did give and bequeath unto the poore people of Stratford-upon-Avon aforesaid, in the said countye of Warwick, tenne pounds of lawful money of England, to be distributed amongst them by his overseers of the same his

last will and testament within fortye days next after his decease ; and in and by the said will he the said Thomas Nashe did give and bequeath unto Mary Asheby, widdow, his kinswoman, the summe of twentye pounds of lawfull money of England, in consideration whereof that she should before the receipt thereof release all the right, title, interest, clayme and demand which she should or might clayme unto any his the said Thomas Nashe his messuages, lands, tythes, tenements or hereditaments which he should dye seized of, any estate of inheritance unto his kinsman Edward Nashe, meaning your said orator, his heires and assignes, whom the said Thomas Nashe in and by his said last will and testament did expres to be and accordingly did make and declare your said orator to be his heire ; and the said Thomas Nashe did in and by the said will further declare that upon such release, sealed and delivered unto your orator Edward Nashe and his heires, then the said twenty pounds to be payed unto her within one yeare next after his decease, or otherwise not at all ; and in and by the said will he the said Thomas Nashe did give unto William Ashby the summe of forty pounds of lawfull money of England, to be payd unto him within one yeare next after his decease ; and in and by the said will he the said Thomas Nashe did give unto Katherine, daughter unto the said Mary Ashby, the summe of fortye pounds of lawfull money of England to be paid unto her within one yeare next after his decease, and allsoe did give and bequeath unto Mary, the daughter of Mary Bushell, his kinswoman, deceased, the summe of twentye pounds of lawfull money of England to be payd unto her within a yeare next after his decease ; and allsoe did give and bequeath unto Elizabeth Underhill, daughter of the said Mary Bushell deceased, the summe of twentye pounds of lawfull money of England to be payd unto her within one yeare after his decease ; and did allsoe give and bequeath unto Anne Green, the daughter of John Green deceased gent., the summe of twenty pounds of lawfull money of England to be payd unto her at the age of one and twentye years or marriage, which should first happen, upon condition that she should not marry or take to husband any man without the consent of the



overseers of that his said will, and if she did marry without their consent, then he gave her onely twelve pence in full satisfaction of the said twentye pounds by that his said will given unto her ; and in and by the said will did allsoe give and bequeath unto his servant William Fetherstone twentye pounds, to be paid him within one month next after his decease, and did allsoe give and bequeath unto his servant Francis Lane tenn pounds, to be payd him within one month next after his decease ; and in and by the said will he the said Thomas Nashe did declare his will to be, and soe in and by the said will he did dispoſe and bequeath, that his executrix should bestow in moorning gownes, cloakes and apparell upon his kindred and friends one hundred pounds of lawfull money of England at the least to such persons as his executrix should think fitt ; and all the rest and other of his goods, chattles, cattles, leases, jewells, plate, howshold stuff and implements of howshold stuff, moveable or immoveable, his debts and legacies being payd, and his funerall expenses being discharged, he did in and by the said will give and bequeath to Elizabeth his wife, whom he made full and whole executrix of that his said last will and testament, and did revoke and renounce all former and other will and wills by him made ; and the said Thomas Nash did in and by his said will before mentioned appoynt and intreat his loveing friends Edmond Rawlyns gent., William Smyth and John Easton, to be overseers of that his last will and testament, desiring them to see that his said last will to be performed so farr as in them should lye, and for theyr paynes therein he the said Thomas Nashe, in and by the said will, did give them and every of them the said overseers fortye shillings a peece ; and the said Thomas Nashe, haveing soe made his last will and testament in writeing, and devised his estate in manner and forme aforesaid for the benefitt of your said orator, his heires and assignes, he, the said Thomas Nashe, signed, sealed and published the said will in the presence of divers credible witnesses, and declared the said recited will to be the last will and testament of him, the said Thomas Nashe, and thereby meant and intended that his said lands and estate should be and remayne to such uses, intents and purposes as in and

by the said will is lymitted, mentioned and expressed ; and not long after the makeing, signing, sealing and publishing of the said will, he the said Thomas Nashe dyed, without makeing any other will, or makeing any alteration of the said will before mentioned to any intent or purpose whatsoever, as in and by the said will, if the same may be produced, it doth and may more plainly and at large appeare ; and your said orator ought to have the benefitt of the same will, and have and enjoy all and singuler the lands and premisses therein and thereby devised unto your said orator, his heires and assignes, and the reversion and reversions, remaynder and remaynders of the same, but soe it is, may it please your honours, that the said Elizabeth Nashe, executrix of the said Thomas Nashe, haveing a mynd to suppress the said will, or otherwyse the said will may be suppressed, if the same should come to the hands of any other person, then the said Elizabeth, and thereby your said orator and his heires, may be hindred from the enjoying the said premisses devised unto him and his heires in and by the said will, she the said Elizabeth, the executrix of the said Thomas Nashe, hath joyned herself with the said Anthony Wither and Anne his wife, and diverse other persons as yet unknowne to your said orator, whose names, when they shall be discovered, your orator humbly desireth he may have libertye to incerte them in this his said bill of complainte, and make them defendants thereunto ; and they the said Elizabeth Nashe, Anthony Wither and Anne Wither, or some of them, doe sometymes give out in speeches that the said Thomas Nashe died intestate, and that he made noe will, and other tymes they doe give out in speeches and pretend that after he the said Thomas Nashe had made the will aforesaid, he did revoke and make voyd the said will, and did make another will, and that the said will before mentioned is not the last will and testament of the said Thomas Nashe ; and other tymes they the said partyes doe give out and pretend that the said Thomas Nashe did alter the will aforesaid, or did add some codicell thereunto which did alter the estate in the premisses devised unto your said orator and his heires in

manner as is before mentioned ; and at other tymes they the said parties, some or one of them, doe give out and pretend that the said Thomas Nashe, at the tyme he made the said will, had noe power to dispose of the inheritance of the said lands and premisses in the said will mentioned to such uses as in the said will is limitted and declared ; and they the said parties some or one of them doe give out and pretend that they the said parties, some or one of them, at the tyme of the makeing of the said will, had some estate in the said premisses devised unto your said orator, or some parte thereof, and that the said Thomas Nashe could not devise or dispose of the same to such uses, intents and purposes as in the said will is mentioned, and that they the said partyes, some or one of them, had power in themselves, notwithstanding the said will, to sell and dispose of the said premisses or some parte thereof to other uses then in the said will is mentioned ; and they the sayd parties some or one of them doe untruely give out and pretend that the said Thomas Nashe, at the tyme of the makeing of the said will, was of insane memory, and was not of sound judgment when he made the said will, albeit they the said parties well know that all the said suggestions aforesaid of them the said parties are untrue, and that the said Thomas Nashe made noe other will then is before mentioned, and that he dyed leaving the said will in force unaltered in any syllable or title, and that the said Thomas Nashe had power to make the said will and to dispose of the lands and premisses in the will mentioned to such uses intents and purposes as in and by the said will is declared, and that he the said Thomas Nashe was of a sound and disposing memory when he made the said will, and did declare and really intend that the said lands and premisses soe devised unto your said orator and his heires should really come and discend unto your sayd orator and his heires in such manner and forme as in and by the sayd will is mentioned, lymitted and declared, without abatement or deminution ; howbeit they the said parties doe refuse to prove or suffer the said will to be proved in this honorable Court or elsewhere according to law, or to produce the same ;

and she the said Elizabeth Nashe doth refuse her assent to the legacies in and by the said will given unto your said orator ; and she the said Elizabeth Nashe, by and with the consent and approbation of the said other parties some or one of them, hath sould away part of the premisses devised unto your said orator and his heires, the certainty whereof nor the names nor vallue thereof your said orator cannot sett forth, but the same is very well knowne unto the said Elizabeth Nashe and the rest of the said parties ; and she the said Elizabeth Nashe doth now give out and pretend that she had a good estate in the said premisses at the tyme she sould the same, and that she had full power and lawfull authoritie to make sale of the said premisses, albeit she and the rest of the said persons well know the contrary, and well know that the said lands and premisses soe sould by the said Elizabeth Nashe were in and by the said will devised unto your said orator his heires and assignes ; and your said orator further sheweth that she the said Elizabeth Nash and the rest of the said persons some or one of them, or some other with their deliverye, privitie or knowledge, having gotten into their or some or one of theyr hands and custodye all and singular the deeds, evidences, writeings, charters, escripts and monuments which concerneth the lands and premisses devised unto your said orator as aforesaid, they doe suppress and conceal the same, and have cancelled and defaced the same, and doe refuse and denye to discover and deliver the said writeings ; allsoe they refuse to sett forth in whose hands they are, and what lands the said writeings concerne, and what the contents of the said writeings are, albeit they well knowe the said writeings doe concern your said orator and the lands and premisses devised unto your said orator, his heires and assignes, and they know the contents of the said writeings, and the dates thereof, and what lands the same concerne, and the same belong unto your said orator ; and they the said persons, haveing gotten the said writeings into theyr hands, they have made divers and sundry secrete estates of the premisses to persons unknowne to your said orator ; and by reason of the proceedings aforesaid, your said orator is likely to be much

prejudiced and injured in his inheritance and right to the said premisses unles he shall be here releived in the premisses according to equitye, in tender consideration whereof, and for that all and singuler the premisses are very well knowne to the said partyes, and they cannot denye the same upon theyr oathes, they being thereunto legally called, and for that your said orator hath noe means by the course of the common law to force the said Elizabeth and the said partyes to produce the said will, or to enforce the probate thereof, or to discover the truth of the premisses, nor what estate the said Anthony Wither and Anne his wife claymeth to have or pretendeth to have of and in the said premisses, nor can your said orator by the course of the common law force the said Elizabeth Nashe to assent to the said legacyes, to the end therefore she the said Elizabeth Nashe and the rest of the said parties may sett forth the truth of the said premisses, and bring the said will into this honorable court, that soe it may be delivered to your said orator, or remayne here in this honorable Court, the same being the onely evidence by which your said orator is intituled to the premisses aforesaid, and for the makeing good of the right and tittle of him and his heires unto the said lands and premisses devised in and by the said will; and that the said Elizabeth Nashe may sett forth and discover what lands and tenements mentioned and comprised in the said will and devised unto your said orator and his heires she hath sould away, and what right and tittle she had unto the same, or to sell and dispose thereof, and when and unto whom she sould the same, and what is the annuall vallue thereof; and that they the said parties may sett forth what right or tittle they or any of them clayme unto the said lands and premisses devised unto your orator and his heires as aforesaid, and that they may surcease theyr clayme thereunto, and discover what writeings and evidences they or any other with theyr privitie have or know of concerning the premisses, and that they may bring the same into this honorable Court to be delivered unto your orator, and that they the said partyes may discover what secret estates they or any of them have made of the premisses, and when and unto whom they

made the same, and for what consideration and of what lands, and that the said parties may true answer make to all and singuler the premisses, and that your said orator may be releived in all and singuler the premisses according to equitie and good conscience,—May it therefore please your honours, the premisses considered, to grant unto your orator his Majesties most gracious writt of subpena to be directed to the said Elizabeth Nashe, Anthony Wither and Anne his wife, and all other the parties as they shall be discovered, commanding them thereby upon a certaine day, and under a certayne payne therein to be lymitted, personally to be and appeare before your Honours in his Majesties High Court of Chancery, then and there upon theyr severall corporall oathes to sett forth and discover the truth of all and singuler the premisses, and further to stand to and abyde such further order and direction therein as unto your Honours shall seem meet and agreeable to justice ; and your orator as in dutye bound shall ever pray, &c.

*XLIII. The Answer of Elizabeth Nash, Shakespeare's grand-daughter, to the preceding Bill of Complaint, April, 1648. It is entitled,—“ The severall answers of Elizabeth Nash, widowe, one of the Defendants, to the Bill of Complaynt of Edward Nash, Complainant.”*

All advantage of excepcion to the incertanties and insufficiencies of the said Bill of Complaynt now and at all tymes hereafter saved and reserved unto the defendant, the defendant for answer sayth that the complainant is cousin to the defendant's late husband Thomas Nash Esquier deceased, but not heir to the said Thomas Nash, for that the said Thomas Nash hath a sister liveing whoe is one of the defendants to the said Bill of Complaynt, besides other kindred whoe are nearer in blood to the said Thomas Nashe deceased than the said complainant, as the defendant takes it ; and the defendant sayth that the said Thomas Nash in his life tyme was seized of divers messuages, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, and possessed of a personall estate, and that hee being soe seized and possessed made his last will and Testament in writing in or about the twentie fife day of August, one thousand six hundred fortie and two, and

thereby devised unto this defendant and the other defendant his sister, and the complainant and other persons, the lands and legacies in such sort and to such purpose word for word as the complainant hath set forth in his sayd Bill of Complaynt, which the complainant might well doe, for that the defendant gave unto the sayd complainant a true coppie of the sayd last Will and Testament of the said Thomas Nashe, and of the codicell to the said will annexed, which codicell the said Thomas Nashe made or caused to bee made in his sicknes in or about the third day of Aprill, anno Domini one thousand six hundred fortie and seaven, and published the same for as part of his said last Will and Testament, and to bee added to the same ; and that shortly after, that is to say, in or about the fowerth day of the same moneth, the said Thomas Nashe dyed, haveing in or by his said last Will appoynted and made this defendant his sole executrix, whoe proved the said will with the said codicell thereunto annexed in due forme of lawe in the Prerogative Cort of Canterbury, where the said last Will and codicell are entred, and remayne upon record amongst the records there, to which the defendant for more certaintie referreth herselfe for and concerning all and everie the matters containd in the said Will and codicell, and complayned of in or by the said bill of complaynt ; and the defendant saith that the said messuage called the New Place in Stratford, with thappurtenaunces, and fower yard land in the comon fields of Old Stratford, and the messuage in London neer the Ward-rope, there supposed to bee devized to the complainant and his heires by the said Thomas Nashe, could not bee devized given or disposed of by the said Thomas Nashe, for that the said messuage, fower yard land and house in London were the inheritance of William Shakespear, the defendant's grandfather, whoe was seized thereof in fee simple long before the defendant's marriage with the said Thomas Nashe, and being soe seized, by his last Will and Testament in writing, bearing date in or about the twentie fife day of March, in the fowerteenth year of the raigne of our late Sovereigne Lord King James, devised the same to Susan Hall, the daughter and coheir of the

said William, and mother to the defendant, for and dureing her life, and after her death to this defendant, and the heires of her body, as in and by the said Will readie to bee produced, to which due reference being had, may more fully appeare; and the defendant saith that the said Susan, the defendant's mother, to whom the said messuage, fower yard land and the house aforesaid was devised by the said William Shakespear, is yet liveing, and enjoyeth the same, and that the said Susan and the defendant since the death of the said Thomas Nashe have acknowledged and levyed one or more fines, and suffered a recoverie of the said messuage called the New Place, and the said fower yard land and the house in London, to the use of the said Susan, the defendant's mother, for her life, and after her decease, to this defendant and her heires for ever, as was lawfull for them soe to doe, which are all the conveyances and estates that the defendant, since the death of the said Thomas Nashe, hath made granted or suffered of anie the lands mencioned in the said bill of complaynt; and the defendant denies that shee hath a mind to suppress the said last Will of the said Thomas Nashe, or that the same can bee suppressed to the knowledge of the defendant, or that the said Thomas Nashe made noe codicell to his said last Will, or that the said Thomas Nashe dyed without makeing any alteration of the said Will set forth by the said complainant other then is expressed in or by the said codicell of the said Thomas Nashe; and the defendant denies that shee the defendant, or any other to her knowledge, give out that the said Thomas Nashe dyed intestate, and that hee made noe will, or that hee the said Thomas revoaked the said Will and made a new Will to the knowledge of the defendant, but true it is shee the defendant hath given forth that the said Thomas Nashe made the said codicell as parte of his said last Will which the defendant proved as aforesaid, and that hee the sayd Thomas Nashe had noe power to give and devise the said messuage called the Newe Place, the fower yard land and the house in London, being the defendant's inheritance as aforesaid, but that the



defendant with her said mother may dispose thereof as they please ; and the defendant denies that shee doth refuse to prove the Will, or to assent to such legacies as are given to the said complainant, saveing the right and inheritance in the said messuage; fower yard land and house in London, and saith that shee this defendant hath in her hands or custodie many deeds, evidences, writings, charters, escripts, and munuments which concerne the lands and premises which the defendant claymeth as her inheritance, and other the lands which are the defendant's joynture, and are devised to her by the said Thomas Nash in or by his said last Will, which writings concerning the defendant's joynture shee may keepe for her life as shee is informed, but the defendant is readie to produce the same by coppies or otherwise to make knowne the same to the complainant in such manner as the Honorable Court shall appoynt ; and the defendant denies that shee doth supresse or conceale the said writings, or hath cancelled the same, or doth refuse to set forth the same, or that this defendant doth knowe that the said writings doe concerne the complainant dureing the defendant's life, or that shee this defendant hath made or consented to the makeing any estate of the premises to any person or persons whatsoever other then as aforesaid, without that that anie other matter or thing materiall or effectual in the lawe to bee answered unto by this defendant, and not herein and hereby well and sufficiently answered unto, confessed, traversed or denied, is true, all which matters and things this defendant is and will bee readie to aver mayntayne and prove, as this Honorable Court shall award, and humbly prayeth to bee hence dismissed her reasonable costs and charges &c.—Predict. Def. Jur. xvij. die Aprilis, anno r. R. Carol. xxiiij., apud Stratford-super-Avon in Com. Warr. coram Tho : Dighton—John Eston.

*XLIV. Deed of Covenant to levy a Fine settling the estates of Shakespeare to certuin Uses, October, 1652. The duplicate of this indenture is signed by John and Eliz : Barnard.*

This indenture made the twentyeth day of October, in the yeare of our Lord, according to the accompt in England, one thowsand six hundred fifty two ; Betweene John Barnard of

Stratford-upon-Avon in the county of Warwick, esquier, and Elizabeth his wife, of thone parte ; Henry Smyth of Stratford-upon-Avon aforesaid, gent. and William Fetherston of the same towne and county, yeoman, on thother parte, Witnesseth that it is covenanted, concluded and agreed by and betweene all the said partyes, and it is their true intent and meaneing, that the said John Barnard and Elizabeth his wife shall and will acknowledge and levy, in due forme of lawe, one fine or fines sur conusance de droit come ceo, que ils ount de lour done, before the Justices of the Court of Common Plees at Westminster at or before thend of Hilary terme next ensueing, unto the said Henry Smyth and William Fetherston, and the heires of one of them, with proclamacions according to the statute, of all that capitall messuage or tenement with thappurtenaunces scituate and being in Stratford-upon-Avon aforesaid, in the said county of Warwick, commonly called or knowne by the name of the New Place, now in the tenure of the said John Barnard, and all that fower yard land and a halfe of arrable, meadow and pasture, with the appurtenaunces, lying and being in the townes, hamlettes, villages, feildes and groundes of Stratford-upon-Avon, Old Stratford, Bishopton and Welcombe, in the said county of Warwick, heretofore the inheritance of William Shakespeare, gent., grandfather of the said Elizabeth, wife of the said John Barnard, by the name of one messuage, one garden, one orchard, one hundred and seaven acres of land, twenty acres of pasture and common of pasture for all manner of cattle, with thappurtenaunces, in Stratford-upon-Avon, Old Stratford, Bishopton, and Welcombe, or by such other name or names, quantitie and number of acres, or other certentie, as shal be devised. Which fine, soe to be had and levyed, and the full force and execucion thereof, and the conusees in the said fine and their heires shal be had, taken and construed to be and enure to the only uses, intentes and purposes herein expressed and declared ; that is to say, to the use of the said John Barnard and Elizabeth his wife for and dureing their naturall lives, and the life of the longest liver of them, and to the heires of the body of the said Elizabeth lawfully begotten or to be begotten, and

for defaulte of such issue, to the use of such person or persons, and for such estate and estates, as the said Elizabeth by any writeing either purporteing her last will or otherwise, sealed and subscribed in the presence of two or more credible witnesses, shall lymmitt and appoint : and from and after such nominacion or appointment, or, in defaulte of such nominacion or appointment, to the use and behoofe of the right heires of the survivor of them, the said John and Elizabeth, for ever. In witnes whereof the parties above named have to theis present indentures interchaungeably putt theire handes and seales the day and yeare above written.—*Henry Smith.*—*William Featherston.*—Sealed and delivered in the presence of—Phillip Scarlett, Edw. Owen.

*XLV. Appointment of Shakespeare's Estates to Trustees for Sale, the proceeds to be subject to the direction of Lady Barnard, 1653.*

To all to whom theise presentes shall come ; whearas I, Elizabeth Barnard, wife of John Barnard esquier, have power to limitt, appoynte and dispose of all that messuage with the appurtenances in Stratford-upon-Avon, within the county of Warwicke, comonly called the New Place, and of all that foure yard land and a halfe, arrable, meadow and pasture in Stratford, Welcombe and Bishopton, which weare sometimes the inheritance of William Shackspeare, gent., my grandfather, by any wrighting, either purporting my last will or otherwise, sealed and subscribed in the presence of credible witnesses, to any person or persons, and for any estate or estates, to take effecte in possession after the death of the said John Barnard and mee the said Elizabeth, in case I die without heires of my bodie, as by one indenture mad at or aboute the 20th day of October, 1652, and a fine therupon acknowledged, may more fully appeare. Now know yee that I, the said Elizabeth accordinge to the said power, doe by this wrighting, sealed and subscribed in the presence of credible witnesses, limitt, give and dispose the said messuage, fower yard land and a halfe, after the decease of the said John Barnard and mee the said Elizabeth without heires of my bodie, for and unto Henry Smith of

Stratford aforesaid, gent., and Job Dighton of the Middle Temple, London, esquier, and their heires, To have and to hold the said messuage and foure yard land and a halfe unto the said Henry Smith and Job Dighton their heires and assignes for ever; neverthelesse upon trust and confidence that the said Henry Smith and Job Dighton, and the survivor of them, and the heires of the survivor of them, shall bargain and sell the said messuage, fower yard land and a halfe, to any person or persons for the best value they can gett; and the moneys therby to be raysed shall imploy, dispose and distribute of, to such person or persones, and in such manner and by such some or somes as I, the said Elizabeth, shall by any wrighting or noate under my hand, truly testified, declare and nominate. In witnesse wherof I, the said Elizabeth have, the eaytteneth day of Aprill, 1653, subscribed my name and sett to my seale. *Eliza Barnard*.—Sealed and subscribed in the presence of—Rich: Lane, Mary Lane, Phillip Scarlett, Elizobeth Writon . . . . hir marke.

*XLVI. Notes respecting Shakespeare extracted from the original memoranda-books of the Rev. John Ward, Vicar of Stratford-on-Avon, written in the year 1662.*

Shakspear had but 2 daughters, one whereof Mr. Hall, the physitian, married, and by her had one daughter, to wit, the Lady Bernard of Abbingdon—I have heard that Mr. Shakespeare was a natural wit, without any art at all; hee frequented the plays all his younger time, but in his elder days livd at Stratford, and supplied the stage with two plays every year, and for that had an allowance so large that hee spent att the rate of 1000.d. a yeer, as I have heard.—Shakespear, Drayton, and Ben Jhonson, had a merry meeting, and itt seems drank too hard, for Shakespear died of a feavour there contracted.—Remember to peruse Shakespears plays and bee versed in them, that I may not bee ignorant in that matter.

*XLVII. The Will of Lady Barnard, the last lineal descendant of Shakespeare, 1670. From a very old transcript formerly in the collection of the Rev. Joseph Greene of Stratford-on-Avon.*

In the name of God, Amen, I, Dame Elizabeth Barnard, wife of Sir John Barnard of Abington in the county of Northampton, knight, being in perfect memory,—blessed bee God !—and mindfull of mortality, doe make this my last will and testament in manner and forme following. Whereas by my certain deed or writing under my hand and seal dated on or about the eighteenth day of Aprill, 1653, according to a power therein mentioned, I the said Elizabeth have limited and disposed of all that my messuage with th'appurtenances in Stratford-upon-Avon in the county of Warwick called the New-place, and all that foure-yard land and a half in Stratford, Welcombe and Bishopton in the county of Warwick, after the decease of the said Sir John Barnard and me the said Elizabeth, unto Henry Smith of Stratford aforesaid, gent., and Job Dighton of the Middle Temple, London, esq., sithence deceased, and their heires, upon trust that they and the survivor of them and the heirs of such survivor should bargain and sell the same for the best value they can gett, and the monyes thereby to bee raised to bee employed and disposed of to such person and persons and in such manner as I the said Elizabeth should by any writing or note under my hand, truly testified, declare and nominate, as thereby may more fully appeare. Now my will is and I do hereby signify and declare my mind and meaning to be, that the said Henry Smith my surviving trustee or his heires, shall with all convenient speed after the decease of the said Sir John Barnard my husband, make sale of the inheritance of all and singuler the premisses, and hat my loving cousin, Edward Nash, esq., shall have the first offer or refusal thereof according to my promise formerly made to him ; and the monyes to be raised by such sale I doe give, dispose of and appointe the same to be paid and distributed, as is hereinafter expressed, that is to say, to my cousin Thomas Welles of Carleton in the county of Bedford, gent., the sum of fifty pounds, to bee paid him within one yeare next after such sale ; and if the said Thomas Wells shall happen to die before such time as his said legacy shall become due to him, then my desire is that my cosen Edward Bagley, citizen of London, shall

have the sole benefit thereof. Item, I do give and appoint unto Judith Hathaway, one of the daughters of my kinsman Thomas Hathaway late of Stratford aforesaid, the annual sum of five pounds of lawfull money of England to bee paid unto her yearly and every yeare from and after the decease of the survivor of the said Sir John Barnard and me the said Elizabeth, for and during the natural life of her the saide Judith, at the two most usuall feasts or dayes of payment in the yeare, videlicet, the feaste of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and St. Michael the Archangell, by equal portions, the first payment thereof to begin at such of the said feasts as shall next happen after the decease of the survivor of the said Sir John Barnard and mee the said Elizabeth, if the said premisses can be so soon sold ; or otherwise so soon as the same can be sold ; and if the said Judith shall happen to marry, and shall be minded to release the said annual summe of five pounds, and shall accordingly release and quit all her interest and right in and to the same after it shall become due to her, then and in such case I do give and appoint to her the sum of forty pounds in lieu thereof, to be paid unto her at the time of the executing of such release as aforesaid. Item, I give and appoint unto Joan the wife of Edward Kent, and one other of the daughters of the said Thomas Hathaway, the sum of fifty pounds to be likewise paid unto her within one year next after the decease of the survivor of the said Sir John Barnard and me the said Elizabeth, if the said premises can be so soon sold, or otherwise so soon as the same can be sold ; and if the said Joan shall happen to die before the said fifty pounds shall be paid to her, then I do give and appoint the same unto Edward Kent the younger, her son, to be paid unto him when he shall attain the age of one-and-twenty years. Item, I do also give and appoint unto him the said Edward Kent, son of the said Joane, the sum of thirty pounds towards putting him out as an apprentice, and to be paid and disposed of to that use when he shall be fit for it. Item, I do give, appoint, and dispose of unto Rose, Elizabeth and Susanna, three other of the daughters of my said kinsman Thomas Hathaway, the sum of forty pounds a-piece to be paid unto every of

them at such time and in such manner as the said fifty pounds before appointed to the said Joan Kent, their sister, shall become payable. Item, all the rest of the monyes that shall be raised by such sale as aforesaid I give and dispose of unto my said kinsman Edward Bagley, except five pounds only, which I give and appoint to my said trustee Henry Smith for his pains ; and if the said Edward Nash shall refuse the purchase of the said messuage and four-yard lahd and a half with the appurtenances, then my will and desire is that the said Henry Smith or his heires shall sell the inheritance of the said premises and every part thereof unto the said Edward Bagley, and that he shall purchase the same ; upon this condition, nevertheless, that he the said Edward Bagley, his heirs, executors, or administrators, shall justly and faithfully perform my will and true meaning in making due payment of all the several sums of money or legacies before mentioned in such manner as aforesaid. And I do hereby declare my will and meaning to be that the executors or administrators of my said husband Sir John Barnard shall have and enjoy the use and benefit of my said house in Stratford, called the New-Place, with the orchards, gardens and all other the appurtenances thereto belonging, for and during the space of six months next after the decease of him the said Sir John Barnard. Item, I give and devise unto my kinsman, Thomas Hart, the son of Thomas Hart late of Stratford-upon-Avon aforesaid, all that my other messuage or inn situate in Stratford-upon-Avon aforesaid commonly called the Maidenhead, with the appurtenances, and the next house thereunto adjoining, with the barn belonging to the same now or late in the occupation of Michael Johnson or his assigns, with all and singular the appurtenances, to hold to him the said Thomas Hart, the son and the heires of his body ; and for default of such issue, I give and devise the same to George Hart, brother of the said Thomas Hart, and to the heirs of his body ; and for default of such issue, to the right heirs of me the said Elizabeth Barnard for ever. Item, I do make, ordain, and appoint my said loving kinsman, Edward Bagley, sole executor of this my last will and testament, hereby revoking all former

wills ; desiring him to see a just performance hereof according to my true intent and meaning. In witness whereof I, the said Elizabeth Barnard, have hereunto set my hand and seal the nine-and-twentieth day of January, Anno Domini one thousand six hundred and sixty-nine.—*Elizabeth Barnard*.—Signed, sealed, published and declared to be the last will and testament of the said Elizabeth Barnard, in the presence of—John Howes, Rector de Abington, Francis Wickes.

*XLVIII. A biographical notice of Shakespeare, from Aubrey's Lives of Eminent Men, a manuscript completed in the year 1680. The marginal notes of the original are here denoted by Italics.*

Mr. William Shakespear was borne at Stratford-upon-Avon in the county of Warwick ; his father was a butcher, and I have been told heretofore by some of the neighbours that, when he was a boy, he exercised his father's trade, but when he kill'd a calfe, he would doe it in a high style, and make a speech. There was at that time another butcher's son in this towne, that was held not at all inferior to him for a naturall witt, his acquaintance and coetanean, but dyed young. This Wm., being inclined naturally to poetry and acting, came to London I guesse about 18, and was an actor at one of the play-houses, and did act exceedingly well. Now B. Johnson was never a good actor, but an excellent instructor. He began early to make essayes at dramatique poetry, which at that time was very lowe, and his playes tooke well. He was a handsome well shap't man, very good company, and of a very readie and pleasant smooth witt. The humour of . . . . . the cunstable in a Midsomers Night's Dreame, he happened to take at Grenden in Bucks, which is the roade from London to Stratford, and there was living that constable about 1642, when I first came to Oxon. *I thinke it was Midsomer night that he happened to lye there.* Mr. Jos. Howe is of the parish, and knew him. Ben Johnson and he did gather humours of men dayly where ever they came. One time as he was at the tavern at Stratford-super-Avon, one



Combes, an old rich usurer, was to be buried ; he makes there this extemporary epitaph,—

Ten in the hundred the devill allowes,  
But Combes will have twelve he sweares and vowes ;  
If any one askes who lies in this tombe,—  
Hoh ! quoth the devill, 'Tis my John o'Combe !

He was wont to goe to his native countrey once a yeare. I thinke I have been told that he left 2 or 300 *li.* per annum there and thereabout to a sister. I have heard Sir Wm. Davenant and Mr. Thomas Shadwell (who is counted the best comcedian we have now) say that he had a most prodigious witt (*v. his Epitaph in Dugdale's Warw.*), and did admire his naturall parts beyond all other dramaticall writers. He (*Ben Johnsons Underwoods*) was wont to say that he never blotted out a line in his life ; sayd Ben Johnson,—I wish he had bloted out a thousand. His comcedies will remaine witt as long as the English tongue is understood, for that he handles *mores hominum*. now our present writers reflect so much upon particular persons and coxcombeities, that 20 yeares hence they will not be understood. Though, as Ben Johnson sayes of him that he had but little Latine and lesse Greek, he understood Latine pretty well, for he had been in his younger yeares a schoolmaster in the countrey. *From Mr. . . . . Beeston.*

*XLIX. Notes on Shakespeare, those in Roman type having been made before the year 1688 by the Rev. William Fulman, and those in Italics being additions by the Rev. Richard Davies made previously to 1708. From the originals preserved at Corpus Christi College, Oxford.*

William Shakespeare was born at Stratford upon Avon in Warwickshire, about 1563-4. *Much given to all unluckinesse in stealing venison and rabbits, particularly from Sr . . . . Lucy, who had him oft whipt and sometimes imprisoned, and at last made him fly his native country to his great advancement. but his reveng was so great, that he is his Justice Clodpate, and calls him a great man, and that in allusion to his name bore three louses rampant for his arms.* From an actor of playes he became

a composer. He dyed Apr. 23, 1616, ætat. 53, probably at Stratford, for there he is buried, and hath a monument (Dugd. p. 520), *on which he lays a heavy curse upon any one who shal remoove his bones. He dyed a papist.*

*L. Anecdotes respecting Shakespeare, from a little manuscript account of places in Warwickshire by a person named Dowdall, written in the year 1693.*

The first remarkable place in this county that I visited was Stratford super Avon, where I saw the effigies of our English tragedian Mr. Shakspeare; parte of his epitaph I sent Mr. Lowther, and desired he would impart it to you, which I finde by his last letter he has done; but here I send you the whole inscription.—Just under his effigies in the wall of the chancell is this written.

Judicio Pylum, genio Socratem, arte Maronem,

Terra tegit, populus mœrett, Olympus habet.

Stay, passenger, why goest thou by soe fast?

Read, if thou canst, whome envious death hath plac't

Within this monument: Shakspeare, with whome

Quick nature dyed; whose name doth deck the tombe

Far more then cost, sith all that he hath writt

Leaves living art but page to serve his witt.

Obiit A. Dni. 1616.

Ætat. 53, Die 23 Apr.

Neare the wall where his monument is erected lyeth a plaine free stone, underneath which his bodie is buried with this epitaph, made by himselfe a little before his death,—

Good friend, for Jesus sake forbear

To digg the dust inclosed here!

Blest be the man that spares these stones,

And curs't be he that moves my bones!

The clarke that shew'd me this church is above 80 years old; he says that this Shakespear was formerly in this towne bound apprentice to a butcher, but that he run from his master to London, and there was received into the playhouse as a servi-

ture, and by this meanes had an opportunity to be what he afterwards prov'd. He was the best of his family, but the male line is extinguished. Not one for feare of the curse abovesaid dare touch his grave-stone, tho his wife and daughters did earnestly desire to be layd in the same grave with him.



## HENRY THE EIGHTH.

Correspondents would greatly oblige by kindly favouring me with their opinions upon the interpretation which I have ventured to give, at p. 302, of the lines in the ballad on the destruction of the Globe Theatre. There is naturally a solicitude respecting the validity of new expositions that lead to unexpected results. If I am correct in my reading of the poem, it follows, as a matter of course, that the theory, previously accepted, on the authorship of the drama then in performance, is erroneous, and that Shakespeare's Henry the Eighth must be a later production. The following are the lines alluded to,--

Out runne the knights, out runne the lords,  
And there was great adoe,  
Some lost their hatts, and some their swords ;  
Then out runne Burbidge too ;  
The ripfobates, thoughe drunke on munday,  
*Pray'd for the Foole, and Henry Condy.*  
Oh, sorrow, pittifull sorrow,  
And yet all this is true.



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